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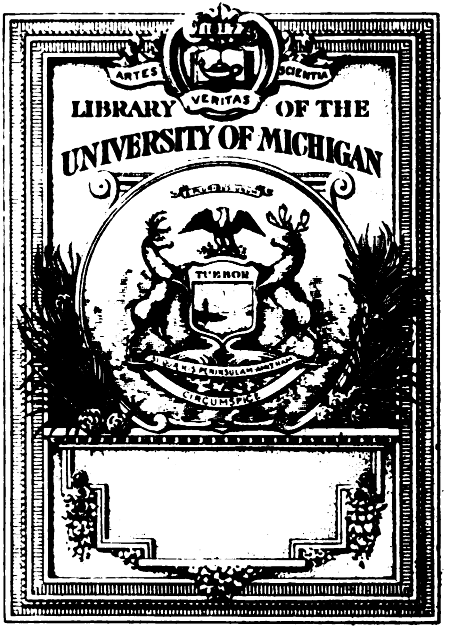

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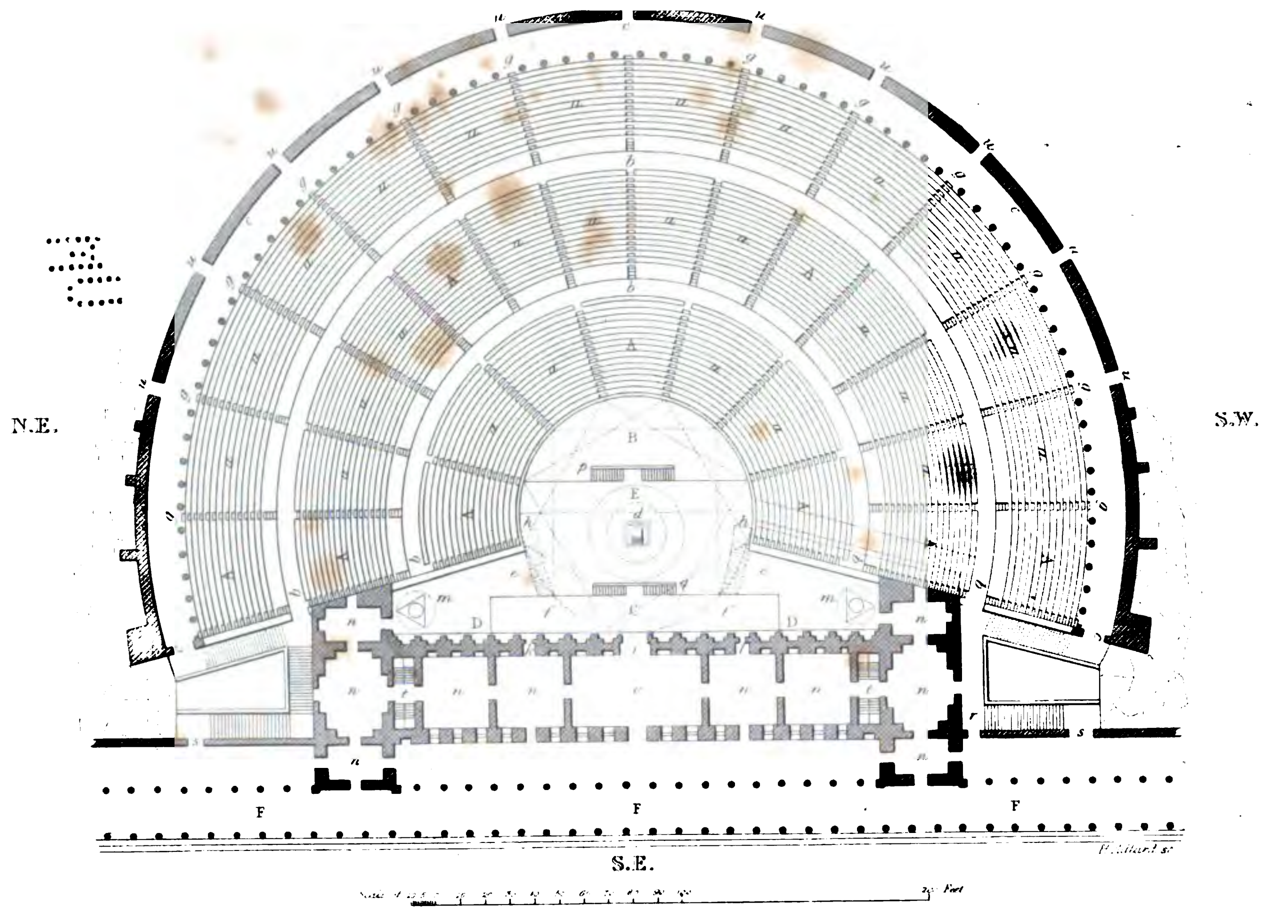
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THE

THEATRE OF THE GREEKS,

A SERIES OF PAPERS

RELATING TO

THE HISTORY AND CRITICISM

OF THE

GREEK DRAMA.

WITH AN ORIGINAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JOHN WILLIAM DONALDSON, B.D.
HEAD MASTER OF KING EDWARD'S SCHOOL, BURY ST. EDMUNDS,
AND FORMERLY FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

SIXTH EDITION, REVISED AND IMPROVED.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS; SIMPKIN AND CO.; F. AND J. RIVINGTON; WHITTAKER AND CO.; H. WASHBOURNE; H. G. BOHN; E. P. WILLIAMS; G. ROUTLEDGE; G. BELL. J. DEIGHTON; AND MACMILLAN AND CO., CAMBRIDGE.
1849.

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PREFACE

TO THE

SIXTH EDITION.

ALTHOUGH I have not been allowed to bestow as much time as I could have wished on this revision of the *Theatre of the Greeks*, and must therefore look forward to some future opportunity of doing what still remains to be done for the improvement of the work, I believe that the present Edition will be found in every respect superior to the Fourth, which is the last that passed through my hands. Owing to some neglect, on the part of those who till lately had the management of this Publication, the Fifth Edition was a mere reprint of its predecessor, and I did not even see the sheets on their way through the press. With the limited time permitted to me on the present occasion, I have been obliged to bestow my chief attention upon the introduction. With some imperfections, it is still, I believe, the only Treatise accessible to the English student, which enters at any length into the early history of the Greek Theatre[1]. Müller's chapters on the Dramatists, which I

---

[1] The author of the article *Tragœdia*, in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, has most freely availed himself of this Treatise, not only copying the quotations, which he might have derived from his own reading or from other sources, and which, in any case, he was entitled to use again, but appropriating my theory, and even adopting the peculiar oversights and misconceptions, which had found their way into my former Edition. His only acknowledgment is a reference to the Orchomenian Inscriptions, for which he might have gone to Böckh himself; and he sometimes cites the subsequent publications of Müller and Bode, where he is almost transferring my very words. In fact, he has compiled directly from the *Theatre of the Greeks*, and has studiously concealed his obligations. This article seems to be repeated in the second edition of the Dictionary; and though I make the writer welcome to the errors, into which I have led him, and which he is still unable to correct, I think it right to notice the servile use which has been made of one of the books supposed to be superseded by the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

303602

translated from his manuscripts subsequently to my last revision of this book, are chiefly valuable on account of his critical analysis of the separate plays. As Schlegel's Lectures, which have always been included in this collection, discuss this part of the subject with a great deal of acuteness and originality, it was needless to go again over the same ground. Besides, my business in this Introduction was not to indulge in an æsthetical criticism of the remains of the Greek Drama, but to make the contrast between the ancient Stage and that of modern Europe, as distinct and palpable as I could;—to give individuality to the preparatory labours of Arion and Thespis;—to characterize the great Dramatists themselves, with emphasis and accuracy;—and to enable the young student of the originals to realize in some measure the *mise en scène* of a Greek play. To this last object, the illustrations which now appear in the seventh chapter, may perhaps in some degree contribute.

The reader is probably aware that this work, as a whole, did not originate with me, and that I am not responsible for the selection of Papers of which it is mainly composed. That the first compiler supplied a want, which was generally felt among classical students, is sufficiently proved by the large and long-continued demand for this book. But it appears to me that the time is nearly come when considerable modifications must be introduced into the arrangement and composition of these miscellaneous materials. The last part, at all events, must at some future opportunity be either remodelled or omitted. In the present Edition, the whole Work has for the first time been printed under my own eye, and I trust that this general supervision has not been without some good effects.

J. W. D.

King Edward's School, Bury St. Edmunds,
28th February, 1849.

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By J. W. Donaldson.

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ERRATA.

Page 64, note 4, for *anacrasi* read *anacrusi*.
—— 130, line 27, *transfer σὲ to the preceding line after ποιήσῃ, and substitute a full point after ἤδη.*

PART I.

A TREATISE

ON THE

HISTORY AND EXHIBITION

OF THE

GREEK DRAMA.

By J. W. DONALDSON.

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CHAPTER I.

THE RELIGIOUS ORIGIN OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

οὐ γάρ τι νῦν γε κἀχθὲς, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε
ζῇ ταῦτα, κοὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου 'φάνη.
SOPHOCLES. Ant- 4,54

WE cannot assign any historical origin to the Drama. Resulting as it did from the constitutional tendencies of the inhabitants of those countries in which it sprang up, it necessarily existed, in some form or other, long before the age of history; consequently we cannot determine the time when it first made its appearance, and must therefore be content to ascertain in what principle of the human mind it originated. This we shall be able to do without much difficulty. In fact the solution of the problem is included in the answer to a question often proposed,—"How are we to account for the great prevalence of idol worship in ancient times?" For, strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless most true, that not only the Drama, (the most perfect form of poetry,) but all poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture, and whatever else is beautiful in art, are the results of that very principle which degraded men, the gods of the earth, into grovelling worshippers of wood and stone, which made them kneel and bow down before the works of their own hands. This principle is that which is generally called the love of imitation,—a definition, however, which is rather ambiguous, and has been productive of much misunderstanding[1]. We would rather state this principle to be that desire to express the abstract in the concrete, that

---

[1] The German reader would do well to consult on this subject Von Raumer's Essay on the Poetic of Aristotle (Abhandl. der Hist. Philologischen Klasse der Kön. Akad. der Wissensch. 1828). We do not think Dr. Copleston's view of this subject (Prælectiones Academicæ, p. 28, seqq.) sufficiently comprehensive.

"striving after objectivity," as it has been termed by a modern writer[2], that wish to render the conceivable perceivable, which is the ordinary characteristic of an uneducated mind.

The inhabitants of southern Europe, in particular, have in all ages shown a singular impatience of pure thought, and have been continually endeavouring to represent under the human form, either allegorically or absolutely, the subjects of their contemplations[3]. Now the first abstract idea which presented itself to the minds of rude but imaginative men was the idea of God, conceived in some one or other of his attributes. Unable to entertain the abstract notion of divinity, they called in the aid of art to bring under the control of their senses the object of their thoughts, and willingly rendered to the visible and perishable the homage which they felt to be due to the invisible and eternal. By an extension of the same associations, their anthropomorphized divinity was supposed to need a dwelling-place; hence the early improvements of architecture on the shores of the Mediterranean. His worshippers would then attempt some outward expression of their gratitude and veneration:—to meet this need, poetry arose among them[4]. The same feelings would suggest an imitation of the imagined sufferings or gladness of their deity; and to this we owe the mimic dances of ancient Hellas, and the first beginnings of the Drama there.

But although art and religious realism have much in common even in their latest applications, we are not to suppose that all attempts to give an outward embodiment to the religious idea are to be considered as real approximations to dramatic poetry. All art is not poetry, and all poetry is not the drama[5]. Polytheistic worship and its concomitant idolatry are the most favourable conditions for the development of art in all its forms and applications. And conversely, those nations and epochs which have been most remarkable for the cultivation of a pure and spiritual religion have been equally remarkable for a prevalent distaste and incompetency for the highest efforts of art. In ancient times, we have the case of the Israelites: for many years they strove with varying success to resist the temptations to idolatry which surrounded them on every side, and left to Greece and modern Europe the greatest aid to abstract thought, in the alphabet which we still employ. Yet we find that native art was, strictly speaking, non-existent among them. The few symbols which they employed in their early days were borrowed from Egypt or Chaldæa; and when, in the most flourishing epoch of their monarchy, their powerful and wealthy king wished to build a temple to the true God, he was obliged to call in the aid of his idolatrous neighbours the Tyrians[6]. Nay more, it would not be fanciful to connect the subsequent idolatry of Solomon with his patronage of the fine arts. It is remarkable, too, that the first trace of a dramatic tendency in the lyric poetry of the Israelites is visible in an Idyll attributed to the same prince. And far as the book of Job is from any dramatic intention, the dialogues of which it mainly consists must be added to the many proofs which have been adduced of the comparatively modern date, and foreign origin, of that didactic poem[7]. Even the incomplete metrical system of the Hebrews, as compared with the wonderful variety and perfection of Greek prosody, must be regarded as furnishing supplementary evidence of the inartificial character and antimimetic tendencies of the early inhabitants of Palestine. So also in modern times, long after the Drama had ceased to exhibit any traces of its original connexion with the rites of a heathen worship, and when it was looked upon merely as a branch of literature, or as an elegant pastime, in proportion as Christian nations adhered to or abhorred the sensual rites which the Church of Rome borrowed from heathendom, when it assembled its priest-ridden votaries within the newly-consecrated walls of a profane Basilica,—in the same proportion the Drama throve or declined, and, in this country, either inflicted vengeance on the hapless author of a *Histriomastix*, or concealed its flaunting robes from the austere indignation of *Smectymnuus*.

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[2] Wachsmuth, Hell. Alterth. ii. 2, 113.

[3] See Wordsworth's Excursion. (Works, v. p. 160, foll.)

[4] Thus Strabo says, that "the whole art of poetry is the praise of the gods," *ἡ ποιητικὴ πᾶσα ὑμνητική*. x. p. 468. (The word *οὖσα*, which is found in all the editions at the end of this sentence, has evidently arisen from a repetition of the first two syllables of the following word *ὡσαύτως*, and must be struck out. For the sense of the word *ὑμνητικὴ*, comp. Plato, Legg. p. 700, A.) And Plato, Legg. vii. 799, A. would have all music and dancing consecrated to religion. When Herder says, (Werke z. Schön. Lit. und Kunst, ii. p. 82.) "Poetry arose, not at the altars, but in wild merry dances; and as violence was restrained by the severest laws, an attempt was in like manner made to lay hold, by means of religion, on those drunken inclinations of men which escaped the control of the laws," he does not seem to deny the fact on which we have insisted, that religion and poetry are contemporaneous effects of the same cause; at all events, he allows that poetry was at first merely the organ of religion. And although V. Cousin endeavours to prove that religion and poetry were the results of different necessities of the human mind, he also contends that they were analogous in their origin. "Le triomphe de l'intuition religieuse est dans la création du culte, comme le triomphe de l'idée du beau est dans la création de l'art," &c. (Cours de Philosophie, p. 21, 2.)

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[5] The view which we have taken in the text, of the origin of the fine arts, is, we conceive, nearly the same as that of Aristotle; for it appears to us pretty obvious that his treatise on Poetic was, like many of his other writings, composed expressly to confute the opinions of Plato, who taking the word μίμησις in its narrowest sense, to signify the imperfect counterfeiting, the servile and pedantic copying of an individual object, argued against μίμησις in general as useless for moral purposes. Whereas Aristotle shows that if the word μίμησις be not taken in this confined sense, but as equivalent to "representation," as implying the outward realization of something in the mind, it does then include not only poetry, but, properly speaking, all the fine arts: and μίμησις is therefore useful, in a moral relation, if art in general is of any moral use. It was, however, as Schleiermacher justly observes, (Anmerkungen zu Platons Staat, p. 543.) not of art absolutely that Plato was speaking, but only of its moral effects; for doubtless Plato himself would have been most willing to assent to a definition of art which made it an approximation to or copy of the idea of the beautiful (comp. Plat. Rep. vi. p. 484, c.); and this is only Aristotle's opinion expressed in other words. Von Raumer truly remarks in the essay above quoted, p, 118, "The παράδειγμα (Poet. xv. 11. xxvi. 28.) which Aristotle often designates as the object to be aimed at, is nothing but that which is now-a-days called the 'ideal,' and by which is understood the most utter opposite of a pedantic imitation." Herder also was fully aware that although Plato contradicts Aristotle in regard to the Dithyramb, he was speaking in quite a different connexion, "in ganz anderer Verbindung." (Werke z. Schön. Lit. u. Kunst. ii. p. 86.) We may add, that our definition of μίμησις as a synonym for "art," which has also been given in direct terms by Müller, (Handb. der Archäol. beginn.) "Die Kunst ist eine Darstellung (μίμησις) d. h. eine Thätigkeit durch welche ein Innerliches äusserlich wird," "Art is a representation (μίμησις), i. e. an energy by means of which a subject becomes an object," (comp. Dorians, iv. ch. 7. § 12.) is the best way of explaining the pleasure which we derive from the efforts of the fancy and imagination, which, as has been very justly observed, is always much greater when "the allusion is from the material world to the intellectual, than when it is from the intellectual world to the material." (Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Mind, i. p. 306.)

To return, however, to the more immediate influences of polytheism and idolatry on the origination of the ancient drama, we observe that the dramatic art, wherever it has existed as a genuine product of the soil, has always been connected in its origin with the religious rites of an elementary worship[8]; that is, with those enthusiastic orgies which spring from a personification of the powers of nature. This was the case in India[9], and in those parts of Italy where scenic entertainments existed before the introduction of the Greek Drama. But in Greece this was so, not only in the beginning, but as long as the stage existed; and the circumstance, which gave to the Attic drama its chief strength and its highest charms, was its continued connexion with the state-worship of Bacchus, in which both Tragedy and Comedy took their rise. We must not allow ourselves to be misled by our knowledge of the fact that the Drama of modern Europe, though derived from that of ancient Greece, exhibits no trace of its religious origin. The element which originally constituted its whole essence has been overwhelmed and superseded by the more powerful ingredients which have been introduced into it by the continually diverging tastes of succeeding generations, till it has at length become nothing but a walking novel or a speaking jest-book. The plays of Shakspeare and Calderon (with the exception, of course, of the *Autos Sacramentales* of the latter) are Dramatic reproductions of the prose romances of the day, with the omission of the religious element which they owed to the monks[1], just as the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles would have been mere Epic Dramas, had they broken the bonds which connected them with the elementary worship of Attica. But this disruption never took place. In ancient Greece the Drama retained to the last the character which it originally possessed. The theatrical representations at Athens, even in the days of Sophocles and Aristophanes, were constituent parts of a religious festival; the theatre in which they were performed was sacred to Bacchus, and the worship of the god was always as much regarded as the amusement of the sovran people. This is a fact which cannot be too strongly impressed upon the student: if he does not keep this continually in view, he will be likely to confound the Athenian stage with that of his own time and country, and will misunderstand and wonder at many things which under this point of view are neither remarkable nor unintelligible. How apt we all are to look at the manners of ancient times through the false medium of our every-day associations! how difficult we find it to strip our thoughts of their modern garb, and to escape from the thick atmosphere of prejudice in which custom and habit have enveloped us! and yet, unless we take a comprehensive and extended view of the objects of archæological speculation, unless we can look upon ancient customs with the eyes of the ancients, unless we can transport ourselves in the spirit to other lands and other times, and sun ourselves in the clear light of bygone days, all our conceptions of what was done by the men who have long ceased to be, must be dim, uncertain, and unsatisfactory, and all our reproductions as soulless and uninstructive as the scattered fragments of a broken statue[2]. These remarks are particularly applicable to the Greek stage. For in proportion to the perfection of the extant specimens of ancient art in any department, are our misconceptions of the difference between their and our use of these excellent works. We feel the beauty of the remaining Greek Dramas, and are unwilling to believe that productions as exquisite as the most elaborate compositions of our own playwrights should not have been, as ours were, exhibited for their own sake. But this was far from being the case. The susceptible Athenian,—whose land was the dwelling-place of gods and ancestral heroes[3],—to whom the clear blue sky, the swift-winged breezes, the river fountains, the Ægean gay with its countless smiles, and the teeming earth[4] from which he believed his ancestors were immediately created, were alike instinct with an all-pervading spirit of divinity;—the Athenian, who loved the beautiful, but loved it because it was divine,—who looked upon all that genius could invent, or art execute, as but the less unworthy offering to his pantheism; and considered all his festivals and all his amusements as only a means of withdrawing the soul from the world's business, and turning it to the love and worship of God[5], how could he keep back from the object of his adoration the fairest and best of his works?

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[6] 1 Kings vii. 13. [7] Ewald, *poetisch. Bücher des alten Bundes*, iii. p. 63.

[8] In connexion with the Phallic rites of Hindostan and Greece, we may mention that in the South Sea Islands, at the time of Cook's second voyage, a birth was represented on the stage. See Süvern über Aristoph. Wolken, p. 63, note 6.

[9] "Like that of the Greeks, the Hindu Drama was derived from, and formed part of, their religious ceremonies." Quarterly Rev. No. 89, p. 39.

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[1] Malone's Shakspeare, vol. iii. p. 8, sqq. Lessing, Geschichte der Engl. Schaubühne. (Werke, xv. 209.)

We shall make the permanent religious reference of the Greek Drama more clear, by showing with some minuteness how it gradually evolved itself from religious rites universally prevalent, and by pointing out by what routes its different elements converged, till they became united in one harmonious whole of "stateliest and most regal argument[6]."

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[2] See some good remarks on this subject in Niebuhr's *Kleine Schriften*, vol. i. p. 92, and in his letter to Count Adam Moltke. (*Lebensn*. vol. ii. p. 91.)

[3] Hegesias ap. Strab. ix. p. 396.

[4] Æsch. Prom. v. 87—90.

[5] Strabo, x. p. 467. *Ἥ τε γὰρ ἄνεσις τὸν νοῦν ἀπάγει ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀσχολημάτων, τὸν δὲ ὄντως νοῦν τρέπει πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.*

The dramatic element in the religion of ancient Greece manifested itself most prominently in the connected worship of Apollo, Demeter, and Dionysus. Thus at Delphi, the main seat of the Dorian worship of Apollo, the combat with the serpent, and the flight and expiation of the victorious son of Latona, were made the subject of a representation almost theatrical[7]. And Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that Eleusis represented by torch-light the rape of Proserpine, and the wanderings and grief of her mother Demeter, in a sort of mystic drama[8]. Dionysus, who was worshipped both at Eleusis and at Delphi[9], was personated by the handsomest young men who could be found, in a mimic ceremony at the Athenian Anthesteria, which represented his betrothal to the wife of the King Archon[1]; and there were other occasions, quite unconnected with theatrical exhibitions, in which the Bacchic mythology was made the subject of direct imitation[2]. But it was not in these forms of worship that the Attic Drama immediately originated, however much it may have been connected with them in spirit. The almost antagonistic materials of Dorian and oriental mythology had to seek their common ground, and the lyric chorus of the Dorians had to combine itself with the epos of the Ionian rhapsode, before such a phenomenon as the full-grown tragedy of Æschylus could become possible. We see these ingredients standing side by side, like oil and vinegar, and not perfectly fused[3], in the first Attic tragedy which we open. It is the business of the following pages to point out how they came together.

In order to do this in a satisfactory manner, we must constantly bear in mind the important statement of Aristotle[4], that

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[6] Milton's Prose Works, p. 101.

[7] Plutarch. *Quæst. Gr.* ii. p. 202, Wyttenb. *De Defect. Orac.* ii. p. 710. 723, Wyttenb.

[8] *Cohort. ad Gentes*, p. 12, Potter.

[9] Plut. *de* EI *Delphico*, p. 591, Wyttenb. τὸν Διόνυσον, ᾧ τῶν Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν.

[1] Demosth. *in Neær.* p. 1369, 70. Plutarch, *Nic.* c. 3.

[2] Plutarch. *Quæst. Gr.* ii. p. 228, Wyttenb.

[3] Æschyl. *Agam.* 322.

Ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχέας ταὐτῷ κύτει,
Διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν, οὐ φίλω, προσεννέποις.

[4] *Poet.* c. iv. below, Part II. p. 7.

"both Tragedy and Comedy originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner; the first from the leaders of the Dithyrambs, and the second from those who led off the Phallic songs." To reconcile all our scattered information on the subject with this distinct and categorical account of the beginning of the Greek Drama, we must in the first place confine ourselves to Tragedy. We must see how the solemn choral poetry of the Dorians admitted of a union with the boisterous Dithyramb, which belonged to the orgiastic worship of an exotic divinity. And, we must inquire how the leaders of this lyrical and Dorized Dithyramb became the vehicles of the dramatic dialogues in which the Tragedy of Athens carried on the development of its Epic plots. We shall then be able without much difficulty to consider the case of Comedy, which exhibited in its older form the unmitigated ingredients of the noisy Phallic Comus.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRAGIC CHORUS.—ARION.

Doch hurtig in dem Kreise ging's,
Sie tanzten rechts, sie tanzten links.
GÖTHE.

In the earliest times of Greece, it was customary for the whole population of a city to meet on stated occasions and offer up thanksgivings to the gods for any great blessings, by singing hymns, and performing corresponding dances in the public places[1]. This custom was first practised in the Doric states. The maintenance of military discipline was the principal object of the Dorian legislators; all their civil and religious organization was subservient to this; and war or the rehearsal of war was the sole business of their lives[2]. Under these circumstances, it was not long before the importance of music and dancing, as parts of public education, was properly appreciated: for what could be better adapted than a musical accompaniment to enable large bodies of men to keep time and act in concert? What could be more suitable than the war-dance, to familiarize the young citizen with the various postures of attack and defence, and with the evolutions of an army? Music and dancing, therefore, were cultivated at a very early period by the Cretans, the

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[1] This is the reason why, according to Pausan. iii. 11, 9, the ἀγορὰ at Sparta was called χορός. We are rather inclined to believe that the Chorus of Dancers got its name from the place; χορὸς is only another form of χῶρ-ος—χώρ-α: and hence the epithet εὐρύχορος which is applied to Athens (Dem. Mid. p. 531) as well as to Sparta (Athen. p. 131, c. in some anapæsts of Anaxandrides). Welcker's derivation of χορὸς from χεὶρ (Rhein. Mus. for 1834, p. 485) is altogether inadmissible. See further *New Cratylus*, p. 301. Antigone, Introduction, p. xxix.

[2] *στρατοπέδου γὰρ* (says an Athenian to a Cretan, Plato, Legg. ii. p. 666) *πολιτείαν ἔχετε· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατῳκηκότων.* All the Dorian governments were aristocracies, and therefore necessarily warlike, as Vico has satisfactorily shown, whatever we may think of his derivation of *πόλεμος* from *πόλις*. (Scienz. Nuov. vol. ii. p. 160.)

Spartans, and the other Dorians, but only for the sake of these public choruses:[3] the preservation of military discipline and the establishment of a principle of subordination, not merely the encouragement of a taste for the fine arts, were the objects which these rude legislators had in view; and though there is no doubt that religious feelings entered largely into all their thoughts and actions, yet the god whom they worshipped was a god of war[4], of music[5], and of civil government[6], in other words, a Dorian political deity; and with these attributes his worship and the maintenance of their system were one and the same thing. This intimate connexion of religion and war among the Dorians is shown by a corresponding identity between the chorus which sang the praises of the national deity, and the army which marched to fight the national enemies. These two bodies were composed, in the former case inclusively, of the same persons; they were drawn up in the same order, and the different parts in each were distinguished by the same names. Good dancers and good fighters were alike termed πρυλέες, i. e. προ-ιλέες, or "men of the vanguard[7];" those whose station was in the rear of the battle array, or of the chorus, were in either case called ψιλεῖς, or "unequipped[8];" and the evolutions of the one body were known by the same name as the figures of the other[9]. It was likewise owing to this conviction of the importance of musical harmony, that the Dorians termed the constitution of a state—an order or regulative principle (*κόσμος*). Thus Herodotus[1] calls the constitution of Lycurgus, "the *order* now established among the Spartans" (*τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον τοῖς Σπαρτιήτῃσι*); Clearchus[2] speaks of the Lacedæmonians who were prostrated in consequence of their having trodden under foot the most ancient *order* of their civil polity (*οἳ τὸν παλαιότατον τῆς πολιτικῆς κόσμον συμπατήσαντες ἐξετραχηλίσθησαν*); and Archidamus, in Thucydides[3], tells his subjects that their good *order* (*τὸ εὔκοσμον*) is the reason why they are both warlike and wise; and concludes his harangue to the allied army, when about to invade Attica, with an enforcement of the same principle[4].

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[3] "We and the Spartans," says Clinias, "*οὐκ ἄλλην ἄν τινα δυναίμεθα ᾠδὴν ἢ ἣν ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμάθομεν ξυνήθεις ᾄδειν γενόμενοι.*" Plato, Legg. p. 666.

[4] Ἀπόλλων—Ἀπέλλων, "the defender" (Müller's Dor. ii. ch. 6. § 6) who caused terror to the hostile army. Æsch. Sept. c. Theb. 147.

[5] He was particularly the inventor of the lyre—the original accompaniment of Choral Poetry. Pind. *Pyth.* v. 67. (Ἀπόλλων) *πόρεν τε κίθαριν δίδωσί τε Μοῖσαν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ἀπόλεμον ἀγαγὼν ἐς πραπίδας εὐνομίαν.*

[6] "The belief in a fixed system of laws, of which Apollo was the executor, formed the foundation of all prophecy in his worship." Müller, Dor. ii. 8, § 10. The Delphian oracle was the regulator of all the Dorian law-systems; hence its injunctions were called *θέμιστες*, or "ordinances." See the authorities in Müller, ii. 8. § 8.

[7] See *Varronianus*, p. 215. Cf. Athen. xiv. p. 628, F: *ὅθεν καὶ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τοὺς κάλλιστα χορεύοντας ἀρίστους φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πολέμια, λέγων οὕτως·*

Οἳ δὲ χοροῖς κάλλιστα θεοὺς τιμῶσιν, ἄριστοι
Ἐν πολέμῳ·

σχεδὸν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐξοπλισία τις ἦν ἡ χορεία, κ. τ. λ.

[8] Müller thinks (Götting. Gel. Anz. for 1821, p. 1051) that they were so called, because they were not so well dressed as the front-row dancers.

[9] See Müller's Dorians, b. iii. c. 12. § 10; b. iv. c. 6. § 4. And add to the passages cited by him, Eurip. Troad. 2, 3.

—— ἔνθα Νηρῄδων χοροὶ
Κάλλιστον ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός.

This description of the Chorus may suffice to show, that, being both regular and stationary, or moving only within the limits of a particular space, it was distinguished, in the latter respect, from the marching troop, which was a regular body of men in a state of progress, and in both respects from the Comus (*κῶμος*), which was a tumultuous procession of revellers. We find the earliest description of the stationary Chorus in Homer's "Shield of Achilles[5]," where, as we shall see presently, the *Hyporcheme* is intended; and we have the moving or processional Chorus by the side of the Comus in Hesiod's "Shield of Hercules[6]." The regularity of the Chorus always necessitated a leader (*ἔξαρχος*), who was either the musician or some fugleman among the dancers, who "set the example[7]" to the others. Thus in a dirge the chief mourner was said "to lead off the lament[8];" and even the chief player in a game at ball is said ἄρχεσθαι μολπῆς[9]; whence it will be seen that the words μέλπεσθαι and μολπή, when used in speaking of the old chorus, imply the regular, graceful movements of the dancers, and the *Eumolpids* were not singers of Hymns, but dancers in the Chorus of Demeter and Dionysus[1].

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[1] i. 65. [2] Ap. Athen. xv. p. 681, c. [3] i. 84.

[4] ii. 11. *κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι.... ἐνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.* This word *κόσμος* appears to be appropriated to dancing rather than to music, *καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ πορείᾳ καλὸν μὲν εὐσχημοσύνη καὶ κόσμος, κ. τ. λ.* Athen. xiv. p. 628, D.

[5] Hom. *Il.* xviii. 590—606. [6] 272—285.

[7] Küster, *de Verb. Med.* i. 23. ii. 5.

[8] The following passages will show the usage of *ἐξάρχω*:

Iliad xviii. 50. *αἱ δὲ (Νηρηΐδες) ἅμα πᾶσαι*
Στήθεα πεπλήγοντο· Θέτις δ' ἐξῆρχε γόοιο.
Ibid. 314. *αὐτὰρ Ἀχαῖοι*
Παννύχιοι Πάτροκλον ἀνεστενάχοντο γοῶντες.
Τοῖσι δὲ Πηλείδης ἁδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο.

[Ibid. 604.

It would appear, then, that music and dancing were the basis of the religious, political, and military organization of the Dorian states; and this alone might induce us to believe that the introduction of choral poetry into Greece, and the first cultivation of instrumental music, is due to them. However, particular proofs are not wanting. The strongest of these may be derived from the fact, that the Doric dialect is preserved in the lyric poetry of the other Grecian tribes. We may notice this in the choral portions of any Attic tragedy. Now it has been sufficiently shown[2] that the lyric poetry of the Greeks was an offspring not of the epos, but of the chorus songs; and if the lyric poetry of the Æolians and Ionians was always (with the exception perhaps of Corinna's Bœotian choruses) written in the Doric dialect, the choral poetry, of which it was a modification, must have

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Ibid. 604.   δοίω δὲ κυβιστητῆρε κατ' αὐτοὺς
Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντος ἐδίνευον κατὰ μέσσους.

To which we may add,

Il. xxiv. 720.   παρὰ δ' εἷσαν ἀοιδοὺς
Θρήνων ἐξάρχους οἵτε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν
Οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες.

With which compare Il. i. 604. Odyss. xxiv. 60. The simple ἄρχειν occurs in Iliad xix. 12. Archilochus, fr. 38, Liebel. Athen. xiv. p. 628, A.

Ὡς Διωνυσοῖ' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
Οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

Archilochus, fr. 44, Liebel. Athen. iv. p. 180, E.

Αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα·

which Müller, Dor. ii. 8. § 14 (note *y*), mistranslates. He says: "there was always a person named ἐξάρχων who accompanied the song on an instrument. Thus Archilochus," &c. But ἐξάρχειν πρὸς αὐλὸν means 'to lead off the Pæan, either by words or as a dancer, *to the accompaniment* of the flute played by another person.' See Eurip. *Alcest.* 346: πρὸς Λίβυν λακεῖν αὐλόν: so that Toup has rightly introduced πρὸς αὐλὸν in Athenæus, p. 447, B. (*Em. ad Suid.* i. p. 348.) Pausan. v. 18, 4, speaking of the chest of Cypselus, πεποίηνται δὲ καὶ ᾄδουσαι Μοῦσαι, καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐξάρχων τῆς ᾠδῆς καί σφισιν ἐπίγραμμα γέγραπται,

Λατοΐδας οὗτος τάχ' ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων,
Μοῦσαι δ' ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χαριεὶς χορός, αἷσι κατάρχει.

Sophocl. Vit. p. 2. (Σοφοκλῆς) μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξῆρχε.

[9] *Odyss.* vi. 101. Cf. Athen. i. p. 20.

[1] Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* vol. i. p. 25.

[2] By Müller, Dor. b. iv. c. 7. § 11.

been Dorian also[3]. Nor can any argument against this supposition be derived from the fact that the most celebrated of the early lyric poets were not Dorians; for choral dances existed among the Cretans long before the time of the earliest of these poets; and it is no argument against the assumed origin of an art in one country, to say that it attained to a higher degree of perfection in another[4]. With regard to Athens in particular, it appears to us, that we have in some sort positive evidence that choruses were not instituted there until the Athenians had recognized the Dorian oracle at Delphi; for some old Delphian oracles have come down to us[5] particularly enjoining these Doric rites, a command which could hardly have been necessary, had they existed at Athens from the first.

It must be obvious that so long as the choral music and dancing of the Dorians was a religious exercise in which the whole population took a part, the tunes and figures must have been very simple and unartificial. A few plain regulative notes on the tetrachord, and as much concinnity of movement as the public drill-masters could effect, sufficed for the recitation and performance of Pæans in Lacedæmon, Crete, and Delos. But, as a natural consequence of the importance attached to music and dancing, in countries where they formed the basis of religious, political, and military organization, it was not long before art and genius volunteered their services, and improvements in the theory and practice of instrumental music were eagerly adopted and imported, or cultivated by emulous harpers in the Dorian states. The Æolian colonists of Lesbos, from their proximity to the coast of Asia Minor, were among the first who sought to accommodate the more extensive and varied harmonies of the Phrygians and Lydians to the uses and requirements of the Dorian chorus. Terpander, of Lesbos, who gained the prize at the Lacedæmonian Carneia in B.C. 676[6], substituted the seven-stringed cithara for the old tetrachord; and his contemporaries, the Græco-Phrygian Olympus, and the Bœotian Clonas, exercised an influence scarcely less important on the flute-music of the Greeks. A little later, Thaletas, the Cretan, imported into the choral worship of his own country and Sparta a more impassioned style of music and dancing, which was intimately connected with the rhythmical innovations of Terpander and Olympus[7]; and the Lydian Alcman, who was a great poet as well as a great musician, composed songs for the popular chorus, which may be considered as the true beginning of lyric poetry. As these improvements gradually developed themselves, they necessarily superseded the ruder efforts of the old crowd of worshippers; and the poet, as *δημιουργός*, or "state-workman[8]," with his band of trained singers and dancers, at length executed all the religious functions of the collective population.

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[3] The weight of this argument will be readily appreciated by the readers of Niebuhr's Hist. Rom. i. p. 82, Engl. Transl.

[4] See Themistius, Orat. xxvii. p. 337, A. Harduin. *ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει τὰ παρ' ἑτέροις ἀρχὴν λαβόντα πλείονος σπουδῆς παρ' ἄλλοις τυγχάνειν.*

[5] Apud Demosth. Mid. p. 531. § 15, Buttm.

[6] Athenæus xiv. p. 635, E.

The most ancient and genuine species of the Dorian choral song was the *Pæan*, which was not only practised in the rehearsals of the market-place, but carried to the actual field of battle. It was so thoroughly identified with the worship of Apollo, that we cannot doubt for a moment that its original accompaniment was the harp (*φόρμιγξ*), with which Apollo himself, in the Homeric Hymn, leads a chorus of Cretans; he dances with noble and lofty steps, and they follow him, singing the sweet strains of the Iepæan[9]. But as early as the days of Archilochus the flute had taken the place of the harp as an accompaniment to the Pæan at Lesbos[1]. That there was something grave and staid in the original Pæan may be concluded from the topics to which it was confined[2]; and as late as the time of Agesilaus it was performed at the mournful feast of the Hyacinthia[3]. Whence Plato speaks with disapprobation of the later practice of mixing up the Pæan with the Bacchic Dithyramb[4]; and in general we observe that the Pæan, as devoted to the children of Leto, is kept separate and distinct from the Dithyramb[5], even in those countries where the worship of Bacchus was cultivated along with that of Apollo, and after the time when the characteristic Dionysian hymn was raised to the dignity of lyric poetry.

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[7] Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* c. xii. § 10.

[8] *Od.* xvii. 385.

Τίς γὰρ δὴ ξεῖνον καλεῖ ἄλλοθεν αὐτὸς ἐπελθὼν
Ἄλλον γ' εἰ μὴ τῶν οἳ δημιοεργοὶ ἔασιν
Μάντιν ἢ ἰητῆρα κακῶν ἢ τέκτονα δουρῶν
Ἦ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδὸν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων ;

[9] Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 514 sqq.

ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφι, ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς, 'Απόλλων
Φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων, ἀγατὸν κιθαρίζων,
Καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἕποντο
Κρῆτες πρὸς Πυθὼ, καὶ ἰηπαίηον' ἄειδον
Οἶοί τε Κρητῶν παιάονες.

Cf. Pind. *N.* v. 22 sqq.

[1] Archiloch. *apud Athen.* v. p. 180, E.

Αὐτὸς ἐξάρχων πρὸς αὐλὸν Λέσβιον παιήονα,

above, p. 14, note.

[2] The ideal of a Pæan is very well given in the first Chorus of the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, 151 sqq. Plutarch (p. 389, B) calls the Pæan *τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν.*

From the Dorian *Pæan* three styles of choral dancing developed themselves at a very early period, and most probably received their chief improvements under Thaletas in Crete. These were the *Gymnopædic*, the *Pyrrhic*, and the *Hyporchematic* dances. The *γυμνοπαιδία*, or "festival of naked youths," was held in great esteem at Sparta[6]. The immediate object was the worship of Leto and her children, and the music was that of the *Pæan*. But an heroic and tragic character was given to the solemnity by its formal reference to the victory at Thyrea. The praises of the valiant Spartans, who fell on that occasion, were always sung at the *Gymnopædia*, and the Exarchus wore the Thyreatic crown[7]. The gesticulations and steps of the boys amounted to a rhythmical imitation of the wrestling match and pancration, which is partly implied by the absence of clothing[8]. The *Gymnopædic* dance was considered as a sort of introduction to the *Pyrrhic*, just as the exercises of the *Palæstra* in general were a preparation for military discipline. To be able to move rapidly in armour was a leading accomplishment of the Greek hoplite, and we are expressly told that the *Pyrrhic*, which was danced by boys in armour, was a rapid dance[9]. Beyond this rapidity of motion, it had no characteristic steps; the distinctive movements were those of the hands, whence it was called a "manual gesticulation" (χειρονομία), and might be performed by the horsemen as well as by the foot-soldier[1]. Connected with the rites of the Curetes in Crete, and of the Dioscuri in Lacedæmon, the *Pyrrhic* was danced in later times to the notes of the flute; and the same was the case with the Castoreum and the embateria. But we have positive evidence that the lyre was the original accompaniment in the Cretan and Spartan marches, and that the flute was substituted only because its notes were shriller and more piercing[2]. The *Hyporcheme* was, as its name implies[3], a dance expressing by gesticulations the words of the accompanying poem. It had thus, in effect, two different kinds of leaders. Going back to the earliest description of this dance, we find that not only is the citharist, who sits in the middle of the chorus and sings to his lyre while the youths and maidens dance around him, described as *leading off* (ἐξάρχων) their μολπή, or rhythmical steps and gesticulations, but that there are always two chief dancers, sometimes called "tumblers" (κυβιστητῆρε), by whose active and violent motions the words of the song are expressed, and the main chorus regulated[4]. These leaders of the chorus seem to have been essential to the *Hyporcheme*, and particularly to that species of it which was called the "Crane" (γέρανος), where they led forward the two horns of a semicircle until they met on the other side of the altar of Apollo [5]. The *Hyporcheme* originated in Crete, and was thence imported into Delos, where it seems to have retained its primitive characteristics even in the days of Lucian [6]. Though connected originally with the worship of Apollo [7], it was subsequently introduced into the worship of Bacchus by Pratinas [8], and into that of Minerva of Iton by Bacchylides [9].

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[3] Xen. *Ages.* ii. 17: *οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια, ὅπου ἐτάχθη ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνετέλει.*

[4] *Legg.* iii. p. 700, D.

[5] See Pindar *Thren.* Fr. 10, 103*, according to the emendations which we have elsewhere proposed:—

Ἔντι μὲν χρυσαλακάτου Λατοῦς τεκέων ἀοιδαὶ
Ἰήϊ[οι] παιάνιδες·
Ἔντι [δὲ σύγκω]μόν τισι κισσοῦ στέφανον
Ἐκ Διω[νύσου μεταμ]αιόμεναι.

[6] *Ἑορτὴ δὲ εἴτις ἄλλη καὶ αἱ γυμνοπαιδίαι διὰ σπουδῆς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰσίν.* Pausan. iii. 11, 9.

[7] Athen. xv. p. 678, B: *Θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνται στέφανοί τινες παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τῷ περὶ θυσιῶν, ψιλίνους αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων· φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς, ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης, τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσι. χοροὶ δ' εἰσὶ τὸ μὲν εὐπροσώπων παίδων, τὸ δ' ἐξ ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν, γυμνῶν ὀρχουμένων, καὶ ᾀδόντων Θαλήτου καὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος ᾄσματα, καὶ τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Λάκωνος παιᾶνας.* See Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clement.* tom. iii. p. 74. n. 4.

[8] Athen. xiv. p. 631, B.

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[9] Athen. xiv. p. 630, D. The same is indicated by the *Pyrrhic* (˘˘) and *Proceleusmatic* (˘˘˘˘) feet, which are attributed to this dance. The latter, to which the ἐνόπλιος ῥυθμὸς refers, is tantamount to the anapæst, which is the proper rhythm for *embateria*.

[1] This must be the meaning of what Pindar says of Bellerophon and Pegasus, *O*. xiii. 86: *ἀναβὰς δ' εὐθὺς ἐνόπλια χαλκωθεὶς ἔπαιζεν*. Cf. Virg. *Georg*. iii. 115 sqq.

> Frena Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
> Impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis
> Insultare solo, et gressus glomerare superbos.

[2] Müller, *Dor*. book iv. c. 6. § 6, 7. On the orgiastic nature of the flute-music see Aristot. Pol. viii. 7, § 9.

[3] See Gesner, on Lucian *de Saltat*. (tom. v. p. 461, Lehmann.)

[4] Compare *Il*. xviii. 591—606. (*Od*. iv. 17—19.) with *Hymn*. *Apoll*. 182—206.

We have treated more at length of these three sorts of choral dances, because each of them had its representative in the dramatic poetry of a later age. This appears from a curious passage in Athenæus, probably derived from some author of weight [1]; "There are," he tells us, "three dances in scenic poetry, the *Tragic*, the *Comic*, and the *Satyric*; and likewise three in lyric poetry, the *Pyrrhic*, the *Gymnopædic*, and the *Hyporchematic*; and the *Pyrrhic* indeed corresponds to the *Satyric*, for they are both rapid;" (he had given just before a reason for the rapidity of the Satyric dance.) "Now the *Pyrrhic* is considered a military one, for the dancers are boys in armour; and swiftness is needed in war for pursuit and flight. But the *Gymnopædic* dance is similar to the Tragic which is called *emmeleia*; both these dances are conspicuously staid and solemn. The *Hyporchematic* dance coincides in its peculiarities with the *Comic*, and they are both full of merriment."

Before we can discuss the distinctive employment of these three dances in the Attic drama, we must inquire how the worship of Bacchus was introduced into the Dorian states, and in what connexion choruses instituted in honour of Apollo came to be used in the celebration of religious rites consecrated to another deity.

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[5] See the passages quoted by Müller, *Dor*. ii. 8. § 14, note g.

[6] De Saltat. § 6: 'Εν Δήλῳ . . . παίδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ἐπ' αὐλῷ καὶ κιθάρᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπωρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἄριστοι, προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν. τὰ γοῦν τοῖς χοροῖς γραφόμενα τούτοις ᾄσματα, ὑπορχήματα ἐκαλεῖτο: where οἱ ἄριστοι manifestly agree with the κυβιστητῆρες, which was another name for particularly active dancers.

[7] See Menandr. de Encom. p. 27, Heeren. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰς 'Απόλλωνα παιᾶνας καὶ ὑπορχήματα νομίζομεν.

[8] Athen. p. 617.

[9] Fragm. ed. Neue, p. 33.

[1] Athen. p. 630, D. He quotes Aristocles, Aristoxenus, and Scamo. With regard to the Hyporcheme cf. Athen. 21, D: ἡ δὲ Βαθύλλειος [ὄρχησις] ἱλαρωτέρα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπόρχημά τι τοῦτον διατίθεσθαι.

An essentially warlike people, and averse from agricultural employments, which they considered the proper occupation of those whom they had conquered with the spear[2], the Dorians were not very likely to invent an elementary worship, which is the usual idolatry of tillers of the soil. It does therefore appear somewhat singular at first sight, that Apollo, their national deity, should be so often represented as the god of the Sun, and, therefore, the chief of a system of elementary religion. The fact, however, admits of a sufficiently easy explanation. The Dorians, when they conquered any country, introduced the worship of their own gods, but endeavoured at the same time to unite it with the religion which they found established in their settlements. Thus they adopted the elementary gods of Laconia, the Tyndaridæ, taking care, however, to give their worship a *military* and *political* reference[3], so as to make it coincide with the attributes of Apollo, whose office of leader of the army was transferred to them. Similarly Apollo was made the object of the Hyacinthia, an ancient festival connected with the elementary worship of the Ægidæ[4]. Now the Dorians worshipped, along with Apollo, a female form of that god, called by the same name (with of course a different termination), invested with the same attributes, and looked upon as his sister[5]. This need not surprise any one who has paid ordinary attention to systematic mythology; for we constantly find in all polytheisms sets of duplicate divinities, male and female[6]. Now this is most particularly the case with those divinities who were the *ἀρχηγέται* of the different nations. Thus there was both a Romus and a Roma[7], a Vitellius and a Vitellia[8]. In some instances it may be accounted for from the fact that the original division of the nation has been two-fold[9]: and in this way we would explain the double form of the national divinity of the Dorians; for it appears to us that they were not always *τριχάϊκες*, but that they at first consisted only of the two branches of the family of Ægimius, the Dymanes and the Pamphylians, and that the Heracleids were not till afterwards incorporated among them[1]. However this may be, the fact is certain; there were two leading divinities in the Dorian religion. Now in the elementary worship of the Pelasgians and Achæans there were also two divinities similarly related. These were the Sun and the Moon, worshipped under the related names of Helios and Selene, and by the Pelasgian old-inhabitants of Italy, as well under names connected with the Greek, as under the names of Janus or Dianus, and Diana[2]. In Greece, however, the original names of these divinities fell into disuse at an early period, and were rather employed to designate the natural objects themselves than the celestial powers whom they were supposed to typify; and Bacchus or Dionysus was adopted as a new name for the sun-god, and Deo or Demeter for the goddess of the Moon[3]. That the origin of these deities was un-Grecian, cannot, we think, be doubted: but whether their worship was derived from Thrace, from Tyre, or from Ægypt, is very uncertain and not very important. Connected in many of their attributes with the old elementary worship of the Pelasgians, they soon established themselves as constituent parts of that worship, and were at length blended and confused with the gods of the country. Dionysus was the wine-god; Deo, the fertile earth from which the vine sprang up.

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[2] See the spirited drinking song by Hybrias, the Cretan, Athen. p. 695, F. and cf. Isocr. *Panath.* p. 326, Bekker: *Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀμελήσαντες γεωργιῶν καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἁπάντων.*

[3] See Müller's Dorians, ii. ch. 10. § 8, and above, p. 12.

[4] Müller's Dor. ii. ch. 8, § 15.

[5] See Müller's Dor. ii. ch. 9. § 2, notes (*u*) and (*x*) especially. Buttmann, Mytholog. i. p. 16.

[6] See Niebuhr, *Hist. Rom.* i. p. 100, 101. And sometimes deities of doubtful sex: compare Thirlwall in the Philol. Museum, vol. i. p. 116, 117; and on the androgynous character of Bacchus, see Welcker on the Frogs of Aristophanes, p. 224.

[7] Malden's Rome, p. 123.

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[8] Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. i. p. 14.

[9] Niebuhr, i. p. 287; comp. 224.

[1] See Müller's Dor. i. ch. 1. § 8.

[2] Ἥλιος and Σελήνη are connected like ὕλη and Sylva; Sol and (Se)luna are the same words under another form.

On Janus, or Dianus, see Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. i. p. 83; Buttmann, Mytholog. ii. p. 73; Döderlein, Lat. Synon. und Etym. i. p. 6. There was also a Ἕκατος as well as a Ἑκάτη. (See Alberti's note on Hesych. s. v. Ἑκάτοιο.) Mr. Scott, of Brasenose College, Oxford, has given a further development of these principles in a very ingenious and satisfactory essay on the mythology of Io, which appeared in a recent number of the Classical Museum.

[3] That Bacchus was the sun-god clearly appears from the authorities quoted by Welcker (Nachtrag zur Trilogie, p. 190).

How natural, then, was the transition from the god who gave wine to mortals, to the Sun to whose influence its growth was mainly owing! But if he ascended from earth to heaven, it was necessary that his sister deity should go with him; and as his bride Ariadne shone among the stars, so might Demeter, his mother, sister, or wife, be also translated to the Moon, and rule amid the lights of night. Indeed, Bacchus himself is sometimes represented as a night-god, and in Sophocles he is invoked as the choragus, or choir-leader, of the fire-breathing stars, as one celebrated by nocturnal invocations[4]. Thus Bacchus and Demeter were the representatives of those two heavenly bodies by which the husbandmen measured the returning seasons, and as such, though not immediately connected with agriculture[5], are invoked by the learned Virgil at the commencement of the Georgics[6]. They also represented the earth and its productions: but there is still another phase which they exhibit; they were, in the third place, the presiding deities of the under-world[7]. This also admits of an obvious interpretation. The Greeks, as a consequence of their habit of imparting actual objective existence with will and choice to every physical cause, considered the cause of any thing as also in some measure the cause of its contrary. Thus Apollo is not only the cause, but also the preventer of sudden death[8]: Mars causes the madness of Ajax[9], he is therefore supposed to have cured the hero of his disease[1]; the violent wind which raised the billows also lulls them to rest[2]; night, which puts an end to day, also brings the day to light[3]; and Bacchus, the bright and merry god, is also the superintendent of the orphic or black rites; the god of life, he is also the god of death; the god of light, he is also the ruling power in the nether regions[4].

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[4] Antig. 1130.

[5] Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 191.

[6] i. 5—7.

—— Vos, O clarissima mundi
Lumina, labentem cœlo qui ducitis annum,
Liber et alma Ceres.

[7] Herod. ii. 123.

[8] Müller's Dor. ii. ch. 6. § 2, 3.

[9] Soph. Aj. 179.

[1] Id. ibid. 706.

[2] Id. ibid. 674.

[3] Id. Trachin. 94. For this reason, says Eustath. ad Iliad. A. p. 22, Apollo is called the son of Latona, τουτέστι, νυκτός. Conversely Horat. Carm. Sec. 10.

Alme sol, curru nitido diem qui
Promis et celas.

[4] Herod. ii. 123.

His worship consequently partook of the same variations; and while, on the one hand, his sufferings and mischances were bewailed, on the other hand, as the god of light, wine, and generation, as the giver of life and of all that renders life desirable, his rites were celebrated with suitable liveliness and mirth. That mimicry should enter largely into such a worship, is only what we should expect[5]. A religion which recognizes a divinity in the great objects of nature,—which looks upon the sun and moon as visible representatives of the invisible rulers of the earth, and sky, and under-world, is essentially imitative in all its rites. The reason why such a religion should exist at all, is, as we have already shown in a general way, also a reason why the ceremonies of it should be accompanied by mimicry. The men who could consider the Sun as the visible emblem of an all-seeing power who from day to day performs his constant round, the cause of light and life; the Moon, his sister goddess, who exercises the same functions by night; the two though distant (ἕκατοι) yet always present powers (προστατήριοι); the men who could see in the circling orbs of night "the starry nymphs who dance around the pole;" such men, we say, would not be long in finding out some means of representing these emblems on earth. If the Sun and the ever-revolving lights were fit emblems and suggestions of a deity, the circling dance round the blazing altar was an obvious copy of the original symbols, and an equally apt representation[6].

The heavenly powers became gods of the earth, and it was reasonable that the co-ordinate natural causes of productiveness should also have their representatives, who would form the attendants of the personified primal causes of the same effects. The sun-god therefore, when he roamed the earth, was properly attended by the Sileni, the deities presiding over running streams[7]; the goddess of the Moon by the Naiades, the corresponding female divinities; nay, sometimes the two bands united to form one merry train[8]. To these Sileni were added a mixture of man and goat called Satyrs, who were sometimes confounded with the former, though their origin appears to have been quite different; for while the Sileni were real divinities of an elementary religion, the Satyrs were only the deified representatives of the original worshippers[9], who probably assumed as portions of their droll costume the skin of the goat, which they had sacrificed as a welcome offering to their wine-god[1].

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[5] Above, p. 9. The mirror which is given to Bacchus by Vulcan is an emblem of the mimetic character of his worship—*οἷον Διονύσου ἐν κατόπτρῳ*, Plotinus iv. 3, 12. (See the passages quoted by Creuzer in his note on p. 707, 1, 3, of his edition.)

[6] See the author *περὶ λυρικῶν*, apud Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* iv. p. 458. *Rhein. Mus.* 1833, p. 169. Cf. note on Soph. *Ant.* 1113, p. 224. Though all polytheisms are connected with the production of the mimetic arts, the modes of imitation differ with the nature of the religion. The *symbols* of an elementary religion are the objects of imitation; but in a mental religion, art is called upon to produce from the ideal a visible symbol. The mimicry of *action* is the result of the former, the mimicry of *sculpture* of the latter. Hence the primitive gods, who were parts of an elementary worship, were not originally represented by statues. (Comp. Müller, Eumen. § 89, 90. 93.) "Ye eldest gods," says Ion,

"Who in no statues of exactest form
Are palpable; who shun the azure heights
Of beautiful Olympus, and the sound
Of ever-young Apollo's minstrelsy." *Talfourd's* Ion, act iii. sc. 2.

Such was the religion of Bacchus when it found its way into Greece; and there is no doubt that it was speedily incorporated with that of the sun-god, and the mixed religion became prevalent both within and without the Peloponnese. The Dorians, then, having a pair of deities corresponding in many respects to those objects of elementary worship which they found established in most of the countries they subdued, very naturally adapted their own religion to the similar one already subsisting, and Dionysus took or maintained his place by the side of Apollo even in the Delphic worship[2]. The dances of Bacchus, in their original character, resembled those of Apollo; for they were also military[3]: and perhaps the occasionally gymnastic nature of the former may be considered as a reason for the acceptance of this religion by the warlike Dorians[4], in addition to the approximation to mimicry in the Apollonian dances, to which we have already adverted.

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[7] Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 214.

[8] Strabo, p. 468.

[9] Strabo, p. 466: *τούτους γάρ τινας δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν, κ. τ. λ.* p. 471: *καὶ ὅτι οὐ πρόπολοι θεῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ προσηγορεύθησαν.*

[1] Varro de R. R. i. 2. 18, 19. Virgil, Georg. ii. 376—383. Ovid, Fast. i. 349—360. Eurip. Bacch. 138.

[2] Above, p. 9, note 9.

[3] Strabo, p. 466.

[4] There were races at Sparta between young women in honour of Bacchus. Hesych. *Διονυσιάδες. ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι.* Pausan. iii. 13, 7: *τῷ δὲ ἥρωϊ τούτῳ (Διονύσου ἡγεμόνι) πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες* [l. *Λευκόποδες*]. *τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἕνδεκα ἃς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμου προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα· δρᾷν δὲ οὕτω σφισὶν ἦλθεν ἐκ Δελφῶν.* Something of the same kind appears to be alluded to in Eurip. Bacch. 853, seqq.: *ἆρ' ἐν παννυχίοις χοροῖς θήσω ποτὲ λευκὸν πόδ' ἀναβακχεύουσα.*

The Bacchic hymn, which was first raised to the rank of choral and lyric poetry among the Dorians, was the *Dithyramb*, which is regularly opposed to the *Pæan*[5]. Originally, no doubt, it was nothing more than a Comus, and one too of the wildest and most Corybantic character. A crowd of worshippers, under the influence of wine, danced up to and around the blazing altar of Jupiter. They were probably led by a flute-player, and accompanied by the Phrygian tambourins and cymbals, which were used in the Cretan worship of Bacchus[6]. The subject of the song was properly the birth of Bacchus[7], but it is not improbable that his subsequent adventures and escapes may have been occasionally celebrated[8]; and it is a reasonable conjecture that the Coryphæus occasionally assumed the character of the god himself, while the rest of the chorus or comus represented his noisy band of thyrsus-bearing followers[9]. Whatever opinion we may agree to form respecting the etymology of the name, it is at least clear, from any justifiable analysis of the word Δι-θύραμβος, that it was addressed to the king of the gods[1]; and Bacchus belonged, as we have already seen, to a branch of Greek religion which admitted an assumption of his character on the part of his votaries.

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[5] Plut. *De EI Delphico*, p. 593: *μιξοβόαν γάρ, Αἰσχύλος φησί, πρέπει διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν σύγκοινον Διονύσῳ· τῷ δὲ* [*Ἀπόλλωνι*] *παιᾶνα τεταγμένην καὶ σώφρονα μοῦσαν.* Ibid. p. 594: *τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παιᾶνι χρῶνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες διθύραμβον, τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται τὸν θεόν.* See also above, p. 17, note 5.

[6] Euripides, *Bacch.* 120—133, distinctly identifies the worship of Bacchus with the Corybantic adoration of Demeter.

[7] Plato, Legg. iii. p. 700, B: *παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο Διονύσου γένεσις, οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος.*

[8] This may be inferred from Herod. v. 67: *καὶ δὴ πρὸς, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέωντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον.*

[9] Bacchus is called *ὁ ἔξαρχος* by the Chorus of Bacchanalians in Euripides (*Bacch.* 141), and it seems obvious that the dithyramb must have endeavoured to represent the *θίασος* in all its parts.

[1] We have elsewhere discussed the etymology of this word at some length, (*New Cratylus*, p. 394, sqq.) and have endeavoured to show that it is the word *θύραμβος* = *θρίαμβος* appended to the dative of *Ζεύς*; that the termination is *ἄμβος* = *ἴαμβος*, a word denoting a dance of people in close order, or a hymn sung by such a body; and that the root *θυρ* = *θρι* is the same as that which is found in *θύρ-σος*. To this opinion we still adhere. The only doubtful point, as it appears to us, is the explanation of the root of *θύρσος*. A writer in the Classical Museum proposes to connect *θύραμβος* with *θόρυβος*. If the one were really a by-form of the other, it would be *θόρυμβος*, not *θύραμβος*. Cf. *κόρυμβος*, *ἴθυμβος*, &c. As however the dithyrambic dance was called *τυρ-βασία*, (Jul. Poll. iv. 104: *τυρβασία δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ ὄρχημα τὸ διθυραμβικόν*,) and as the root *θυρ-*, *θορ-*, *θρο-*, *θρι-*, might be con-

(ARION, a celebrated cithara-player (*κιθαρῳδός*) of Methymna in Lesbos, who flourished in the days of Stesichorus and Periander, (*i. e.* about 600 B. C.) is generally admitted to have been the inventor of the *cyclic chorus* (*κύκλιος χορός*), in which the Dithyramb was danced around the blazing altar by a band of fifty men or boys[2], to a lyric acompaniment.) So intimately is Arion connected with this improvement, that he is called the son of *Cycleus*. We must be very careful not to confuse between this invention, or adaptation, of Arion's, and the improvements introduced into the older style of Dithyrambic poetry, some one hundred years later, by Lasos of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar and the rival of Simonides[3]. (It is quite clear that the Dithyramb of Lasos gave rise to the style of poetry which existed under that name for many years, after the full development of Tragedy and Comedy, and which is always distinguished from the dramatic chorus. Instead of passing from the flute of the Comus to the lyre of the Chorus, it multiplied the appoggiaturas of the flute accompaniment[4].) Instead of assuming more and more a dramatic form, it is expressly described as having been distinguished from Tragedy and Comedy by its expository style, and by the pre-eminence given to the poet's own individuality[5]. Instead of approximating to the language of ordinary life, it became more and more turgid, bombastic, affected, and unnatural. Even Lasos himself indulged in an excess of artificial refinement. He composed odes, from which

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nected with that of *τύρβη*, *turba*, from which this *τυρβασία* is formed, a question might arise whether the name of the *θύρσος* was derived from the tumultuous clamours (*θρόος*, *θροέω*, *θρύλλος*, &c.) of the *θίασος* of Bacchus ; or whether it was expressive of the symbolical meaning of the Bacchic staff with its accompaniments.

[2] Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 26. Simon. Epigr. 76 :

Ξεινοφίλου δὲ τις υἱὸς Ἀριστείδης ἐχορήγει
Πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν καλὰ μαθόντι χορῷ.

[3] Some of the older grammarians were unable to make this distinction. Thus the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Aves*, 1403) says : *Ἀντίπατρος δὲ καὶ Εὐφρόνιος ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασί φασι τοὺς κυκλίους χοροὺς στῆσαι πρῶτον Λᾶσον τὸν Ἑρμιονέα, οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότεροι Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Δικαίαρχος Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον.*

[4] Plut. *Mus.* p. 666, Wyttenb. : *Λᾶσος δὲ ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς εἰς τὴν διθυραμβικὴν ἀγωγὴν μεταστήσας τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τῇ τῶν αὐλῶν πολυφωνίᾳ κατακολουθήσας πλείοσί τε φθόγγοις καὶ διεῤῥιμμένοις χρησάμενος εἰς μετάθεσιν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἤγαγε μουσικήν.*

[5] Plat. *de Republ.* iii. p. 394, c : *ὅτι τῆς ποιήσεώς τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἡ μὲν διὰ μιμήσεως ὅλη ἐστίν, ὥσπερ σὺ λέγεις τραγῳδία τε καὶ κωμῳδία, ἡ δὲ δι' ἀπαγγελίας αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιητοῦ, εὕροις δ' ἂν αὐτὴν μάλιστά που ἐν διθυράμβοις.*

the sibilants were studiously excluded; and his rhythms were conveyed in prolix metres, which dragged their slow length along, in full keeping with the pompous phraseology, which was to the last days of Greek literature regarded as a leading characteristic of the Dithyramb[6]. Pindar, the great pupil of Lasos, speaks with disapprobation of this style of Dithyramb, which, however, his own better example failed to correct: "Formerly," he says, "the Dithyramb crawled along in lengthy rhythms, and the *s* was falsified in its utterance[7]." Again, while the Dithyramb, as reformed by Arion, clung to the antistrophic and epodic forms introduced into the chorus by his contemporary Tisias, who derived his better-known surname *Stesichorus*, from the stability which he thus gave to the movements of his well-taught body of dancers[8], the Dithyramb of Lasus eventually became monostrophic, and returned in form to the original Comus, in the same proportion as it reverted to its original mimicry[9]. Above all, while the Dithyramb of Arion, influenced by the sedateness of the Doric muse, shook off by degrees all remembrances of the drunken frolics in which it took its rise, the other Dithyramb retained to the end many of its original characteristics. Epicharmus, who was a contemporary of Lasos, alludes to it in precisely the same manner as Archilochus, who flourished two hundred years earlier. That ancient poet says, that "he knows how to lead off the Dithyramb, the beautiful song of Dionysus, when his mind is dizzy with the thunder of wine[1].” Epicharmus tells us that “there is no Dithyramb, if you drink water[2].” And Simonides, the rival of Lasos, describes the Dithyramb as sung by noisy Bacchanalians crowned with fillets and chaplets of roses, and bearing the ivy-wreathed thyrsus[3].

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[6] See Aristoph. *Pax*, 794—7. *Aves*, 1373, sqq. Hence *διθυραμβώδης* signifies tumid and bombastic. Plato, *Cratyl*. p. 409, c. Cf. *Hipp. Maj*. p. 292, c. Dionys. Hal. *de adm. vi Dem*. p. 1043, 10. Philostrat. p. 21, 6: *λόγων ἰδέαν οὐ διθυραμβώδη*, on which the Scholiast published by G. I. Bekker (*Heidelbergæ*, 1818) says: *διθυραμβώδη συνθέτοις ὀνόμασι σεμνυνομένην καὶ ἐκτοπωτάτοις πλάσμασι ποικιλλομένην· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ οἱ διθύραμβοι ἅτε διονυσίων τελετῶν ἀφωρμημένοι.*

[7] *Fragm*. 47: *Πρὶν μὲν εἷρπε σχοινοτένειά τ' ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβων*
Καὶ τὸ σὰν κίβδαλον ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπὸ στομάτων.

The adjective *σχοινοτενὴς* refers to rhythm, as appears from Hermogenes, *de Invent*. iv. 4. (vol. iii. p. 158, Walz,) who after defining the *κόμμα* and the *κῶλον* says: *τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἡρωϊκὸν σχοινοτενὲς κέκληται χρήσιμον προοιμίοις μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς τῶν προοιμίων περιβολαῖς.* The second line alludes to the *ᾠδαὶ ἄσιγμοι* of Lasus: see Athen. viii. p. 455, c.

[8] See the explanations given by the grammarians and lexicographers of the proverbial phrases *πάντα ὀκτώ, τρία Στησιχόρου*, and *οὐδὲ τὰ τρία Στησιχόρου γιγνώσκεις*. With regard to the significance of his name, as applicable to the Bacchic Chorus in particular, it is worthy of remark that when the Delphic oracle (*apud Dem*. Mid. p. 531.) enjoins the establishment of the Dorian form of Dionysiac worship at Athens, it expressly uses the phrases *ἱστάναι χορόν*.

[9] Aristotle, *Probl*. xix. 15. p. 918, Bekker: *μᾶλλον γὰρ τῷ μέλει ἀνάγκη μιμεῖσθαι ἢ τοῖς ῥήμασιν· διὸ καὶ οἱ διθύραμβοι, ἐπειδὴ μιμητικοὶ ἐγένοντο, οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν ἀντιστρόφους, πρότερον δὲ εἶχον.*

Although Arion was a Lesbian, it was in the great Dorian city of Corinth that he introduced his great choral improvements. In enumerating the various inventions which were traced to that city, Pindar asks: “Where else did the graces of Bacchus first make their appearance with the ox-driving Dithyramb?” alluding to the ox which was sacrificed as a type of the god, who was sometimes worshipped under this form[4]. The account which is given of the specific improvements imported into the Dithyramb by Arion, though brief, is very distinct; and it is quite possible, from the notices which have come down to us, to draw up an accurate description of this Bacchic chorus as it was exhibited at Corinth in the days of Periander.

Of our authorities, the two most explicit are the earliest and the most recent, which stand related to one another as text and commentary. Herodotus tells us that “Arion was the most eminent cithara-player of his time, and that he was the first, as far as Herodotus knew, who made poems for the Dithyramb, who gave a name to these poems, and regularly taught the Chorus; and that he did this at Corinth[5].” The lexicographer

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[1] Above, p. 14, note 8.

[2] *Apud Athen.* p. 628, B:

οὐκ ἔστι διθύραμβος, ὅκχ' ὕδωρ πίῃς.

[3] Simonides, Frag. 150, Bergk. *Anthol. Pal.* ii. p. 542:

Πολλάκι δὴ φυλῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος ἐν χοροῖσιν Ὧραι
Ἀνωλόλυξαν κισσοφόροις ἐπὶ διθυράμβοις
Αἱ Διονυσιάδες, μίτραισι δὲ καὶ ῥόδων ἀώτοις
σοφῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐσκίασαν λιπαρὰν ἔθειραν,
Οἳ τόνδε τρίποδα σφίσι μάρτυρα Βακχίων ἀέθλων
Θῆκαν· Κικυννεὺς δ' Ἀντιγένης ἐδίδασκεν ἄνδρας.

The student, however, must take care to remember that the Dithyramb never actually became a *Comus* after it had once been raised to the dignity of a Chorus. Even Pindar's processional songs, though nominally performed by a *Comus*, were invested with the dignity of Choral poetry, and Comedy itself became at last choral. See note on Pindar, *Fragm.* 45. p. 344.

[4] *Olymp.* xii. 18: *ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφανεν*
Σὺν βοηλάτᾳ χάριτες διθυράμβῳ;

[5] Herod. i. 23: *Ἀρίονα — ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον· καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.*

Suidas gives the same information, but at greater length, and in such a manner as to show that Herodotus was by no means his only authority. He says: "Arion, the Methymnæan, a lyric poet, the son of Cycleus, was born about the 38th Olympiad. Some have told us that he was a scholar of Alcman. He is said to have been the inventor of the tragic style; and to have been the first to introduce a standing-chorus, and to sing the Dithyramb; and to give a name to what was sung by the Chorus; and to introduce Satyrs speaking in verse [6]." As these accounts are in strict agreement with one another, and with all the scattered and fragmentary notices of Arion which we meet with elsewhere [7], we may conclude that we have here a true tradition, and proceed to interpret it accordingly. It appears, then, that the following were the improvements which the Methymnæan citharœdus introduced into the Corinthian Dithyramb. 1. He composed regular poems for this dance[8]. Previously, the leaders of the wild irregular Comus, which danced the Dithyramb, bewailed the sorrows of Bacchus, or commemorated his wonderful birth in spontaneous effusions accompanied by suitable action, for which they trusted to the inspirations of the wine-cup. This is the meaning of Aristotle's assertion that this primitive Tragedy was "extempore" (*αὐτοσχεδιαστική* [9]), and some such view of the case is necessary to explain Archilochus' boast that he can play the part of leader in the Dithyramb when the wine is in his head [1]; for this presumes a sudden impulse rather than a premeditated effort. Arion, however, by composing regular poems to be sung to the lyre, at once raised the Dithyramb to a literary position, and laid the foundations of the stately superstructure which was afterwards erected. 2. He turned the *Comus*, or moving crowd of worshippers, into a standing Chorus [2] of the same kind as that which gave Stesichorus his surname. In fact, the steps of the altar of Bacchus became a stage on which lyric poetry in his honour was solemnly recited, and accompanied by corresponding gesticulations. 3. He was the inventor of the *tragic style* (τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὑρετής). This means that he introduced a style of music or harmony adapted to and intended for a chorus of Satyrs[3]. For the word τράγος, "*he-goat,*" was another name for σάτυρος, the goat-eared attendant of Bacchus[4]; and we have just seen that Suidas specifies the appearance of satyrs "discoursing," or holding a sort of dialogue, in verse, as one of the peculiarities of Arion's new Dithyramb. 4. He gave a name to what was sung by the Chorus[5]. What name? Not διθύραμβος, for that was the common designation in the time of Archilochus, some one hundred years before. As Arion substituted for the riotous Comus a stationary and well-trained Chorus, that which was sung—the ἀοιδή—could not be a κωμῳδία or *Comedy;* but, as being the hymn of a Chorus of τράγοι or "satyrs," it was naturally termed a τραγῳδία[6]. This name could have nothing to do with the goat, which was the subsequent prize of the early Attic Tragedy; for we are expressly told, that in Arion's days the ox was the prize[7]. Nor could it imply that the goat was the object of the song, as if τραγῳδός signified a man ὃς τράγον ἀείδει[8]. But as κιθαρῳδός means a man who sings to the cithara, so τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός denote the singer whose words are accompanied by the gesticulations or movements of a chorus of Satyrs, or a Comus of revellers. That the form of Doric

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[6] Suidas: *Ἀρίων Μηθυμναῖος, λυρικός, Κυκλέως υἱός, γέγονε κατὰ τὴν λη΄ ὀλυμπιάδα· τινὲς δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Ἀλκμᾶνος ἱστόρησαν αὐτόν. ἔγραψε δὲ ᾄσματα, προοίμια εἰς ἔπη β΄. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὑρετὴς γενέσθαι, καὶ πρῶτος χορὸν στῆσαι καὶ διθύραμβον ᾆσαι καὶ ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ καὶ σατύρους εἰσενεγκεῖν ἔμμετρα λέγοντας.*

[7] Dio ii. p. 101. Phot. Cod. 239. p. 985. Schol. Pind. Ol. xiii. 18. Schol. Aristoph. Aves 1403.

[8] This is the true force of the phrases *ποιῆσαι, ᾆσαι τὸ διθύραμβον.*

[9] Aristot. *Poet.* c. iv.

[1] See the lines of Archilochus quoted above, pp. 14, 28.

[2] Suidas: *χορὸν στῆσαι·* Schol. Pind. *ἔστησε δὲ αὐτὸν [τὸν κύκλιον χορόν].*

This standing chorus nevertheless might perform ἐξελιγμοί and other evolutions on the ground to which it was limited. The Chorus, as a whole, was stationary, though the separate dancers were in motion.

[3] On the τρόποι, "styles" or "harmonies" of Greek music, the student may consult Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* i. p. 152.

[4] Hesych. Τράγους· σατύρους—διὰ τὸ τράγων ὦτα ἔχειν. Etym. M. τραγῳδία ὅτι τὰ πολλὰ οἱ χοροὶ ἐκ σατύρων συνίσταντο, οὓς ἐκάλουν τράγους.

[5] Herodotus says, ὀνομάσαντα τὸν διθύραμβον: but Suidas more definitely, ὀνομάσαι τὸ ᾀδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροῦ.

[6] It is pretty clear that τραγῳδία was the name of a species of lyrical poetry antecedent to, and independent of the Attic Drama. See Böckh in the Appendix to this Chapter. Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 244: "The lyrical Tragedy was a transition step between the Dithyramb and the regular drama. It resembled the Dithyramb in representing by a chorus Dionysian and other myths, (hence the Pæans of Xenocritus were called myths, because they related heroic tales,) and differed from it in being sung to the lyre, and not to the flute."

[7] Athen. p. 456, D. Schol. ad Pind. *Ol.* xiii. 18.

[8] This is Ritter's opinion; *ad Arist. Poet.* p. 113.

Chorus, which Arion first adapted to the Dithyramb, was the *Pyrrhic*, appears from what has been stated above[0]. It was probably not till the days of Thespis that the *Gymnopædic* dance appeared as the Tragic Emmeleia. In Arion's time the *tragic style* was still a form of the Dithyramb, strictly confined to the worship of Bacchus, to which the poet had been habituated in the early days of his Lesbian life[1], formally satyric in the habiliments of its performers, and in every sense a new and important branch of the Dorian lyric poetry.

About the time when Arion made these changes in the Dithyramb at Corinth, we read that a practice began to obtain in the neighbouring city of Sicyon which could not be altogether unconnected with Arion's "tragic style." The hero Adrastus was there honoured with Tragic Choruses. And the tyrant Cleisthenes, for political reasons, restored these choruses to Bacchus[2]. The tendency, which was thus checked, shows that the Dithyrambic Chorus of Arion had proved itself well adapted for the representation of tragic incidents, and especially of those misfortunes which were traceable to an evil destiny; for Adrastus was a type of unavoidable suffering[3], brought down by the unappeasable vengeance of heaven; and every reader of the later Greek Drama is aware that this was a main ingredient in the plots of the more finished Tragedies, in which the divine Nemesis was always at work. There may, therefore, be some foundation for the claims set up by the Sicyonians[4]. By transferring the Bacchic Chorus to the celebration of other heroes, they made a step even beyond Arion towards the introduction of dramatic poetry properly so called; and it is very possible that Epigenes of Sicyon may have been the first of a series of sixteen lyrical dramatists ending with Thespis[5], to whom, as we shall shortly see, we owe the actor[6], the dramatic dialogue, the stage, and the epic elements of the Athenian Tragedy.

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[0] It appears too from Aristophanes (*Ranæ*, 153) that Kinesias, who was a celebrated Dithyrambist, was also renowned for his Pyrrhics.

[1] Bähr *ad Herod. l. c.*

[2] *Οἱ δὲ Σικυώνιοι ἐώθεσαν μεγαλωστὶ κάρτα τιμᾷν τὸν Ἄδρηστον . . . . τά τε δὴ ἄλλα οἱ Σικυώνιοι ἐτίμων τὸν Ἄδρηστον, καὶ δὴ πρός, τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον· τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον οὐ τιμέωντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄδρηστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην θυσίην τῷ Μελανίππῳ· ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἄδρηστόν οἱ πεποίητο.* Herod. v. 67.

[3] His name, as is well known, indicated as much. See Antimach. p. 71. (apud Strab. p. 588.)

[4] *τραγῳδίας εὑρεταὶ μὲν Σικυώνιοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοί.* Themist. Orat. xxvii. 337, B.

See also Athen. xiv. p. 629, A. *Ἀμφίων—ἄγεσθαί φησιν ἐν Ἑλικῶνι παίδων ὀρχήσεις μετὰ σπουδῆς παρατιθέμενος ἀρχαῖον ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·*

Ἀμφότερ', ὠρχεύμαν τε καὶ ἐν Μώσαις ἐδίδασκον
Ἄνδρας, ὁ δ' αὐλήτας ἦν Ἄνακος Φιαλεύς·
Εἰμὶ δὲ Βακχείδας Σικυώνιος. ἦ ῥα θεοῖσι
Τοῖς Σικυῶνι καλὸν τοῦτ' ἀπεκεῖτο γέρας.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

ORCHOMENIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

1583.

Μνασίνω ἄρχοντος, ἀγωνο-
θετίοντος τῶν Χαριτεισίων
Εὐάριος τῶ Πάντωνος, τύδε
ἐνίκωσαν τὰ Χαριτείσια·
σαλπίγκτας
Φιλῖνος Φιλίνω Ἀθανεῖος,
κάρουξ
Εἰρώδας Σωκράτιος Θειβεῖος,
ποείτας
Μήστωρ Μήστορος Φωκαιεύς,
ῥαψάϝυδος
Κράτων Κλίωνος Θειβεῖος,
αὐλειτὰς
Περιγένεις Ἡρακλίδαο Κουζικηνός,
αὐλάϝυδος
Δαμήνετος Γλαύκω Ἀργῖος,
κιθαριστὰς
Ἀγέλοχος Ἀσκλαπιογένιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,
κιθαράϝυδος
Δαμάτριος Ἁμαλωΐω Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Μουρίνας,
τραγάϝυδος
Ἀσκλαπιόδωρος Πουθέαο Ταραντῖνος,
κωμάϝυδος
Νικόστρατος Φιλοστράτω Θειβεῖος,
τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμάϝυδος
Εὔαρχος Ε[ἰ]ροδότω Κορωνεύς.

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[5] Suidas in Θέσπις.

[6] Athen. xiv. p. 630, c: *συνέστηκε δὲ καὶ Σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγῳδία· διόπερ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἰχον.*

1584.

Οἵδε ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Χαριτησίων·
σαλπιστὴς
Μῆνις Ἀπολλωνίου Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου,
κήρυξ
Ζωΐλος Ζωΐλου Πάφιος,
ῥαψῳδὸς
Νουμήνιος Νουμηνίου Ἀθηναῖος,
ποητὴς ἐπῶν
Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,
αὐλητὴς
Ἀπολλόδοτος Ἀπολλοδότου Κρησαῖος,
αὐλῳδὸς
Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,
κιθαριστὴς
Φανίας Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ Φανίου, Αἰολεὺς ἀπὸ Κύμης,
κιθαρῳδὸς
Δημήτριος Παρμενίσκου Καλχηδόνιος,
τραγῳδὸς
Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,
κωμῳδὸς
Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,
ποητὴς Σατύρων
Ἀμινίας Δημοκλέους Θηβαῖος,
ὑποκριτὴς
Δωρόθεος Δωροθέου Ταραντῖνος,
ποιητὴς τραγωδιῶν
Σοφοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,
ὑποκριτὴς
Καβίριχος Θεοδώρου Θηβαῖος,
ποιητὴς κωμῳδιῶν
Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος,
ὑποκριτὴς
Ἄτταλος Ἀττάλου Ἀθηναῖος.

Οἵδε ἐνίκων τὸν νεμητὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Ὁμολωΐων·
παῖδας αὐλητὰς
Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,
παῖδας ἡγεμόνας
Στρατῖνος Εὐνίκου Θηβαῖος,
ἄνδρας αὐλητὰς
Διοκλῆς Καλλιμήλου Θηβαῖος,
ἄνδρας ἡγεμόνας
Ῥόδιππος Ῥοδίππου Ἀργεῖος,
τραγῳδὸς
Ἱπποκράτης Ἀριστομένους Ῥόδιος,
κωμῳδὸς
Καλλίστρατος Ἐξακέστου Θηβαῖος,
τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδιῶν ποιητὴς
Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀριστίωνος Ἀθηναῖος.

These two Inscriptions were formerly in a chapel of the Virgin at Orchomenus in Bœotia. The stones are now removed. The first Inscription is written in Bœotic, and is supposed by Böckh to be of older date than Olymp. 145 (B. C. 220).

To the foregoing Inscriptions we will add a third; a Thespian Inscription, graved in the later age of the Roman emperors, which relates to the same subject; and then give the inferences which Böckh has drawn from these three interesting Agonistic monuments.

1585.

Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
Ἐνείκων ἐπὶ Φλαουΐῳ Παυλείνῳ ἀγωνοθετοῦντι Μουσῶν, ἐ[π']
ἄρχοντι Μητροδώρῳ τῷ Ὀν[η]σιφόρου·
ποιητὴς προσωδίου
Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεὺς
καὶ Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,
κῆρυξ
Πομπήϊος Ζωσίμου Θεσπιεύς,
σαλπικτὰς
Ζώσιμος Ἐπίκτου Θηβαῖος,
ἐγκωμιογράφος εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα
Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,
ἐγκώμιον εἰς Μούσας
Πούπλιος Ἀντώνιος Μάξιμος Νε[ω]κορείτης,
ποιητὴς εἰς τὸν Αὐτοκράτορα
Αἰμίλιος Ἐπίκτητος Κορίνθιος,
ποίημα εἰς τὰς Μούσας
Δαμόνεικος Δάμωνος Θεσπιεύς,
ῥαψῳδὸς
Εὐτυχιανὸς Κορίνθιος,
πυθαύλας
Φάβιος Ἀντιακὸς Κορίνθιυς,
κ[ι]θαριστὰς
Θεόδωρος Θεοδότου Νεικομηδεύς
[κωμῳδὸς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας]
. . . .
τραγῳδὸς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας
Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπυλλωνίου Ἀσπένδιος,
ποιητὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας
Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,
ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς κωμῳδίας
Ἀντιφῶν Ἀθηναῖος,
ποιη[τὴ]ς καινῆς τραγῳδίας
Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος Ἀθηναῖος,
ὑποκριτὴς καινῆς τραγῳδίας
Ἀγαθήμερος Πυθοκλέους Ἀθηναῖος,
χοραύλης
Ὅσιος Περγαμηνός,
νεαρῳδὸς
Α. Κλώδιος Ἀχιλλεὺς Κορίνθιος,

σατυρογράφος
Μ. Αἰμίλιος Ὑήττιος,
[*]διὰ πάντων
Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεύς.

These Inscriptions were first printed by Böckh at the end of his treatise on the Public Economy of Athens. We subjoin some of the remarks which he there makes upon them. (IIter Band, p. 361, fol.)

“Before I leave these two Inscriptions, I may be permitted to make a few remarks on the games mentioned in them. We find in both, first of all, trumpeters and a herald, who began the games: their art was doubtless an object of contest in most sacred games, and the heralds in particular contended with one another in the gymnic games (Cicero, Fam. v. 12); which may perhaps have been the principal reason why the ancients had trumpeters and heralds, whom no one of the present day could have matched in strength of voice. Comp. Pollux, iv. 86—92; Athen. x. p. 415, F, seqq.; Ælian, V. H. i. 26. These are followed by the Epic poet, together with the Rhapsodist who recited his poem: then we have the flute-player and harper with the persons who sang to these instruments respectively. Next come, in both Inscriptions, Tragedians and Comedians. At the new Charitesia, however, three additional dramatic games are mentioned: ποιητὴς Σατύρων and ὑποκριτής, ποιητὴς τραγῳδιῶν and ὑποκριτής, ποιητὴς κωμῳδιῶν and ὑποκριτής. At the Homoloïa in the second Inscription, Tragedians and Comedians occur, and for the celebration of the victory (τὰ ἐπινίκια) another Comedy, but without actors. It is sufficiently clear from this, that when merely Tragedians and Comedians are mentioned, without actors, as is so often the case in authors and Inscriptions, we are not to understand a play, but only a song: if, however, a Play is to be signified, this must first be determined by some particular addition. As soon as an actor (ὑποκριτὴς) is mentioned, we understand by Tragedy and Comedy a dramatic entertainment. For a long time Tragedians and Comedians alone appeared in the Charitesia at Orchomenus, and it is only in later times that we find there all the three kinds of dramatic representations, when the theatre of Athens had extended its influence on all sides; nevertheless, even then the tragic and comic poets are Athenians, and only the satyrical poet a Theban. But Tragedians and Comedians, as lyric bards, were to be found everywhere from the most ancient times. This has not been properly attended to, and many passages in ancient writers have consequently been considered as enigmatical or suspicious. In the list of Pindar's Works, given by Suidas, we have seventeen δράματα τραγικά. I have no doubt that Pindar wrote Tragedies, but they were lyric poems, and not Dramas. With this remark, we recognize at once what is true or false in this account. Simonides of Ceos is said by the Scholiast on Aristophanes, by Suidas and Eudocia, to have written Tragedies, which Van Goens (p. 51) doubts; but what objection can be raised to this statement, if we only understand in it lyrical and not dramatic Tragedies? Whether the Tragedies of the younger Empedocles (see Suidas in Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, comp. Sturz, Empedocl. p. 86, seqq., where, however, there are all sorts of errors) were just such Dorian lyric Tragedies, or real dramatic exhibitions, I leave undecided. Arion seems to have been considered as the inventor of this lyric goat-song, since the introduction of the tragic manner (*τραγικὸς τρόπος*) is ascribed to this Dithyrambic poet, although he is said to have added satyrs to the chorus as acting persons. (Comp. Fabric. B. Gr. Vol. II. p. 286, Harles' edition.) It is admitted that the Drama grew out of a lyric entertainment, and was formed from the chorus ; but it is not so generally known that among the Dorians and Æolians a lyric Tragedy and Comedy existed before, and along with the dramatic, as a distinct species, but people usually referred merely to the rude lyrical beginnings in the Festal games. Thus tragedies before the time of Thespis remained a thorn in the eyes of critics, which it was needful to have taken out ; and Bentley's services (Opusc. p. 276) in this respect have been very highly estimated. But let not us be deceived by it. The Peloponnesians justly claimed Tragedy as their property (Aristot. Poet. 3) : its invention and completion as a lyrical entertainment belongs undoubtedly to the Sicyonians, whose Tragedies are mentioned by Herodotus (v. 67. comp. Themist. xix. p. 487) : on which account the invention of Comedy also is sometimes attributed to the Sicyonians (Orest. Anthol. part ii. p. 328. 326) ; and Thespis may very well have been the sixteenth from the lyric Tragedian, Epigenes. (Suidas in *Θέσπις* and *οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*, comp. Phot. and Mich. Apostol. in *οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον*.) Aristocles, in his book about the choruses, said very well, (Athen. xiv. 630, c) : *Συνεστήκει δὲ καὶ σατυρικὴ πᾶσα ποίησις τοπαλαιὸν ἐκ χορῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡ τότε τραγῳδία· διόπιρ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὰς εἶχον.* Just so Diogenes (iii. 56) relates, certainly not out of his own learning, that before Thespis the chorus alone played in Tragedy (*διεδραμάτιζε*). This Tragedy, consisting of chorus only, was brought to perfection in very early times, and before the people of Attica, to whom alone the dramatic Tragedy belongs, had appropriated the Drama to themselves : of course only romancers, like the author of the Minos, or dialogue of law, have placed the latter far above Thespis ; a position against which I have expressed my opinion on a former occasion. (Gr. Trag. Princip. p. 254.) . All that I have said is equally applicable to Comedy : in our Inscriptions, we find a lyrical Comedy before the dramatical at Orchomenus ; and lower down, the dramatical Comedy is introduced, as from Attica, along with which an actor is mentioned : the former was the old peculiarity of the Dorians and Æolians, among whom lyric poetry for the most part obtained its completion. Even if we pass over Epicharmus, and the traces of a lyric Comedy in the religious usages of Epidaurus and Ægina, (Herod. v. 83.) the Dorians, and especially the Megarians, might still have had well-founded claims to the invention of Comedy, which, according to Aristotle, they made good. Besides, the view which we have taken of the lyrical Comedy sufficiently proves that the name is derived, not from *κώμη*, but from the merry *κῶμος* : such a one took place at the celebration of the victory, and consequently we find in our Inscriptions *τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμαϝυδός*, and *τὰ ἐπινίκια κωμῳδιῶν ποιητής*, who is certainly in this place a dramatic Comedian, Alexander of Athens. We cannot, however, call Pindar's songs of victory old Comedies : and the greater is the distinction between the lyric and the dramatic Comedy, the less entitled are we to draw, from this view, any conclusions in favour of the opinion that the Pindaric poems were represented with corresponding mimicry."

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[*] “Haud dubie formulæ sententia est, *hunc inter* omnes *victores esse præstantissimum judicatum, victorem inter victores*; unde ultimo loco scriptus est.”—Böckh in loc.

Böckh has reprinted these Inscriptions in his Corpus Inscriptionum, tom. i. pp. 763—7, with some additional remarks in defence of his view from the objections of Lobeck and Hermann.

CHAPTER III.

THE TRAGIC DIALOGUE.—THESPIS.

C'est surtout dans la Tragédie antique, que l'Épopée ressort de partout. Elle monte sur la scène Grecque sans rien perdre en quelque sorte de ses proportions gigantesques et démesurées. Ce que chantaient les rhapsodes, les acteurs le déclament. Voilà tout.

Victor Hugo.

In addition to the choruses, which, together with the accompanying lyrical poetry, we have referred to the Dorians, another species of entertainment had existed in Greece from the very earliest times, which we may consider as peculiar to the Ionian race; for it was in the Ionian colonies that it first sprang up. This was the recitation of poems by wandering minstrels, called rhapsodes (ῥαψῳδοί); a name probably derived from the æsacus[1], a staff (ῥάβδος) or branch (ἔρνος)[2] of laurel or myrtle, which was the symbol of their office. Seated in some conspicuous situation, and holding this staff in the right hand, the rhapsodes chanted in slow *recitativo*, and either with or without a musical accompaniment[3], larger or smaller portions of the national epic poetry, which, as is well known, took its rise in the Ionian states; and, in days when readers were few, and books fewer, were well-nigh the sole depositories of the literature of their country.

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[1] Hesych. *αἴσακος. ὁ τῆς δάφνης κλάδος ὃν κατέχοντες ὕμνουν τοὺς θεούς.* Plutarch. Sympos. p. 615: *Ἦιδον ᾠδὴν τοῦ θεοῦ—ἑκάστῳ μυρσίνης διδομένης ἣν Ἄσακον, οἶμαι διὰ τὸ ᾄδειν τὸν δεξάμενον, ἐκάλουν.* Welcker has established most clearly (Ep. Cycl. p. 364) that *ῥαψῳδὸς* is another form of *ῥαπισῳδὸς* = *ῥαβδῳδός.* Comp. *χρυσόῤ-ῥαπ-ις, β-ραβ-εύς*, and *ῥαπ-ίζεσθαι*, as applied to Homer by Diog. Laert. (ix. 1.)

[2] Hence they were also called *ἀρνῳδοί*, i. e. *ἐρνῳδοί.*

[3] It is difficult to determine the degree of musical accompaniment which the rhapsodes admitted; the rhapsode, as such, could hardly have accompanied himself, as one of his hands would be occupied by his rod. We think Wachsmuth is hardly justified in calling (Hellen. Alterth. ii. 2, 389.) Stesandrus, who sang the Homeric battles to the Cithara at Delphi, a rhapsode. (Athen. xiv. p. 638, A.) Terpander was the first who set the Homeric Poems to regular tunes. (See Müller's Dor. iv. 7, § 11.) On the recitation of the rhapsodists in general, the reader would do well to consult Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 338, fol. Grote, Hist. Gr. Vol. II. p. 184, foll.

Their recitations, however, were not long confined to the Epos. All poetry was equally intended for the ear, and nothing was written but in metre: hence the Muses were appropriately called the children of Memory. Now, the Epos was soon succeeded, but not displaced, by the gnomic and didactic poetry of Hesiod, which, as has been justly observed, was an ornamental appendage of the older form of poetry[4]. These poems therefore were recited in the same way as the Epos[5], and Hesiod himself was a rhapsode[6]. If the *Margites*, in its original form, belonged to the Epic period of Greek poetry, it cannot be doubted that this humorous poem was also communicated to the public by means of recitation. The Epos of Homer, with not a little borrowed from the sententious poetry of Hesiod, formed the basis of the Tragic dialogue; and in the same way the *Margites* contained within itself the germs of Comedy. The change of metre, which alone rendered the transition to the other forms more simple and easy, is universally attributed to the prolific genius of ARCHILOCHUS, one of the greatest names in the history of ancient literature. This truly original poet formed the double rhythm of the trochee from the equal rhythm of the dactyl, and used this metre partly in combination with dactyls, and partly in dipodiæ of its own, which were considered as ultimately equivalent to the dactylic number. He soon proved that his new verses were lighter and more varied than the old heroic hexameters, and employed them for nearly equivalent purposes. At the same time, he formed the inverse double rhythm of the iambic from the anapæst, or inverted dactyl, which was the natural measure of the march, and was probably used from very early days in the songs of the processional comus[7]. Here again he had an admirable vehicle for the violent satire, in which he indulged, and which found its best justification in the scurrilities and outrageous personalities that were bandied to and fro at the feasts of Demeter in his native island of Paros[8], and paved the way for the coarse banter of the old Comedy at Athens. The iambic verse, however, was very soon transferred from personal to general satire, from the invectives of the *Margites*, and from the fierce lampoons of Archilochus, to the more sweeping censures and more sententious generalities of gnomic and didactic poetry. Simonides of Amorgus, who flourished but a little later than Archilochus[9], used the iambic metre in the discussion of subjects little differing from those in which Hesiod delighted. For example, his general animadversions on the female sex are almost anticipated by the humorous indignation of the *Theogony*[1]. But in other passages he approaches to the sententious gravity of the later tragedians. Thus, his reflections on the uncertainty of human life might be taken for a speech from a lost tragedy, if the dialect were not inconsistent with such a supposition[2]. And the same remark is still more applicable to some of the trochaics and iambics of Solon, who lived to witness the first beginnings of Tragedy. Now all this iambic and trochaic poetry was written for rhapsodical recitation: for though we must allow (as even the advocates of the Wolfian hypothesis are willing to admit[3]) that the poems of Archilochus were committed to writing, it cannot be denied that the means of multiplying manuscripts in his time must have been exceedingly scanty; and that, if his opportunities of becoming known had been limited to the number of his readers, he could hardly have acquired his great reputation as a poet. We must, therefore, conclude that his poems, and those of Simonides, were promulgated by recitation; and as such of them as were written in iambics would not be sufficiently diversified in tone and rhythm to form a musical entertainment, we may presume that the recitation of their pieces, even if they were monologues, must have been a near approach to theatric declamation.

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[4] Wachsmuth, Hellen. Alterthumsk. ii. 2, p. 391.

[5] Plato, Legg. ii. p. 658.

[6] Pausan. ix. 30, 3: *καθῆται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπῶν ὅτι ἐπὶ ῥάβδου δάφνης ᾖδεν.* Hesiod could not play on the lyre, x. 7, 2: *λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδον ἀπελαθῆναι τοῦ ἀγωνίσματος ἅτε οὐ κιθαρίζειν ὁμοῦ τῇ ᾠδῇ δεδιδαγμένον.*

[7] See Donaldson's *Greek Grammar*, 647. 651. 656.

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[8] Müller, *Hist. Litt. Gr.* c. xi. § 5. p. 132.

[9] Archilochus is first heard of in the year 708 B.C. (Clinton, F. H. i. p. 175,) and Simonides the elder is placed by Suidas 490 years after the Trojan era. (B.C. 693. See Rhein. Mus. for 1835, p. 356.) It is interesting to observe how the poetry of the colonists in Asia Minor seems to have crept across, step by step, to Attica and other parts of old Greece. Homer represents the greatest bard and rhapsode of the Homeric confraternity in Chios; Hesiod was an Æolian of Cyme; Arion a Lesbian; and the isles of Paros, Amorgos, and Ceos produced Archilochus and the two Simonides'.

[1] Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 591, sqq. Simonides of Amorgus, Fragm. 6, Bergk. The 5th fragment of Simonides, quoted by Clemens Alex. *Strom.* vi. p. 744:

Γυναικὸς οὐδὲν χρῆμ' ἀνὴρ ληΐζεται
'Εσθλῆς ἄμεινον οὐδὲ ῥίγιον κακῆς·

is merely a repetition in Iambics of what Hesiod had previously written in Hexameters (*Op. et D.* 700):

Οὐ μὲν γάρ τι γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ ληΐζετ' ἄμεινον
Τῆς ἀγαθῆς, τῆς δ' αὖτε κακῆς οὐ ῥίγιον ἄλλο.

[2] Simonid. Fr. 1.

[3] Wolf. Proleg. § 17.

Fortunately we are not without some evidence for this view of the case. We learn from Clearchus[4], that "Simonides, the Zacynthian, recited (ἐῤῥαψῴδει) some of the poems of Archilochus, sitting on an arm-chair in the theatres;" and this is stated still more distinctly in a quotation from Lysanias which immediately follows: he tells us that "Mnasion, the rhapsode, in the public exhibitions *acted* some of the iambics of Simonides" (ἐν ταῖς δείξεσι τῶν Σιμωνίδου τινὰς ἰάμβων ὑποκρίνεσθαι[5]). Solon, too, who lived many years after these two poets, and was also a gnomic poet and a writer of iambics, on one occasion committed to memory some of his own elegiacs, and recited them from the herald's bema[6]. It is exceedingly probable, though we have no evidence of the fact, that the gnomes of Theognis were also recited.

The rhapsodes having many opportunities of practising their art, and being on many occasions welcome and expected guests, their calling became a trade, and probably, like that of the Persian story-tellers, a very profitable one. Consequently their numbers increased, till on great occasions many of them were sure to be present, and different parts were assigned to them, which they recited alternately and with great emulation: by this means the audience were sometimes gratified by the recitation of a whole poem at a single feast[7]. In the case of an epic poem, like the Iliad, this was at once a near approach to the theatrical dialogue; for if one rhapsode recited the speech of Achilles in the first book of that poem, and another that of Agamemnon, we may be sure they did their parts with all the action of stage-players.

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[4] Athen. xiv. p. 620, c.

[5] This word is very often used of the rhapsode. See Wolf. Prolegom. p. xcvi. Heyne, Excursus iii. 2. It is also applied to the recitation of the Ionic prose of Herodotus, which may be considered as a still more modern form of the Epos. Athen. xiv. p. 629, D: Ἰάσων δ' ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ φησὶ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θεάτρῳ ὑποκρίνασθαι Ἡγησίαν τὸν κωμῳδὸν τὰ Ἡροδότου.

[6] Plutarch, Solon, viii. 82.

With regard to the old iambic poems we may remark, that they are often addressed in the second person singular. We venture from this to conjecture, and it is only a conjecture, that these fragments were taken from speeches forming parts of moral dialogues, like the mimes of Sophron, from which Plato borrowed the form of his dialogues[8]; for on the supposition that they were recited, we have no other way of accounting for the fact.

At all events, it is quite certain, that these old iambic poems were the models which the Athenian tragedians proposed to themselves for their dialogues[9]. They were written in the same metre, the same moral tone pervaded both, and, in many instances, the dramatists have borrowed not only the ideas but the very words of their predecessors[1]. The rhapsode was not only the forerunner of the actor, but he was himself an actor (*ὑποκριτής*[2]). If, therefore, the difference between the lyric Tragedy of the Dorians and the regular Tragedy of the Athenians consisted in this, that the one had actors (*ὑποκριταὶ*) and the other had none, we must look for the origin of the complete and perfect Attic Drama in the union of the rhapsodes with the Bacchic chorus.

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[7] Plato, Hipparch. p. 228: Ἱππάρχῳ, ὃς . . . . τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη . . . ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ῥαψῳδοὺς παναθηναίοις ἐξ ὑπολήψεως ἐφεξῆς αὐτὰ διϊέναι ὥσπερ νῦν ἔτι οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. Compare Diog. Laert. i. 57, and Suidas v. ὑποβολή.

[8] Plato is said to have had Sophron under his pillow when he died. Sophron—mimorum quidem scriptor, sed quem Plato adeo probavit ut suppositos capiti libros ejus cum moreretur habuisse tradatur. Quintil. i. 10, 17. See Spalding's note.

[9] This is expressly stated by Plutarch, de Musicâ, tom. x. p. 680: ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἰαμβείων τὸ τὰ μὲν λέγεσθαι παρὰ τὴν κροῦσιν, τὰ δὲ ᾄδεσθαι Ἀρχίλοχόν φασι καταδεῖξαι, εἶθ' οὕτω χρήσασθαι τοὺς τραγικούς. Do not the first words apply to a rhythmical recitation by the exarchus, followed by a musical performance by the chorus?

[1] Whole pages might be filled with the plagiarisms of the Attic tragedians from even the small remains of the gnomic poets. The following are a few of the most striking.

Archiloch. p. 30, l. 1. Liebel:

χρημάτων ἄελπτον οὐδέν ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἀπώμοτον·

is repeated by Soph. Antig. 386:

ἄναξ, βροτοῖσιν οὐδέν ἐστ' ἀπώμοτον.

Æsch. Eumen. 603:

τὰ πλεῖστ' ἀμείνον' εὔφροσιν δεδεγμένη·

from Theognis, v. 762. (p. 52, Welcker.)

ὧδ' εἶναι καὶ ἀμείνον' ἐΰφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας.

Æsch. Agam. 36:

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώττης μέγας·

from Theognis, 651, Welcker:

βοῦς μοι ἐπὶ γλώσσης κρατερῷ ποδὶ λὰξ ἐπιβαίνων
ἴσχει κωτίλλειν καίπερ ἐπιστάμενον.

[Soph.

There can be little doubt that the worship of Bacchus was introduced into Attica at a very early period[3]; indeed it was probably the religion of the oldest inhabitants, who, on the invasion of the country by the Ionians, were reduced, like the native Laconians, to the inferior situation of *περίοικοι*, and cultivated the soil for their conquerors. Like all other Pelasgians they were naturally inclined to a country life, and this perhaps may account for the elementary nature of their religion, which with its votaries was thrown aside and despised by the ruling caste. In the quadripartite division of the people of Attica the old inhabitants formed the tribe of the Ægicores or goatherds, who worshipped Dionysus with the sacrifice of goats. But though they were at first kept in a state of inferiority and subjection, they eventually rose to an equality with the other inhabitants of the country. There are very many Attic legends which point to the original contempt for the goatherd's religion, and its subsequent adoption by the other tribes. This is indicated by the freedom of slaves at the Dionysian festivals, by the reference of the origin of the religion to the town Eleutheræ, by the marriage of the King Archon's wife to Bac-

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Soph. Antig. 666:

Τοῦδε [ἄρχοντος] χρὴ κλύειν
Καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τἀνάντια·

(i. e. *μεγάλα καὶ ἄδικα*), from Solon's well-known line:

Ἀρχῶν ἄκουε καὶ δίκαια κἄδικα, as it ought to be read.

[2] When Aristotle says, (Rhet. iii. 1,) *Εἰς τὴν τραγικὴν καὶ ῥαψῳδίαν ὀψὲ παρῆλθεν (ἡ ὑπόκρισις), ὑπεκρίνοντο γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸ πρῶτον*, he evidently means by the word *ὑπόκρισις* the assumption of the poet's person by another; which we conceive to have been the original, as it is the derived, meaning of the word. Compare *ὑπόρχημα*, &c. We think it more than probable that the names of the actors, *πρωταγωνίστης*, &c. were derived from the names of the rhapsodes who recited in succession (*ἐξ ὑπολήψεως*) in the *ῥαψῳδῶν ἀγῶνες*. See Pseudoplat. Hipparch. p. 228, and the other passages quoted by Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 371, fol.

[3] On the early worship of Bacchus in Attica see Welcker's Nachtrag, p. 194, fol. and Phil. Mus. ii. p. 299—307.

chus[4]; and we may perhaps discover traces of a difference of castes in the story of Orestes at the Anthesteria. It was natural, therefore, that the Ægicores, when they had obtained their freedom from political disabilities, should ascribe their deliverance to their tutelary god, whom they therefore called Ἐλευθερος: and in later times, when all the inhabitants of Attica were on a footing of equality, the god Bacchus was still looked upon as the favourer of the commonalty, and as the patron of democracy.

As we have before remarked, it was not till the Athenians had recognized the supremacy of the Delphian oracle, that the Dorian choral worship was introduced into Attica, and it was then applied to the old Dionysian religion of the country with the sanction of the oracle, as appears from the oracle which we have quoted above, and from the legend in Pausanias, that the Delphian oracle assisted Pegasus in transferring the worship of Bacchus from Eleutheræ to Athens[5]. Consequently the cyclic chorus would not be long in finding its way into a country so predisposed for its reception as Attica certainly was; and there is every reason to believe that the Dorian lyric Drama, perhaps with certain modifications, accompanied its parent[6].

The recitations by rhapsodes were a peculiarly Ionian entertainment, and therefore, no doubt, were common in Attica from the very earliest times. At Brauron, in particular, we are told that the Iliad was chanted by rhapsodes[7]. Now the Brauronia was a festival of Bacchus, and a particularly boisterous one, if we may believe Aristophanes[8]. To this festival we refer the passage of Clearchus, quoted by Athenæus[9], in which it is stated that the rhapsodes came forward in succession, and recited in honour of Bacchus. By a combination of these particulars, we can at once establish a connexion between the worship of Bacchus and the rhapsodic recitations. Before, however, we consider the important inferences which may be derived from these facts, we must enter a little into the state of affairs in Attica at the time when the Thespian Tragedy arose.

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[4] —— καὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ ὑμῖν ἔθυε τὰ ἄῤῥητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἶδεν ἃ οὐ προσῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁρᾷν ξένην οὖσαν, καὶ τοιαύτη οὖσα εἰσῆλθεν οἷ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος Ἀθηναίων τοσούτων ὄντων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή, ἐξώρκωσέ τε τὰς γεραιρὰς τὰς ὑπηρετούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόῤῥητα, Pseud. Demosth. in Neær. p. 1369—70. Above p. 9.

[5] i. 2, 5. συνελάβετο δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον.

[6] It seems that the oscilla on the trees referred to the hanging of Erigone, which probably formed the subject of a standing drama with mimic dances like the Sicyonian Tragedies, with which the dramas of Epigenes were connected. Welck. Nachtr. p. 224.

[7] Hesych. Βραυρωνίοις. τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾖδον ῥαψῳδοὶ ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. καὶ Βραυρωνία ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδι Βραυρωνίᾳ ἄγεται καὶ θύεται αἴξ. Does this mention of the sacrifice of a goat point to the rites of the Ægicores?

[8] Pax, 874, and Schol.

[9] At the beginning of the Seventh Book, p. 275, B: Φαγήσια, οἱ δὲ Φαγησιοπόσια προσαγορεύουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὕτη, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ῥαψῳδῶν, ἣν ἦγον

The early political dissensions at Athens were, like those between the *populus* and the *plebs* in the olden times of Roman history, the consequences of an attempt on the part of the inferior orders in an aristocracy of conquest[1] to shake off their civil disabilities, and to put themselves upon an equality with their more favoured fellow-citizens. Solon had in part effected this by taking from the Eupatrids some of their exclusive privileges, and establishing a timocracy in the place of the aristocracy. At this time, Athens was divided into three parties; the Πεδιαῖοι, or the landed aristocracy of the interior; the Πάραλοι, the people dwelling on the coast on both sides of Cape Sunium; and the Διάκριοι or Ὑπεράκριοι, the highlanders who inhabited the north-eastern district of Attica[2]. The first party were for an oligarchy, the last for a democracy, and the second for a mixture of the two forms of government[3]. The head of the democratical faction was Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, of the family of the Codrids, and related to Solon: he was born at Philaidæ, near Brauron, and therefore was by birth a Diacrian. Having obtained by an artifice the sovran power at Athens, he was expelled by a coalition of the other two factions. After a short time, however, Megacles, the leader of the Paralians, being harassed (περιελαυνόμενος[4]) by the aristocratic faction, recalled Pisistratus

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κατὰ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων· ἐν ᾗ παριόντες ἕκαστοι τῷ θεῷ οἷον τιμὴν ἀπετέλουν τὴν ῥαψῳδίαν. Welcker reads *ἑκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν*, and takes quite a different view of this passage, except so far as he agrees with us in referring it to the Brauronia. (Ep. Cycl. p. 391.)

[1] See Arnold's Thucydides, vol. i. p. 620. We think the fact that one of the classes in Attica was called the "Hopletes," points to a conquest of Attica in remote times by the Ionians.

[2] Herod. i. 59: *στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων . . . τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς.*

[3] Plutarch. Sol. xiii. p. 85. *ἦν γὰρ τὸ μὲν τῶν Διακρίων γένος δημοκρατικώτερον, ὀλιγαρχικώτατον δὲ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων, τρίτοι δὲ οἱ Πάραλοι μέσον τινὰ καὶ μεμιγμένον αἱρούμενοι πολιτείας τρόπον.* Comp. Arnold's note on Thucyd. ii. 59.

[4] Herod. i. 60.

and gave him his daughter in marriage. The manner of his return is of the greatest importance in reference to our present object. "There was a woman," says Herodotus, "of the Pæanian Deme, whose name was Phya: she was nearly four cubits in stature, and was in other respects comely to look upon. Having equipped this woman in a complete suit of armour, they placed her in a chariot, and having taught her beforehand how to act her part in the most dignified manner possible, (*καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φαίνεσθαι ἔχουσα*[5],) they drove to the city." He adds, that they sent heralds before her, who, when they got to Athens, told the people to receive with good-will Pisistratus, whom Athena herself honoured above all men, and was bringing back from exile to her own Acropolis. Now we must recollect who were the parties to this proceeding. In the first place, we have Megacles, an Alcmæonid, and therefore connected with the worship of Bacchus[6]; moreover, he was the father of the Alcmæon, whose son Megacles married Agariste, the daughter of Cleisthenes of Sicyon, and had by her Cleisthenes, the Athenian demagogue, who is said to have imitated his maternal grandfather in some of the reforms which he introduced into the Athenian constitution[7]. One of the points, which Herodotus mentions in immediate connexion with Cleisthenes' imitation of his grandfather, is the abolition of the *Homeric* rhapsodes at Sicyon, and his restitution of the Tragic Choruses to Bacchus. May we not also conclude that Megacles the elder was not indifferent to the policy of a ruler who was so nearly connected with him by marriage? The other party was Pisistratus, who was, as we have said, born near Brauron, where rhapsodic recitations were connected with the worship of Bacchus; the strong-hold of his party was the Tetrapolis, which contained the town of Œnoë[8], to which, and not to the Bœotian town of the same name, we refer the traditions with regard to the introduction of the worship of Bacchus into Attica[9]: his party doubtless included the Ægicores, (who have indeed been considered as identical with the Diacrians[1],) and these we have seen were the original possessors of the worship of Bacchus: finally, there was a mask of Bacchus at Athens, which was said to be a portrait of Pisistratus[2]; so that upon the whole there can be little doubt of the interest which he took in the establishment of the rites of the Ægicores as a part of the state religion. With regard to the actress, Phya, we need only remark that she was a garland-seller[3], and therefore, as this trade was a very public one, could not easily have passed herself off upon the Athenians for a goddess. The first inference which we shall draw from a combination of these particulars is, that the ceremony attending the return of Pisistratus was to all intents and purposes a dramatic representation[4] of the same kind with that part of the Eumenides of Æschylus, in which the same goddess Athena is introduced *in a chariot*, recommending to the Athenians the maintenance of the Areopagus[5].

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[5] See the passages quoted by Ruhnken on Timæus, sub v. *σχηματιζόμενος*, (p. 245-6.) to which add Plat. Resp. p. 577, A.: *ἐκπλήττεται ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τυραννικῶν προστάσεως ἣν πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω σχηματίζονται . . . ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφθείη τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.*

[6] See Welcker's Nachtrag, p. 250.

[7] Herod. v. 67: *ταῦτα δὲ, δοκέειν ἐμοὶ, ἐμιμέετο ὁ Κλ. οὗτος τὸν ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα, Κλ. τὸν Σικυῶνος τύραννον. Κλεισθένης γὰρ . . . . ῥαψῳδοὺς ἔπαυσε ἐν Σικυῶνι ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν Ὁμηρείων ἐπέων εἵνεκα.* Mr. Grote has shown good reasons for believing that the poems recited at Sicyon as Homeric productions were the Thebais and the Epigoni. Hist. Gr. vol. ii. p. 173, note.

[8] See the passages quoted by Elmsley on the Heracl. 81.

Before we make any further use of the facts which we have alluded to, it will be as well to give some account of the celebrated contemporary of Pisistratus to whom the invention of Greek Tragedy has been generally ascribed. **Thespis** was born at Icarius[6], a Diacrian deme[7], at the beginning of the sixth century B.C.[8] His birth-place derived its name, according to the tradition, from the father of Erigone[9]; it had always been a seat of the religion of Bacchus, and the origin of the Athenian Tragedy and Comedy has been confidently referred to the drunken festivals of the place[1]: indeed it is not improbable that the name itself may point to the old mimetic exhibitions which were common there[2]. Thespis is stated to have introduced an actor for the sake of resting the Dionysian chorus[3]. This actor was generally, perhaps always, himself[4]. He invented a disguise for the face by means of a pigment, prepared from the herb purslain, and afterwards constructed a linen mask, in order, probably, that he might be able to sustain more than one character[5]. He is also said to have introduced some important alterations into the dances of the chorus, and his figures were known in the days of Aristophanes[6]. These are almost all the facts which we know respecting this celebrated man. It remains for us to examine them. It appears, then, that he was a contemporary of Pisistratus and Solon. He was a Diacrian, and consequently a partizan of the former; we are told too that the latter was violently opposed to him[7]. He was an Icarian, and therefore by his birth a worshipper of Bacchus. He was an ὑποκριτής: and from the subjects of his recitations it would appear that he was also a rhapsode[8]. Here we have again the union of Dionysian rites with rhapsodical recitations which we have discovered in the Brauronian festival. But he went a step farther: his rhapsode, or actor, whether himself or another person, did not confine his speech to mere narration; he addressed it to the chorus, which carried on with him, by means of its coryphæi, a sort of dialogue. The chorus stood upon the steps of the thymele, or altar of Bacchus; and in order that he might address them from an equal elevation, he was placed upon a table (ἐλεός)[9], which was thus the predecessor of the stage, between which and the thymele in later times there was always an intervening space. The waggon of Thespis, of which Horace writes, must have arisen from some confusion between this standing-place for the actor and the waggon of Susarion[1]. Themistius tells us that Thespis invented a *prologue* and a *rhesis*[2]. The former must have been the procemium which he spoke as exarchus of the improved Dithyramb; the latter the dialogue between himself and the chorus, by means of which he developed a myth relating to Bacchus or some other deity or hero[3]. Lastly, there is every reason to believe, that Thespis did not confine his representation to his native deme, but exhibited at Athens[4].

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[9] The Deme of Semachus was also in that part of Attica.

[1] See Wachsmuth, i. 1, p. 229. Arnold's Thucydides, p. 659—60.

[2] *ὅπου καὶ τὸ Ἀθήνῃσι τοῦ Διονύσου πρόσωπον ἐκείνου τινὲς φασιν εἰκόνα.* Athenæus, xii. p. 533, c.

[3] *στεφανόπωλις δὲ ἦν.* Athen. xiii. p. 609, c.

[4] Solon (according to Plutarch, c. xxx.) applied the term *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* to another of the artifices of Pisistratus. Diogen. Laërt. Solon. i. says, *Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσεν* (ὁ Σόλων) *τραγῳδίας ἄγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν ψευδολογίαν. ὅτ' οὖν Πεισίστρατος ἑαυτὸν κατέτρωσεν, ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἔφη ταῦτα φῦναι.*

[5] This seems to be nearly the view taken of this pageant by Dr. Thirlwall, Hist. of Greece, vol. ii. p. 60. Mr. Keightley is inclined to conjecture from the meaning of the woman's name (Phya—*size*) that the whole is a myth.

[6] Suidas, Θέσπις, Ἰκαρίου πόλεως Ἀττικῆς.

[7] Leake on the Demi of Attica, p. 194.

[8] Bentley fixes the time of Thespis' first exhibition at 536 B.C.

[9] Steph. Byz. Ἰ*καρία.* Hygin. Fab. 130. Ov. Met. vi. 125.

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[1] Athen. ii. p. 40: ἀπὸ μέθης καὶ ἡ τῆς κωμῳδίας καὶ τῆς τραγῳδίας εὕρεσις ἐν Ἰκαρίῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εὑρέθη.

[2] See Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 222.

[3] Ὕστερον δὲ Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαναπαύεσθαι τὸν χορόν. Diog. Laërt, Plat. lxvi.

[4] Plutarch, Sol. xxix: ὁ Σόλων ἐθεάσατο τὸν Θέσπιν αὐτὸν ὑποκρινόμενον ὥσπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς. See also Arist. Rhet. iii. 1, and Liv. vii. 2.

[5] Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 271. Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. ii. p. 126.

[6] Aristoph. Vesp. 1479.

[7] Plutarch, Sol. xxix. xxx. and p. 46, note 4.

[8] The names of some of his plays have come down to us: they are the Πενθεύς, Ἆθλα Πελίου, ἢ Φορβάς, Ἱερεῖς, Ἠΐθεοι. (Jul. Poll. vii. 45. Suid. s. v. Θέσπις.) Gruppe must have founded his supposition that Ulysses was the subject of a play of Thespis (*Ariadne*, p. 129) on a misunderstanding of Plut. Sol. xxx. in which he was preceded by Schneider (De Originibus Trag. Gr. p. 56).

From a comparison of these particulars respecting Thespis with the facts which we have stated in connexion with the first return of Pisistratus to Athens, we shall now be able to deduce some further inferences. It appears, then, that a near approximation to the perfect form of the Greek Drama took place in the time of Pisistratus: all those who were concerned in bringing it about were Diacrians, or connected with the worship of Bacchus: the innovations were either the results or the concomitants of an assumption of political power by a caste of the inhabitants of Attica, whose tutelary god was Bacchus, and were in substance nothing but an union of the old choral worship of Bacchus, with an offshoot of the rhapsodical recitations of the Ionic epopœists[5].

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[9] See Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 248. We think that the joke of Dicæopolis (Arist. Acharn. 355, seqq.) is an allusion to this practice. Solon mounted the herald's bema, when he recited his verses to the people. (V. Plut. c. 8.)

[1] See Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 247. Gruppe says quaintly, but, we think, justly, (*Ariadne*, p. 122,) "It is clear enough that the waggon of Thespis cannot well consist with the festal choir of the Dionysia; and, in fact, this old coach, which has been fetched from Horace only, must be shoved back again into the lumber-room." The words of Horace are, (A. P. 275—277,)

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.

[2] p. 316, Hard. Θέσπις δὲ πρόλογόν τε καὶ ῥῆσιν ἐξεῦρεν.

[3] This is the sense which the word ῥῆσις bears in Hom. Odyss. xxi. 290, 291.

—— αὖταρ ἀκούεις
ἡμετέρων μύθων καὶ ῥήσιος.

Æschyl. Suppl. 610: τοίανδ' ἔπειθε ῥῆσιν ἀμφ' ἡμῶν λέγων.

See Welcker, Nachtr. p. 269. The invention of the ῥῆσις seems also to be referred to by Aristotle, when he says, (Poet. c. 4,) λέξεως δὲ γενομένης.

[4] Nachtrag, p. 254.

We can understand without any difficulty why Pisistratus should encourage the religion of his own people, the Diacrians or Ægicores; and why Solon, who thought he had given the lower orders power enough[6], should oppose the adoption of their worship as a part of the religion of the state; for in those days the religion and privileges of a caste rose and fell together. It might, however, be asked why Pisistratus and his party, who evidently in their encroachments on the power of the aristocracy adopted in most cases the policy of the Sicyonian Cleisthenes, should in this particular have deviated from it so far as to encourage the rhapsodes, whom Cleisthenes, on the contrary, sedulously put down on account of the great predilection of the aristocracy for the Epos[7]. This deserves and requires some additional explanation. Pisistratus was not only a Diacrian or goat-worshipper: he was also a Codrid, and therefore a Neleid; nay, he bore the name of one of the sons of his mythical ancestor, Nestor: he might, therefore, be excused for feeling some sort of aristocratical respect for the poems which described the wisdom and valour of his progenitors. Besides, he was born in the deme Philaïdæ, which derived its name from Philæus, one of the sons of Ajax, and he reckoned Ajax also among his ancestors: this may have induced him to desire a public commemoration of the glories of the Æantidæ, just as the Athenians of the next century looked with delight and interest at the Play of Sophocles[8]: and we have little doubt but he heard in his youth parts of the Iliad recited at the neighbouring deme of Brauron[9]. If we add to this, that by introducing into a few passages of the Homeric poems some striking encomiums on his countrymen, he was able to add considerably to his popularity, and that it is always the policy of a tyrant to encourage literature[1], we shall fully understand why he gave himself so much trouble about these poems in the days of his power[2]. Solon also greatly encouraged the rhapsodes, and shares with Pisistratus the honour of arranging the rhapsodies according to their natural and poetical sequence[3]: we must not forget, too, that Solon was one of those writers of gnomic poetry, whom we have considered as the successors of the Epopœists, and from whose writings the Attic tragedians modelled their dialogue. Now we know that Pisistratus endeavoured, as far as was consistent with his own designs, to adopt the constitution of Solon, and always treated his venerable kinsman with deference and respect. May not a wish to reconcile his own plans with the tastes and feelings of the superseded legislator have operated with him as an additional reason for attempting to unite the old Epic element with the rites of the Dionysian religion, which his political connexions compelled him to transfer from the country to the city? May not such a combination have been suggested by his early recollections of the Brauronia? did the genius of the Icarian plan the innovation, or was he merely instrumental towards carrying it into effect? was the name Thespis originally borne by this agent of Pisistratus, or was it rather a surname, derived from the common epithet of the Homeric minstrel[4], and implying nothing more in its connexion with the history of the Drama, than that it arose from a combination such as we have described?

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[5] The conclusions of Gruppe are so nearly, in effect, the same as ours, and so well expressed, that we think it right to lay them before our readers (*Ariadne*, p. 127). "Thespis developed from these detached speeches of the Choreutæ, especially when they were longer than usual, a recitation by an actor in the form of a narrative; a recitation, and not a song. Thespis, however, was an inhabitant of Attica, an Athenian, and as such stood in the middle, between the proper Ionians and the Dorians. The formation of the epos was the peculiar property of the former, of lyric poetry that of the latter. So long as Tragedy or the tragic choruses existed in the Peloponnese, they were of a lyrical nature. In this form, with the Doric dialect and a lyrical accompaniment, they were transplanted into Attica; and here it was that Thespis first joined to them the Ionic element of narration, which, if not quite Ionic, had and maintained a relationship with the Ionic, even in the language." We may here remark, that all the old iambic poets wrote strictly in the Ionic dialect. Welcker has clearly shown this by examples in the case of Simonides of Amorgus. (See Rheinisch. Museum for 1835, p. 369.)

[6] Solon. ed. Bach. p. 94: *Δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔδωκα τόσον κράτος ὅσσον ἐπαρκεῖ.* Is not Niebuhr's translation of this line wrong? (Hist. Rom. vol. ii. note 700.) Comp. Æsch. Agamemn. 370:

ἔστω ἀπήμαντον ὥστε κάπαρκεῖν εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.

[7] Wachsmuth, Hell. Alt. ii. 2, 389.

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[8] See Rheinisch. Mus. for 1829, p. 62.

[9] See Nitzsch, Indag. per Od. Interpol. præpar. p. 37. Hist. Hom. p. 165. Welcker, Ep. Cycl. p. 393.

[1] "Debbe un principe," says Machiavelli (*il Principe*, cap. xxi. fin.) "ne' tempi convenienti dell' anno tenere occupati i popoli con feste e spettacoli; e perchè ogni città è divisa o in arti o in tribù, debbe tener conto di quelle università."

[2] Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia litteris instructior fuisse traditur, quam Pisistrati? qui primus Homeri libros, confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cicer. de Orat. iii. 34.

Πεισίστρατος ἔπη τὰ Ὁμήρου διεσπασμένα τε καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ μνημονευόμενα ἠθροίζετο. Pausan. vii. 26, p. 594.

Ὕστερον Πεισίστρατος συναγαγὼν ἀπέφηνε τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν. Ælian. V. H. xiii. 14.

See also Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 2.—Liban. Panegyr. in Julian. t. i. p. 170, Reiske. Suidas v. Ὅμηρος, and Eustath. p. 5.

[3] Comp. Diog. Sol. i. 57, with Ps. Plat. Hipparch. p. 228, B.

But whatever reason we may assign for the union of the rhapsody with the Bacchic chorus, it seems pretty clear that this union was actually effected in the time of Pisistratus. And herein consists the claim of Thespis to be considered as the inventor of Attic Tragedy. Arion's satyrical chorus, and even the lyric Drama of Epigenes, may have been imitated at Athens soon after their introduction in the Peloponnesus. The cyclic chorus was performed as a separate affair till the latest days of Athenian democracy[5], and the Pyrrhic dance, which was adopted by the Satyrs, was also a distinct exhibition[6]. Nay, the Homeric rhapsody was recited by itself on the proper occasion; that is to say, generally at the great Panathenæa[7]: nor would the Homeric hexameter have been so well suited to a dramatic dialogue as the trochaic tetrameter and senarius, which the vigorous and sententious poetry of Archilochus and the elder Simonides had made well known and popular in Attica and in the Ægean. Whether anticipated or not by Susarion, in the employment of the Iambic metre in dramatic speeches, Thespis may claim the merit of having been the first to combine with the Bacchic chorus, which he received from Arion, a truly epic element, and he was clearly the first who made the rhapsode appear as an actor sustaining different characters, and addressing the audience from a fixed and elevated stage. At first he may have been contented, like the exarchi of the improved Dithyramb, with personating Bacchus, and surrounding himself with a chorus of Satyrs; but there is every reason to believe that he soon extended his sphere of myths, and that his plots were as various as those of his successors.

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[4] Hom. Od. i. 328:

τοῦ δ' ὑπερωϊόθεν φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν
κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο.

——— viii. 498:

ὡς ἄρα τοι πρόφρων θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν.

——— xvii. 385:

ἢ καὶ θέσπιν ἀοιδόν, ὅ κεν τέρπῃσιν ἀείδων.

See Buttmann's Lexilogus, i. p. 166. It was very common to invent names for persons from their actions, or for persons to change their own names according to their profession. Thus Helen is called the daughter of Nemesis, Arion the son of Cycleus, and Tisias changed his name into Stesichorus, by which alone he is known at the present day (above p. 27, and see Clinton's F. H. vol. i. p. 5); so that Thespis may even be an assumed name.

[5] Lys. *ἀποδ. δωροδ.* p. 698, below, Part II. p. 132.

[6] Lys. u. s. Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 988.

[7] Lycurg. c. *Leocr.* p. 161. Plat. *Hipparch.* p. 228, B. Ælian, *V. H.* viii. 2.

Bentley was interested in the establishment of his proposition that Thespis did not write his plays, and naturally manifested the eagerness of a pleader rather than the impartiality of a judge[8]. There is no antecedent improbability in the statement of Donatus that Thespis wrote tragedies. Solon, and, much earlier, Archilochus and Simonides committed their poems to writing; and in the days of Pisistratus it is not likely that a favourite rhapsode would leave his compositions unpublished. The destruction of Athens, in B.C. 480, made the older specimens of Attic literature very scarce, but there must have been some remains of his writings in the time of Sophocles, otherwise that poet would hardly have published strictures on him and Chœrilus[9], which, as we may infer from his criticisms on Æschylus[1], in all probability referred to the harshness of their style. Aristophanes speaks of him in precisely the same terms as he does of Phrynichus, predicating an antiquated stiffness of both these old Tragedians[2]. We may grant that the lines attributed to Thespis by Clemens Alexandrinus[3] contain internal evidence of their spuriousness, but there is no presumption against the authenticity of the quotations in Plutarch[4] and Julius Pollux[5], beyond the ill-founded hypothesis, that Thespis composed only ludicrous dramas. This hypothesis, as we have seen above, rests on the old confusion between Thespis and

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[8] Below, Part II. p. 72, sqq.

[9] Suid. s. v. Σοφοκλῆς: περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοίριλον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

[1] See Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* vol. i. p. 340, and our note on the translation.

[2] Comp. *Vesp.* 220: ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα μέλη, "antiquated honey-sweet and popular ditties from the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus," below, p. [69], note 2, with a passage in a subsequent part of the same play (1479):—

ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται
τἀρχαῖ' ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο.

[3] Clem. Al. Strom. v. p. 675, Potter.

[4] Plut. *de audiendis poetis*, p. 134, Wyttenb.

[5] Jul. Poll. vii. 45. Another fragment has been lately published from a papyrus by Letronne, *Fragmens inédits d'anciens poètes Grecs*, Par. 1838, p. 7: οὐκ ἐξαθρήσας οἶδ'· ἰδὼν δέ σοι λέγω, where ἐξαθρέω is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον.

Susarion. The forgeries of Heraclides Ponticus are themselves no slight proof of the originally serious character of the Thespian Drama; for if his contemporaries had really believed that Thespis wrote nothing but ludicrous dramas, a scholar of Aristotle would hardly have attempted to impose upon the public with a set of plays, altogether different in style and title from those of the author on whom he wished to pass them off. The fact is, that the choral plays from which the Thespian Drama was formed were satyrical, for the Dithyramb in the improved form which it received from Arion was performed by a chorus of satyrs[6]: and there is little doubt that Thespis may have been a satyric poet before he was a Tragedian, in the more modern sense of the word: but Chamæleon seems to have expressly mentioned the fact, that Thespis passed from Bacchic to Epic subjects[7]. With regard to the titles of his plays preserved by Suidas and Julius Pollux, they are not really open to cavil. For even supposing that they refer rather to the apocryphal compositions of Heraclides than to the lost tragedies of the old Icarian, there is no reason for concluding that the titles were not borrowed by the fabricator from obsolete but genuine dramas. Unless we are prepared to maintain, against the prevalent tendency of all the authorities, that Thespis never wrote or acted a play of grave or pathetic character, we cannot assert that he was unlikely to have brought forward dramas, bearing the titles in question—namely, "Pentheus;" "the Funeral Games of Pelias," or "Phorbas;" "the Priests;" "the Youths;" indeed it would not be difficult to show that these subjects were very well adapted for the narrative speeches which must have abounded while the actor was limited to the personation of one character at a time.

With regard to the violent and ludicrous dances, which were attributed to Thespis, and of which Aristophanes gives a somewhat ludicrous picture at the end of his "Wasps[8]," we have only to remark that all antiquated postures, attitudes, and movements, appear ridiculous to those whose grandfathers practised them. Apollo himself is described as leading the Pæan with high and springy steps[9]; and the gymnopædic dance, in which the Tragic Emmeleia took its rise, must have been originally distinguished by the agility which it prescribed. In the early days of the drama a great deal of energetic and expressive gesticulation was expected from the Chorus, and even in the time of Æschylus it is recorded that Telestes, the ballet-leader of that poet, invented many new forms of *χειρονομία* or manual gesticulations, and that in the "Seven against Thebes" he represented the action of the piece by his mimic dancing[1].

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[6] Above, p. 30.

[7] This seems to be the proper interpretation of the passage in Photius, *Lex*, s. v. *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον—τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες τούτοις ἠγωνίζοντο ἅπερ καὶ σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τραγῳδίας γράφειν κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν μηκέτι τοῦ θεοῦ μνημονεύοντες, ὅθεν καὶ ἐπιφώνησαν κ. τ. λ. καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος.* Below, p. [56], note 3.

[8] V. 1848, sqq., below, Part. II. p. 92.

The statement of Suidas, that Phrynichus was the first who introduced women on the stage (*πρῶτος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν*), which Bentley, perhaps purposely, mistranslates, is no reason for concluding that Thespis never wrote a Tragedy called "Alcestis," were there any real evidence to show that this was the title of one of his plays; for it would have been perfectly easy to handle that subject in the Thespian manner, that is, with more narrative than dialogue, without the introduction of Alcestis herself[2]. Indeed we cannot conceive how she could be introduced as talking to the chorus, whom she does not once address in the play of Euripides, and there was no other actor for her to talk with.

Of course, there could be no theatrical contests in the days of Thespis[3]: but the dithyrambic contests seem to have been important enough to induce Pisistratus to build a temple in which the victorious choragi might offer up their tripods[4], a practice which the victors with the tragic chorus subsequently adopted.

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[9] Above, p. 16, note 9.

[1] Welcker, Nachtrag, p. 266, 7. Athen. i. p. 21, F: *καὶ Τέλεσις δὲ ἢ Τελέστης, ὁ ὀρχηστοδιδάσκαλος, πολλὰ ἐξεύρηκε σχήματα ἄκρως ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ λεγόμενα δεικνυούσαις . . . . . Ἀριστοκλῆς γοῦν φησὶν ὅτι Τελέστης ὁ Αἰσχύλου ὀρχηστὴς οὕτως ἦν τεχνίτης ὥστε ἐν τῷ ὀρχεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας φανερὰ ποιῆσαι τὰ πράγματα δι' ὀρχήσεως.* See Heindorf ad Plat. Cratyl. § 51.

[2] In the "Suppliants," one of the most archaic of the extant plays of Æschylus, no female character is introduced on the stage, although all the interest centres in the daughters of Danaus, who form the chorus.

[3] Plutarch, Sol. xxix.

[4] *Πύθιον, ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀθήνησιν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου γεγονός· εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια.* Photius. Comp. Thucyd. ii. 15. vi. 54.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROPER CLASSIFICATION OF GREEK PLAYS. ORIGIN OF COMEDY.

The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited. For the law of writ and the law of liberty these are the only men. SHAKSPEARE.

It is generally stated that there were three kinds of Greek Plays, and three only—Tragedy, Comedy, and the Satyrical Drama. It will be our endeavour in the present chapter to examine this classification, and to see whether some better one cannot be proposed. With a view to this it will be proper to inquire into the origin of the Comical and Satyrical Dramas, just as we have already investigated the origin of Tragedy, and to consider how far the Satyrical Drama differed from or agreed with either the Tragedy or Comedy of the Greeks.

The word Tragedy—τραγῳδία—is derived of course from the words τράγος and ᾠδή. The former word, as we have already seen, is a synonym for σάτυρος[1]: for the goat-eared attendant of Dionysus was called by the name of the animal which he resembled, just as the shepherd or goatherd was called by the name of the animal which he tended, and whose skin formed his clothing[2]. Τραγῳδία is therefore not the song of a goat, because a goat was the prize of it; but a song accompanied by a dance performed by persons in the guise of Satyrs, consequently a satyric dance; and we have already shown how Tragedy in its more modern sense arose from such performances. At first, then, Tragedy and the Satyric Drama were one and the same. When, however, the Tragedy of Thespis had firmly established itself, and Comedy was not yet introduced, the common people became discontented with the serious character of the new dramatic exhibitions, and missed the merriment of the country satyrs: at the same time they thought that their own tutelary deity was not sufficiently honoured in performances which were principally taken up with adventures of other personages; in the end they gave vent to their dissatisfaction, and on more than one occasion the audience vociferously complained that the play to which they were admitted had nothing to do with Bacchus[3]. The prevalence of this feeling at length induced Pratinas of Phlius, who was a contemporary of Æschylus, to restore the Tragic Chorus to the Satyrs, and to write Dramas which were indeed the same in form and materials with the Tragedy, but the choruses of which were composed of Satyrs, and the dances pyrrhic instead of gymnopædic[4]. This is the Drama which has been considered by some as specifically different both from Tragedy and Comedy, but which was in fact only a subdivision of Tragedy[5], written always by Tragedians, and, we believe, seldom[6] acted but along with Tragedies[7].

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[1] See above, p. 30, note 4.

[2] The word *Tityrus* signifies, according to Servius, the leading ram of the flock; according to other authorities it means a goat: and some have even supposed it to be another form of *Satyrus*. See the passages quoted by Müller, Dor. iv. ch. 6, § 10, note (*e*).

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[3] In his opening Symposiacal disquisition, Plutarch thus speaks: Ὥσπερ οὖν, *Φρυνίχου καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πάθη προαγόντων, ἐλέχθη· τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;*—*οὕτως ἔμοιγε πολλάκις εἰπεῖν παρέστη πρὸς τοὺς ἕλκοντας εἰς τὰ συμπόσια τὸν κυριεύοντα*—*Ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τί ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον;*—Sympos. i. 1.

Zenobius gives this explanation of the phrase *Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον*:—*Τῶν χορῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰθισμένων διθύραμβον ᾄδειν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον, οἱ ποιηταὶ ὕστερον ἐκβάντες τῆς συνηθείας ταύτης Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους γράφειν ἐπεχείρουν. Ὅθεν οἱ θεώμενοι σκώπτοντες ἔλεγον, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον. Διὰ γοῦν τοῦτο τοὺς Σατύρους ὕστερον ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προεισάγειν, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶσιν ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ.* p. 40.

Suidas, in his explication of the same saying, after mentioning the opinion by which it was referred to the alterations of Epigenes the Sicyonian, adds, Βέλτιον *δὲ οὕτω· Τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον γράφοντες, τούτοις ἠγωνίζοντο, ἅπερ καὶ Σατυρικὰ ἐλέγετο· ὕστερον δὲ μεταβάντες εἰς τὸ τραγῳδίας γράφειν, κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν, μηκέτι τοῦ Διωνύσου μνημονεύοντες·—ὅθεν τοῦτο καὶ ἐπεφώνησαν. Καὶ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ.* So also Photius, above, p. 53, note 7.

[4] Above, p. 31. Below, p. [70].

[5] Demetrius says (*de Elocut.* § 169. vol. ix. p. 76, Walz): *ὁ δὲ γέλως ἐχθρὰ τραγῳδίας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπινοήσειεν ἄν τις τραγῳδίαν παίζουσαν, ἐπεὶ σάτυρον γράψει ἀντὶ τραγῳδίας.*

[6] If Pratinas wrote only eighteen tragedies to thirty-two satyrical dramas, some of the latter must have been acted alone. See Welcker, Trilogie, p. 497—8.

[7] It has been plausibly conjectured that the Satyrical Drama was originally acted before the Tragedy. Welck. Nachtr. p. 279.

We have already referred to the statement that the Comedy of the Greeks arose from the Phallic processions, just as their Tragedy did from the Dithyramb[8]. Its progress, however, and its successive advances from rudeness to perfection, are involved in so much obscurity, that even Aristotle is unable to tell us any thing about it; but he is willing to concede that it was started in Sicily[9], or primarily in Megaris[1]. And this appears very probable, for not only was Susarion, who is generally admitted to have been the earliest comic poet[2], a native of Tripodiscus in Megaris, but continual allusions are made in ancient writers[3] to the coarse humour of the Megarians and their strong turn for the ludicrous, qualities which they seem to have imparted to their Sicilian colonists.

But whatever may have been the birth-place of Greek Comedy, it is quite certain that it originated in a country festival: it was in fact the celebration of the vintage, when the country people went round from village to village, some in carts[4], who uttered all the vile jests and abusive speeches with which the Tragedy of Thespis has been most unjustly saddled; others on foot, who bore aloft the Phallic emblem, and invoked in songs Phales the comrade of Bacchus[5]. This custom of going round from village to village suggested the derivation of Comedy from *κώμη*, and Aristotle has been misled by his own learning into an apparent approbation of this, on many accounts, absurd etymology[6]. One reason which has been advanced in defence of this etymology is extraordinarily ridiculous. We are told[7] that the word cannot be derived from *κῶμος*, because one of the meanings of that word is *ἡ μετ' οἴνου ᾠδή*. This would scarcely be an argument if it were the only signification of the word *κῶμος*: but this is so far from being the case, that it is not even the primary or most usual meaning of the word. Κῶμος[8] signifies a revel continued after supper. It was a very ancient custom in Greece for young men, after rising from an evening banquet, to ramble about the streets to the sound of the flute or the lyre, and with torches in their hands; such a band of revellers was also called a *κῶμος*. Thus Æschylus says[9], very forcibly, that the Furies, although they had drunk their fill of human blood in the house of the Pelopidæ, and though it was now time that they should go out like a *κῶμος*, nevertheless obstinately stuck to the house, and would not depart from it. Hence the word is used to denote any band or company. In a secondary sense, it signifies a song sung either by a convivial party or at the Bacchic feasts, (not merely in honour of the god, but also to ridicule certain persons,) or lastly, by a procession in honour of a victor at the public games. By a still further transition, *κῶμος* is used for a song in general; and a peculiar flute tune, together with its corresponding dance, was known by this name. It was in the second sense of the word that the Bacchic reveller was called a *κωμῳδός*, namely, a comus-singer, according to the analogy of *τραγῳδός*, *ἱλαρῳδός*, &c., in which the first part of the compound refers to the performer, the second to the song, and as *τραγῳδία* signifies a song of satyrs, so *κωμῳδία* means a song of the comus.

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[8] Above, p. 10. Thus we read that Antheas the Lindian κωμῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῶν ποιημάτων, ἃ ἐξῆρχε τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ φαλλοφοροῦσι. (Athen. p. 445, B.)

[9] Αἱ μὲν οὖν τῆς τραγῳδίας μεταβάσεις, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐγένοντο, οὐ λελήθασιν. ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σπουδάζεσθαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔλαθε. Καὶ γὰρ χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ὁ ἄρχων ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ ἦσαν· ἤδη δὲ σχήματά τινα αὐτῆς ἐχούσης, οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτῆς ποιηταὶ μνημονεύονται· τίς δὲ πρόσωπα ἀπέδωκεν, ἢ λόγους, ἢ πλήθη ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ἠγνόηται. Τοῦ δὲ μύθους ποιεῖν Ἐπίχαρμος καὶ Φόρμις ἦρξαν· τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐξαρχῆς ἐκ Σικελίας ἦλθε. Aristot. Poet. v.

[1] Τῆς μὲν κωμῳδίας οἱ Μεγαρεῖς, οἵ τε ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς δημοκρατίας γενομένης, καὶ οἱ ἐκ Σικελίας. Poet. iii. 5.

[2] Proleg. Aristoph. Küst. p. xi. τὴν κωμῳδίαν ηὑρῆσθαί φασι ὑπὸ Συυσαρίωνος.

[3] See Müller's Dorians, iv. 7, § 1.

[4] Schol. Lucian. Ζεὺς τραγῳδός. (vi. p. 388, Lehmann.) Ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Διονυσίων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν καθήμενοι ἔσκωπτον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο πολλά. See the passages in Creuzer's note on Lydus de Mens. p. 127, ed. Röther.

[5] The reader will see these particulars in Aristoph. Acharn. 240, seqq.

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[6] *ποιούμενοι τὰ ὀνόματα σημεῖον. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ* (Πελοποννήσιοι) *κώμας τὰς περιοικίδας καλεῖν φασίν, 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ δήμους. ὡς κωμῳδοὺς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κωμάζειν λεχθέντας ἀλλὰ τῇ κατὰ κώμας πλάνῃ ἀτιμαζομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος.* Poet. c. iii.

[7] By Schneider (de Orig. Com. p. 5).

[8] See Welcker in Jacobs' edition of Philostratus, p. 202. The remarks in the text are an abstract of what he says on the signification of this word. He supposes, however, that *κωμῳδός* is derived from the secondary sense of the word, in which he agrees with Kanngiesser. (Kom. Bühn. p. 32.)

[9] Agamemnon 1161, Wellauer.

Καὶ μὴν πεπωκώς γ' ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον
Βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει
Δύσπεμπτος ἔξω συγγόνων 'Ερινύων.

It is clear, from the manner in which the Athenian writers speak of the country Dionysian procession, that it was considered as a comus[1]; and we think this view of the case is confirmed by the epithet *ξύγκωμος*, which Dicæopolis applies to Phales as the companion of Bacchus[2].

The Phallic processions from which the old Comedy arose, seem to have been allowed in very early times in all cities; Aristotle tells us that they still continued in many cities even in his time[3], and the inscriptions quoted above[4] prove that a lyrical comedy had developed itself from them. In the time of the orators, the *ἰθύφαλλοι* were still danced in the orchestra at Athens[5], and we learn from the speech of Demosthenes against Conon, that the riotous and profligate young men who infested the streets delighted to call themselves by names[6] derived from these comic buffooneries. But probably they were always more common in the country, which was their natural abode; and if a modern scholar[7] is right in concluding from the words of the Scholiast on Aristophanes[8], that there were two sorts of Phallic processions, the one public, the other private, we cannot believe that the private vintage ceremonies ever found their way into the great towns. Pasquinades of the coarsest kind seem to have formed the principal part of these rural exhibitions[9], and this was probably the reason why Comedy was established at Athens in the time of Pericles; for the demagogues, wanting to invent some means of attacking their political opponents with safety, could think of no better way of effecting this than by introducing into the city the favourite country sports of the lower orders, and then it was, and not till then, that the performance of

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[1] Thus in an old law quoted by Demosthenes (c. Mid. p. 517), we have *ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί.*

[2] Acharn. 263 : *Φαλῆς, ἑταῖρε Βακχίου,*
Ξύγκωμε.

[3] *τὰ φαλλικὰ ἃ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων διαμένει νομιζόμενα.* Aristot. Poet. c. iv.

[4] Above, p. 32, sqq.

[5] Hyperides apud Harpocrat. v. *'Ιθύφαλλοι.*

[6] They termed themselves *'Ιθύφαλλοι* and *Αὐτολήκυθοι.* Demosth. *Conon*, 194 (1261). Cf. Athen. xiv. p. 622. Lucian, ii. 336.

[7] Schneider de Orig. Com. p. 14.

[8] Acharn. 243. (p. 775, l. 32. Dind.) *πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι φάλλους ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ τούτοις ἐγέραιρον τὸν θεόν.*

[9] Platonius, *περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμῳδιῶν* : *'Υποθέσεις μὲν γὰρ τῆς παλαιᾶς κωμῳδίας ἦσαν αὗται τὸ στρατηγοῖς ἐπιτιμᾶν, κ. τ. λ.*

Comedies became, like that of Tragedies, a public concern[1]. When it was formally established as a distinct species of Drama at Athens, the old Comedy was supplied, like Tragedy, with a Chorus, which, though not so numerous or expensively attired as the Tragic, was as carefully trained, and as systematic in its songs and dances. In effect, it was the same modification of an original comus as that which performed the Epinicia of Pindar. It appears from several passages that the comic actors were originally unprovided with masks, but rubbed their faces over with winelees as a substitute for that disguise[2].

The Tragedy and Comedy of the Greeks had, therefore, an entirely different origin. We must in the next place consider what were their distinctive peculiarities, how far they differed intrinsically, and whether any of the remaining Greek Plays cannot be considered as belonging strictly either to Tragedy or Comedy. We shall do this more satisfactorily, if we first set forth the definitions which have been given by Plato and Aristotle. Plato has rather alluded to, than expressed, the distinction between Tragedy and Comedy in their most perfect form, but his slight remarks nevertheless strike at the root of the matter. Comedy, he considers[3] to be the generic name for all dramatic exhibitions which have a tendency to excite laughter; while Tragedy, in the truest sense of the word, is an imitation of the noblest life, that is, of the actions of gods and heroes. As a definition, however, this account of Tragedy, although excellent as far as it goes, is altogether incomplete. Aristotle's, on the other hand, is quite perfect. He makes the distinction, which Plato leaves to be inferred, between the objects of tragic and comic imitation, and adds to it the constituent characteristic, of Tragedy, namely, that it effects by means of pity and terror the purgation of such passions [4]. Aristotle's definition of Tragedy is so full and comprehensive, that it has been adopted even by modern writers as a description of what modern Tragedy ought to be [5]; there is one particular, however, which he has not expressly stated, and which is due rather to the origin of Greek Tragedy than to its essence, we mean the necessity for a previous acquaintance on the part of the audience with the plot of the Tragedy: this it is which most eminently distinguishes the Tragedies of Sophocles from those of Shakspeare, and to this is owing the poetical irony with which the poet and the spectators handled or looked upon the characters in the piece [6]. Aristotle is supposed by his commentator Eustratius, to allude to this in a passage of the Ethics [7]: we are disposed to believe on the contrary, that he is referring to the different effects which events related in a Tragedy, as having taken place prior to the time of the events represented, and those events which are represented by action, produce on the minds of the spectators: for example, the calamities of Œdipus, when alluded to in the Œdipus at Colonus, do not strike us with so much horror as when they are represented in the Œdipus at Thebes.

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[1] *χορὸν κωμῳδῶν ὀψέ ποτε ἔδωκεν ὁ ἄρχων.* Aristotle, above, p. 57, note 9.

Gruppe labours under some extraordinary mistake in supposing (Ariadne, p. 123) that Comedy was not originally connected with religion.

[2] Hence a Comedian is called *τρυγῳδός*, "a lee-singer." It does not appear that masks were always used even in the time of Aristophanes, who acted the part of Cleon in the Ἱππῆς without one. In later times, however, it was considered disreputable to go in any *comus* without a mask. Demosth. Fals. Leg. p. 433: *τοῦ καταράτου Κυρηβίωνος ὃς ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς ἄνευ τοῦ προσώπου κωμάζει.*

[3] Legg. vii. p. 817: *ὅσα μὲν οὖν περὶ γέλωτά ἐστι παίγνια, ἃ δὴ κωμῳδίαν πάντες λέγομεν . . . . . μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου ὃ δή φαμεν πάντες γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγῳδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην.* The *κάλλιστος καὶ ἄριστος βίος* signifies the life of a man who is in the highest degree *καλοκαγαθός*, and this term exactly expresses the persons who figured in the plays of Æschylus and Sophocles; for, as Dr. Thirlwall remarks, in his beautiful paper *On the Irony of Sophocles*, "None but gods or heroes could act any prominent part in the Attic Tragedy." (Phil. Mus. ii. p. 493.) And this is perhaps the reason why Plato, in another passage (Gorgias, p. 502, A), talks of *ἡ σεμνὴ καὶ θαυμαστὴ ἡ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποίησις.*

If, however, all the prominent characters in the true Tragedy were gods or heroes, it follows that the *Πέρσαι* of Æschylus, and the *Μιλήτου ἅλωσις* and *Φοίνισσαι* of Phrynichus, were not

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[4] *ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἐστίν, ὥσπερ εἴπομεν, μίμησις φαυλοτέρων μὲν οὐ μέντοι κατὰ πᾶσαν κακίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ ἐστι τὸ γελοῖον μόριον.* Poet. c. v. *ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης* ——— *δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν.* Poet. c. vi. Below, Part II. pp. 8, 9.

[5] Hurd's definition (On the Province of the Drama, p. 164) is a mere copy of Aristotle. Schiller, who has a better right to declare *ex cathedrâ* what Tragedy ought to be, than any writer of the last century, thus defines it: "That art which proposes to itself, as its especial object, the pleasure resulting from compassion, is called the Tragic Art in the most comprehensive sense of the word." Werke in einem Bande, p. 1176.

[6] See Dr. Thirlwall's Essay "On the Irony of Sophocles."

[7] i. 11. § 4: *διαφέρει δὲ τῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον περὶ ζῶντας ἢ τελευτήσαντας συμβαίνειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ παράνομα καὶ δεινὰ προϋπάρχειν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἢ πράττεσθαι.*

Tragedies in the truest sense[8], and must be referred to the class of Histories, which exist in all countries where the Drama is much cultivated, as a subordinate species of Tragedy: the other Tragedies we may call myths or fables[9], as distinguished from the true stories, to which they bore the same relation in the subdivision of Ionian literature, that the Epos bore to the history of Herodotus.

In the course of time, another rib was taken from the side of the primary Tragedy, and Tragi-comedy sprang up under the fostering care of Euripides, which was probably the forerunner of the ἱλαροτραγῳδίαι of Rhinthon, Sopatrus, Sciras, and Blæsus[1]. One old specimen of this kind of play, remains to us in the Ἄλκηστις of Euripides, which was performed as the Satyrical Drama of a Tragic Trilogy, 438, B.C., and we are inclined to consider the Orestes as another of the same sort[2]. It resembled the regular Tragedy in its outward form, but contained some comic characters, and always had a happy termination.

Of the Satyrical Drama we have already spoken: we cannot, however, quit the subject of Tragedy and its subordinate forms, without noticing a play called Εἵλωτες οἱ ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, which was, according to Herodian[3], a satyrical drama. This statement has occasioned some difficulties. It has been asked[4], were the Helots, who doubtless composed the chorus, dressed like satyrs, or mixed up with satyrs? But if it was a

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[8] Niebuhr, Hist. Rome, vol. i. note 1150: "The *Destruction of Miletus* by Phrynichus, and *the Persians* of Æschylus, were plays that drew forth all the manly feelings of bleeding or exulting hearts, and not tragedies: for these the Greeks, before the Alexandrian age, took their plots solely out of mythical story. It was essential that their contents should be known beforehand; whereas the stories of Hamlet and Macbeth were unknown to the spectators: at present, parts of them might be moulded into Tragedies like the Greek; that is, if a Sophocles were to rise up."

[9] The words of Suidas quoted above, appear to allude to this distinction, *κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς μύθους καὶ ἱστορίας ἐτράπησαν.*

[1] Müller's Dor. iv. ch. 7, § 6.

[2] In an argument to the Alcestis, published from a Vatican MS. (No. 909) by Dindorf, in 1834, we find the following words: Τὸ *δρᾶμα ἐποιήθη ιξ̑. ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Γλαυκίνου ἄρχοντος τὸ λ̑. πρῶτος ἦν Σοφοκλῆς, δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης Κρήσσαις, Ἀλκμαιῶνι τῷ διὰ Ψωφῖδος, Τηλέφῳ, Ἀλκήστιδι. τὸ δὲ δρᾶμα κωμικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν κατασκευήν.* The last sentence is a repetition in effect of the statement in the Copenhagen argument. (Matthiä, vii. p. 214.) On the date see Welcker, Rheinisch. Mus. for 1835, p. 508. Clinton, F. H. vol. i. p. 424.

[3] See Eustathius on Iliad ii. p. 297.

[4] By Müller in *Was für eine Art Drama waren "die Heloten?"* Niebuhr's Rhein. Mus. iii. p. 488.

Satyrical Drama, what mythological subject is reconcileable with a chorus of Helots? and on the same supposition, how could the comedian Eupolis, to whom Athenæus[5] ascribes the play, have been its author? for a trespass by a comedian on the domains of the Tragic muse, to whom the Satyrical Drama belonged, was, especially in those times, something quite unheard of. There is, it must be admitted, some difficulty in this, and principally in regard to the last question. The Helots, with their dresses of goatskin or sheepskin, and their indecent dances in honour of Bacchus, were very fit substitutes for the satyrs, and it is quite possible to conceive that a Dionysian myth might be represented in a play, the chorus of which consisted of Helots. From the statement, however, that Eupolis was the author, and from the purely comic and criticizing tone of one of the fragments[6], we are disposed to conclude that Herodian is mistaken in calling it a satyrical drama, and that he has been misled by the resemblance between the guise of the Helots, and that of the Satyrs, whereas the play was a regular comedy with a political reference, perhaps not unlike the Λακεδαίμονες of the same author.

The Comedy of the Greeks admits of subdivision into three species, or rather three successive variations in form, which are generally distinguished as the Old, the Middle, and the New Comedy. The old Comedy was, as we have already seen, the result of a successful attempt to give to the waggon-jests of the country comus a particular and a political bias. Its essence, or to use the words of Vico[7], its *eterna propietà* was personal vilification. Not merely the satire of description, the abuse of words; but the satire of representation. The object of popular dislike was not merely called a coward, a villain, a rogue, or a fool, but he was exhibited on the stage doing every thing contemptible and suffering every thing ludicrous. Upon this stock the mighty genius of Aristophanes grafted his own Pantagruelism, which has in every age, since the days of its reproducer Rabelais, found in some European country, and in some form or other, a more or less adequate representative,—Cervantes, Quevedo, Butler, Swift, Sterne, Voltaire, Jean Paul, Carlyle, and

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[5] iv. p. 138.

[6] In Athen. xiv. p. 638.

[7] *Scienza Nuova*, iii. p. 39: "La satira serbò quest' *eterna propietà*, con la qual ella nacque, di dir villanie ed ingiurie."

Southey[8]. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to draw a clearly defined line of demarcation between the *writers* of the Old and the Middle Comedy. We cannot say that this author was an old comedian; that a middle comedian: they may have been both, as Aristophanes certainly was, if the criterion was the absence or presence of a *Parabasis*[9], or speech of the chorus in which the audience are addressed in the name of the poet, and without, in many cases, any reference to the subject of the play. Nor will the proper interpretation of the law *περὶ τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν*[1] enable us to distinguish between the comedians as belonging to one class or the other. As to the comedies themselves, however, we may safely conclude on the authority of Platonius, that the Middle Comedy was a form of the old, but differed from it in three particulars; it had no chorus, and therefore no parabasis,—this deviation was occasioned by the inability of the impoverished state to furnish the comic poets with choragi: living characters were not introduced on the stage,—this was owing to the want of energy produced by the temporary subversion of the democracy: as a consequence of both these circumstances, the objects of its ridicule were literary rather than political. If, therefore, we were called upon to give to the Old and Middle Comedy their distinctive appellations, we should call one *Caricature,* and the other *Criticism ;* and if we wished to illustrate the difference by modern instances, we should compare the former to the Lampoon, the latter to the Review. The New Comedy commenced, as is well known, in the time of Alexander; and we can see in Plautus and Terence, who translated or imitated the Greek writers of this class, satisfactory specimens of the nature of this branch of Comedy. It corresponded as nearly as possible to our own Comic Drama, especially to that of Farquhar and Congreve, which Charles Lamb calls the Comedy of *Manners*, and Hurd the Comedy of *Character*. It arose in all probability from an union of the style and tone of the Euripidean dialogue, with the subjects and characters of the later form of the Middle Comedy.

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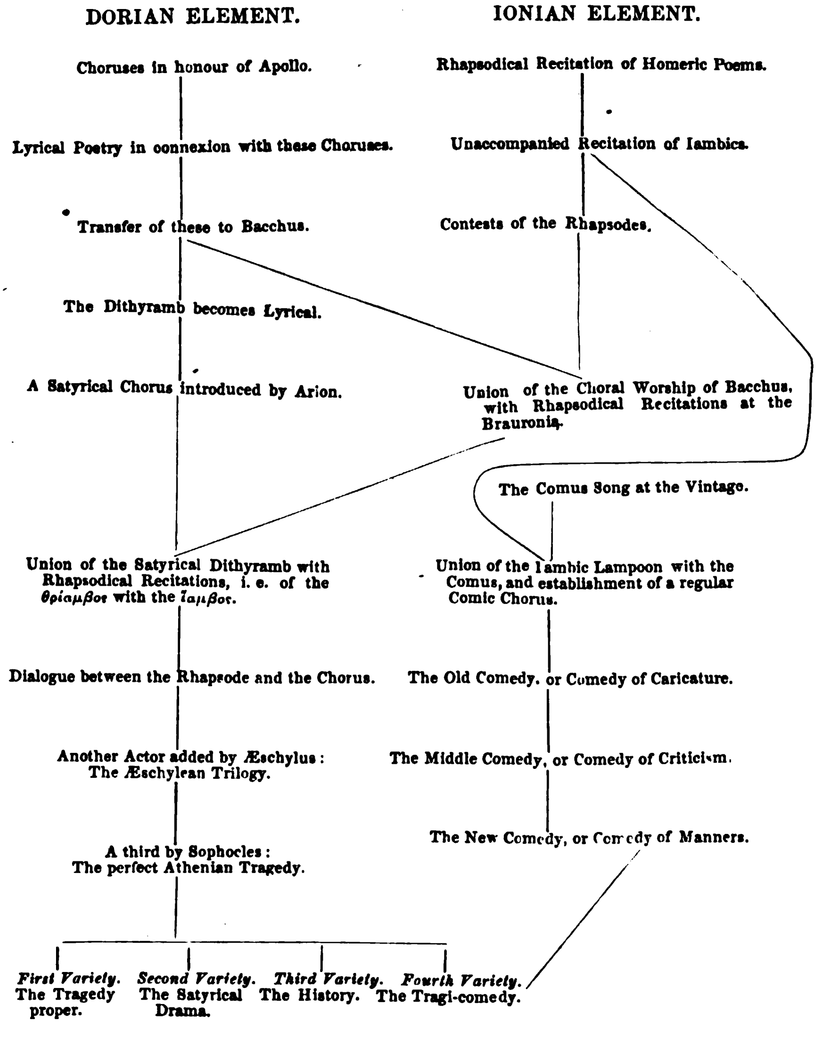
[8] See the Quarterly Review, No. clxi. p. 137 sqq.

[9] *Τὰ τὰς παραβάσεις οὐκ ἔχοντα ἐδιδάχθη ἐξουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μεθισταμένης καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας κρατούσης.* Platonius. With regard to the attempt of Meineke (Quæstion. Scenicæ, Sp. iii. p. 50) to prove that Antiphanes was a new comic poet, because he mentioned the *ματτύη* (Athen. xiv. p. 662, F), we may remark, that the word cannot be used as a criterion to enable us to distinguish between two schools of comedians, for it is mentioned by Nicostratus, the son of Aristophanes, (see Clinton in Phil. Mus. i. p. 560,) and the dainty was not unknown to Aristophanes himself, who uses the word *ματτυολοιχός*. (Nub. 451.)

[1] Mr. Clinton, in the Introduction to the second volume of his Fasti Hellenici, (p. xxxvi. &c.) has shown that the generally received idea, which would distinguish the Middle from the Old Comedy by its abstinence from personal satire, is completely at variance with the fragments still extant ; and that the celebrated law—*τοῦ μὴ ὀνομαστὶ κωμῳδεῖν τινά*—simply forbade the introduction of any individual on the stage *by name as one of the dramatis personæ.* This prohibition, too, might be evaded by suppressing the name and identifying the individual by means of the mask, the dress, and external appearance alone. "This law, then, when limited to its proper sense, is by no means inconsistent with a great degree of comic liberty, or with those animadversions upon eminent names with which we find the comic poets actually to abound." (Fast. Hell. p. xlii.) The date of the law is uncertain ; probably about B.C. 404, during the government of the Thirty.

It is not our intention to speak of the dramas and quasi-dramas of a later age; it may, however, be of some assistance to the student, if we subjoin a general tabular view of the rise and progress of the proper Greek Drama.

TABLE OF DRAMATIC CLASSIFICATION.


DORIAN ELEMENT.
IONIAN ELEMENT.
Choruses in honour of Apollo.
Rhapsodical Recitation of Homeric Poems.
Lyrical Poetry in connexion with these Choruses.
Unaccompanied Recitation of Iambics.
Transfer of these to Bacchus.
Contests of the Rhapsodes.
The Dithyramb becomes Lyrical.
A Satyrical Chorus introduced by Arion.
Union of the Choral Worship of Bacchus, with Rhapsodical Recitations at the Brauronia.
The Comus Song at the Vintage.
Union of the Satyrical Dithyramb with Rhapsodical Recitations, i. e. of the θρίαμβοι with the ἴαμβοι.
Union of the Iambic Lampoon with the Comus, and establishment of a regular Comic Chorus.
Dialogue between the Rhapsode and the Chorus.
The Old Comedy, or Comedy of Caricature.
Another Actor added by Æschylus: The Æschylean Trilogy.
The Middle Comedy, or Comedy of Criticism.
A third by Sophocles: The perfect Athenian Tragedy.
The New Comedy, or Comedy of Manners.
First Variety. The Tragedy proper.
Second Variety. The Satyrical Drama.
Third Variety. The History.
Fourth Variety. The Tragi-comedy.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

SECTION I.

CHŒRILUS, PHRYNICHUS, AND PRATINAS.

Use begets Use.
GUESSES AT TRUTH.

As soon as Tragedy had once established itself in Greece, it made very rapid advances to perfection. According to the received dates, the first exhibition of Thespis preceded by ten years only the birth of Æschylus, who in his younger days contended with the three immediate successors of the Icarian. CHŒRILUS began to represent plays in the 64th Ol. 523 B.C.[1], and in 499 B.C. contended for the prize with Pratinas and Æschylus. It is stated that he contended with Sophocles also, but the difference in their ages renders this exceedingly improbable, and the mistake may easily have arisen from the way in which Suidas mentions the book on the chorus which Sophocles wrote against him and Thespis[2]. It would seem that Tragedy had not altogether departed from its original form in his time, and that the chorus was still satyric, or *tragic* in the proper sense of the word[3]. Chœrilus is said to have written 150 pieces[4], but no fragments have come down to us. The disparaging remarks of Hermeas and Proclus do not refer to him, but to his Samian namesake[5], and he is mentioned by Alexis[6] in such goodly company, that we cannot believe that his poetry was altogether contemptible. One of his plays was called the Alopë, and it appears to have been of a strictly mythical character[7]. Some improvements in theatrical costume are ascribed to him by Suidas and Eudocia[8].

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[1] Χοιρίλος, Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, ξδʹ ὀλυμπιάδι καθεὶς εἰς ἀγῶνας καὶ ἐδίδαξε μὲν δράματα πεντήκοντα καὶ ρʹ. ἐνίκησε δὲ ιγʹ. Suidas.

[2] See Näke's Chœrilus, p. 7. Suidas. Σοφοκλῆς ἔγραψε λόγον καταλογάδην περὶ τοῦ χοροῦ πρὸς Θέσπιν καὶ Χοιρίλον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

PHRYNICHUS was the son of Polyphradmon, and a scholar of Thespis[9]. The dates of his birth and death are alike unknown: it seems probable that he died in Sicily[10]. He gained a tragic victory in 511 B.C.[11], and another in 476, when Themistocles was his choragus[12]: the play which he produced on this occasion was probably the Phœnissæ, and Æschylus is charged[13] with having made use of this tragedy in the composition of his Persæ, which appeared four years after, a charge which Æschylus seems to rebut in "the Frogs" of Aristophanes[14]. In 494 B.C. Miletus was taken by the Persians, and Phrynichus, unluckily for himself, selected the capture of that city as the subject of a historical tragedy. The skill of the dramatist, and the recent occurrence of the event, affected the audience even to tears, and Phrynichus was fined 1000 drachmæ for having recalled so forcibly a painful recollection of the misfortunes of an ally[1]. We have already mentioned the introduction of female characters into Tragedy by Phrynichus: he seems, however, to have been chiefly remarkable for the sweetness of his melodies[2], and the great variety and cleverness of his figure dances[3]. The Aristophanic Agathon speaks generally of the beauty of his dramas[4], though of course they fell far short of the grandeur of Æschylus[5], and the perfect art of Sophocles. The names of seventeen tragedies attributed to him have come down to us, but it is probable that some of these belonged to the other two writers who bore the same name.

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[3] *ἡνίκα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἦν Χοιρίλος ἐν Σατύροις.* Anonym.

[4] The numbers in Suidas are, however, in this instance, not to be depended on, as they are not the same in all the MSS.

[5] See Näke's Chœrilus, p. 92.

[6] Athen. iv. p. 164, c.

Ὀρφεὺς ἔνεστιν, Ἡσίοδος, τραγῳδία,
Χοιρίλος, Ὅμηρος, Ἐπίχαρμος, συγγράμματα
Παντοδαπά.

[7] Pausan. i. 14, § 3. *Χοιρίλῳ δὲ Ἀθηναίῳ δρᾶμα ποιήσαντι Ἀλόπην ἔστ' εἰρημένα Κερκύονα εἶναι καὶ Τριπτόλεμον ἀδελφούς, κ. τ. λ.*

[8] *οὗτος κατά τινας τοῖς προσωπείοις καὶ τῇ σκευῇ τῶν στολῶν ἐπεχείρησεν.*

[9] *Φρύνιχος, Πολυφράδμονος, ἢ Μινύρου· οἱ δὲ Χοροκλέους· Ἀθηναῖος, τραγικός, μαθητὴς Θέσπιδος.* Suidas in *Φρύν.*

The first of the names mentioned here for the father of Phrynichus is the correct one. See Schol. Arist. Av. 750. Pausan. x. 31, 2. The name also appears under the form Phradmon. Prol. Arist. p. xxix.

[10] Clinton, F. H. vol. ii. p. xxxi.; note (t).

[11] *ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξζ' ὀλυμπιάδος.* Suidas.

[12] *Ἐνίκησε δὲ [Θεμιστοκλῆς] καὶ χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἤδη τότε σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος. Καὶ πίνακα τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε, τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα·—Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάριος ἐχορήγει, Φρύνιχος ἐδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἦρχεν.*—Plutarch. in Themist. v.

[13] By Glaucus, in his work on the subjects of the plays of Æschylus, see Arg. ad Persas.

[14]
ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν ἐς τὸ καλὸν ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ
ἤνεγκον αὖθ', ἵνα μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν Φρυνίχῳ
λειμῶνα Μουσῶν ἱερὸν ὀφθείην δρέπων.—Ran. 1294—1296.

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[1] *'Αθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ δῆλον ἐποίησαν ὑπεραχθεσθέντες τῇ Μιλήτου ἁλώσει, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πολλαχῇ, καὶ δὴ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν, καὶ διδάξαντι, ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον, καὶ ἐζημίωσάν μιν, ὡς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκήϊα κακά, χιλίῃσι δραχμῇσι· καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δράματι.*—Herod. vi. 21.

[2] *Ἔνθεν, ὥσπερεὶ μέλιττα,*
Φρύνιχος ἀμβροσίων
μελέων ἀπεβόσκετο καρπόν, ἀεὶ
φέρων γλυκεῖαν ᾠδάν. Aristoph. Av. 748.

Philocleon, the old Dicast, as we are told by the chorus of his brethren,

ἡγεῖτ' ἂν ᾄδων Φρυνίχου· καὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἀνὴρ
φιλῳδός. Vesp. 269.

And a little before, these fellow-dicasts are represented by Bdelycleon as summoning their aged colleague at midnight,

. . . . . . *μινυρίζοντες μέλη*
ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα. v. 219.

Παρὰ τὰ μέλη καὶ τὴν Σιδῶνα καὶ τὸν Φρύνιχον καὶ τὰ ἐρατὰ ἔμιξεν, οἷον ἀρχαῖα μέλη Φρυνίχου ἐρατὰ καὶ ἥδεα . . Φρύνιχος δὲ ἐγένετο τραγῳδίας ποιητής, ὃς ἔγραψε δρᾶμα Φοινίσσας, ἐν ᾧ μέμνηται Σιδωνίων. τὰ δὲ μέλη [*τὸ δὲ μέλι*?] *εἶπε διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα τοῦ ποιητοῦ.* Schol. in loc. "Scribendum—*μέλι*—cum Suida in *ἀρχαῖος* et *μινυρίζω*. Quod Aristarchum in codice suo legisse ex annotatione Scholiastæ cognoscitur. *Aves*, 748: *ἔνθεν ὡσπερεὶ μέλιττα Φρύνιχος κ. τ. λ.*"—Dindorf. See above, p. [52], note 2.

[3] Plutarch (Symp. iii. 9) has preserved part of an epigram, said to have been written by the dramatist himself, in which he thus commemorates the fruitfulness of his fancy in devising figure-dances—

Σχήματα δ' ὄρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσσ' ἐπὶ πόντῳ
Κύματα ποιεῖται χείματι νὺξ ὀλοή.

[4] Thesmophor. 164, seqq.

[5] The difference between Phrynichus and Æschylus is distinctly stated in several passages of the Ranæ.

. . . . . . *τοὺς θεατάς*
ἐξηπάτα, μωροὺς λαβὼν παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ τραφέντας. 909.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks, *ἀπατεὼν γάρ, ὡς ἀφελέστερος ὁ Φρύνιχος.*

The same fact is also forcibly declared in the address of the Chorus to Æschylus in the same comedy—

ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά
καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. 1004.

That the word *λῆρος* does not imply anything merely comical and ludicrous in the tragedies before Æschylus, is clear from the use of the word *ληρεῖν*, in v. 923.

We learn from Suidas the following particulars respecting **Pratinas**. He was a Phliasian, the son of Pyrrhonides or Encomius, a tragedian, and the opponent of Chœrilus and Æschylus, when the latter first represented. As we have already stated[1], he was the first writer of satyrical dramas as a distinct species of entertainment; and we may connect this circumstance with the place of his birth; for Phlius was near Corinth and Sicyon, the cradles of the old tragedies of Arion and Epigenes. On one occasion, while he was acting, his wooden stage gave way, and in consequence of that accident, the Athenians built a stone theatre. He exhibited fifty dramas, of which thirty-two were satyrical. The Phliasians seemed to have taken great delight in these performances of their countryman[2], and according to Pausanias[3], erected a monument in the market-place in honour of "Aristias, the son of Pratinas, who with his father excelled all except Æschylus in writing satyrical Dramas." Pratinas also wrote Hyporchemes[4]. His son Aristias inherited his father's talents, and competed with Sophocles[5].

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[1] Above, p. 56.

[2] See Schneider De Orig. Trag. p. 90.

[3] ii. 13.

[4] Athen. xiv. p. 617, c. Πρατίνας δὲ ὁ Φλιάσιος, αὐλητῶν καὶ χορευτῶν μισθοφόρων κατεχόντων τὰς ὀρχήστρας, ἀγανακτεῖν τινας ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς αὐλητὰς μὴ συναυλεῖν τοῖς χοροῖς, καθάπερ ἦν πάτριον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χοροὺς συνᾴδειν τοῖς αὐληταῖς· ὃν οὖν εἶχε θυμὸν κατὰ τῶν ταῦτα ποιούντων ὁ Πρατίνας ἐμφανίζει διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὑπορχήματος. Τίς ὁ θόρυβος ὅδε, κ. τ. λ.
Müller suggests (*Hist. Lat. Gr.* I. p. 295) that this Hyporcheme may have occurred in a satyrical drama. But we have seen above, pp. 19, 56, that the Satyric corresponded rather to the Pyrrhic than to the Hyporchematic dance.

[5] Auct. Vit. Sophocl.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION II.

ÆSCHYLUS.

Et digitis tria tura tribus sub limine ponit.
OVID.

ÆSCHYLUS, the son of Euphorion, was born at Eleusis[1], in the fourth year of the 63rd Olympiad. (B.C. 525.) In his boyhood he was employed in a vineyard, and, while engaged in watching the grapes, with his mind full of this occupation, and inspired with reverence for the god of the vintage, felt himself suddenly called upon to follow the bent of his own genius, and contribute to the spectacles which had just been established at Athens in honour of Dionysus[2]. He made his

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[1] Vit. Anonym., given in Stanley's edition of this poet, and the Arundel Marble. The invocation to the Eleusinian goddess, which he is made to utter by Aristophanes, may refer to the place of his birth :

Δήμητερ, ἡ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,
Εἶναί με τῶν σῶν ἄξιον μυστηρίων.—Ranæ, 884.

These lines would seem to show that he had been initiated into the mysteries, which is quite at variance with the defence which he set up when accused before the Areopagus. See Clem. Al. quoted below.

[2] *Ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος μειράκιον ὂν καθεύδειν ἐν ἀγρῷ φυλάσσων σταφυλάς, καί οἱ Διόνυσον ἐπιστάντα, κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίαν ποιεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἡμέρα (πείθεσθαι γὰρ ἐθέλειν) ῥᾷστα ἤδη πειρώμενος ποιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγεν.* Pausan. i. 21, 2.

To this employment of the poet were probably owing the habits of intemperance with which he has been charged, and also his introduction on the stage of characters in a state of drunkenness. Athenæus tells us (x. p. 428) : *Καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν τοῦτο διαμαρτάνειν· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοί φασιν, Εὐριπίδης παρήγαγε τὴν τῶν μεθυόντων ὄψιν εἰς τραγῳδίαν. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Καβείροις εἰσάγει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα μεθύοντας. ἃ δ' αὐτὸς ὁ τραγῳδιοποιὸς ἐποίει, ταῦτα τοῖς ἥρωσι περιέθηκε· μεθύων γοῦν ἔγραφε τὰς τραγῳδίας· διὸ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς αὐτῷ μεμφόμενος ἔλεγεν ὅτι, Ὦ Αἰσχύλε, εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖς, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ εἰδώς γε ποιεῖς· ὡς ἱστορεῖ Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Αἰσχύλου.* The same observation of Sophocles is given in the same words, i. p. 22, and is first appearance as a Tragedian in B.C. 499[3], when, as we have already stated, he contended with Chœrilus and Pratinas. Nine years after this he distinguished himself in the battle of Marathon[4], along with his brothers Cynegeirus and Ameinias, and the poet, who prided himself upon his valour more than upon his genius, looked back to this as to the most glorious action of his life[5]. In 484 B.C. he gained his first tragic victory, and in 480 B.C. took part in the battle of Salamis, in which Ameinias gained the *ἀριστεῖα*: he also fought at Platæa. He celebrated the glorious contests which he had witnessed, in a tragic Trilogy with which he gained the prize (472 B.C.)[6]. After all that has been written on the subject[7], we are of opinion that Æschylus made only two journeys to Sicily. The first was in 468 B.C. according to the express testimony of Plutarch[8]; and took place immediately after his defeat by young Sophocles, though it is difficult to believe Plutarch's assertion, that he left Athens in disgust at this indignity. As, however, it is stated that he went to the court of Hiero[9], and brought out a play at Syracuse to

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probably taken, as Welcker suggests (Tril. p. 524, note) from Sophocles' treatise on the chorus.

This failing is also mentioned by Plutarch—*καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον φασὶ τραγῳδίας πίνοντα ποιεῖν καὶ διαθερμαινόμενον.* Symp. i. 5:—by Callisthenes: *οἱ γάρ, ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ἔφη που, λέγων τὰς τραγῳδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν, ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναθερμαίνοντα τὴν ψυχήν.* Lucian. Encom. Demosth.: and by Eustathius, Odyss. θ′. p. 1598.

That he subsequently departed from his original reverence for the religion of Bacchus, we shall show in the text, and this was probably occasioned by his military connexion with the Dorians, and the love which he then acquired for the Dorian character and institutions.

[3] Suidas in *Αἰσχ.*

[4] *Ἐν μάχῃ συνηγωνίσατο Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐτ]ῶ[ν] ὢν ΔΔΔΠ.* Marm. Arund. No. 49. Vit. Anonym.

[5] Pausan. Attic i. 4. Athenæus, xiv. p. 627. In the epitaph which he is said to have composed for himself, he makes no mention of his tragedies, and speaks only of his warlike achievements.

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας.
Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι,
Καὶ βαθυχαιτήεις Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

[6] Gruppe thinks (Ariadne, p. 154) that the Prometheus was acted first at Syracuse, and afterwards at Athens, under the poet's own superintendence: the Perseis, which we are here alluding to, first at Athens, and afterwards in Sicily.

[7] By Böckh de Græcæ Tragœdiæ Principibus, c. iv. v. Blomfield. Præf. Pers. p. xvi. seqq. Hermann de Eumen. Choro. ii, p. 155, seqq. Welcker, Trilogie, p. 516, fol. Lange de Æschyli Vitâ, p. 15, seqq.

[8] Plutarch, Cimon. viii.

[9] *Ἀπῆρε δὲ εἰς Ἱέρωνα τὸν Σικελίας τύραννον.* Vit. Anonym.—So Pausanias: *Καὶ ἐς Συρακούσας πρὸς Ἱέρωνα Αἰσχύλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐστάλησαν.* i. 2. Also Plutarch: *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος [Αἰσχύλος] εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης πρότερον.* De Exilio.

please that king, who died in 467 B.C., he must, if he was at Athens to contend with Sophocles, have started for Sicily immediately after the decision; and he was then at Athens, if Plutarch has given us correct information. He probably spent some time in Sicily on his first visit, as would appear from the numbers of Sicilian words which are found in his later plays[1]. The other journey to Sicily he is said to have made ten years after (458 B.C.), and for this a very sufficient reason has been assigned. In that year he brought out the Orestean trilogy; and in the Eumenides, the last play of the trilogy, showed so openly his opposition to the politics of Pericles and his abettor Ephialtes[2], that his abode at Athens might easily have been made not only unpleasant, but even unsafe, especially as his fondness for the Dorian institutions, his aristocratical spirit, and his adoption of the politics of Aristeides, had doubtless made him long before obnoxious to the demagogues.

He died at Gela two years after the representation of the Orestea, i.e. in B.C. 456[3]. It is said[4], that an eagle having mistaken his bald head for a stone, dropped a tortoise upon it in order to break the shell, and that the poet was killed by the blow: but the story is evidently an invention, most unnecessarily devised to account for the natural death of a persecuted exile nearly seventy years old.

Another reason has been assigned for Æschylus' second journey to Sicily. It is founded on a statement, alluded to by Aristotle[5], and given more distinctly by Clemens Alexandrinus and Ælian[6], that Æschylus was accused of impiety before the Areopagus, and acquitted, as Ælian says, in consequence of the services of his brother Ameinias, or, according to Aristotle and Clemens, because he pleaded ignorance. Eustratius tells us[7] from Heraclides Ponticus that he would have been slain on the stage by the infuriated populace, had he not taken refuge at the altar of Bacchus; and that he was acquitted by the Areopagus in consequence of his brother *Cynegeirus'* intercession. This reason for his second departure from Athens is quite in accordance with the former; for if he had incurred the ill will of the people and the demagogues, nothing was more natural than that he should have been made amenable to the same charges, which a similar faction afterwards brought against Alcibiades[8]. And there is something in the intervention of the Areopagus, between the people and their intended victim, which may at once account for the attempt to overthrow it, which, we conceive, shortly followed this trial, and also for the bold stand which Æschylus made on behalf of that tribunal.

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[1] Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὴν Σικελίαν κατοικοῦντες ἀσχέδωρον καλοῦσι τὸν σύαγρον. Αἰσχύλος γοῦν ἐν Φορκίσι, παρεικάζων τὸν Περσέα τῷ ἀγρίῳ τούτῳ συΐ, φησίν

῞Εδυ δ' ἐς ἄντρον ἀσχέδωρος ὥς.

῞Οτι δὲ Αἰσχύλος, διατρίψας ἐν Σικελίᾳ πολλαῖς κέχρηται φωναῖς Σικελαῖς, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Athen. ix. p. 402. B.—To the same effect Eustathius: Χρῆσις δὲ φασιν ἀσχεδώρου παρ' Αἰσχύλῳ διατρίψαντι ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ εἰδότι. Ad Odyss. p. 1872.—And Macrobius: Ita et Dii Palici in Siciliâ coluntur; quos primum omnium Æschylus tragicus, *vir utique Siculus*, in literas dedit, &c. &c. Saturnal. v. 19.

Some Sicilian forms are to be found in his extant plays: thus, πεδάρσιος, πεδαίχμιοι, πεδάοροι, μάσσων, μᾶ, &c. for μετάρσιος, μεταίχμιοι, μετέωροι, μείζων, μῆτερ, &c. See Blomfield, Prom. Vinc. 277, Gloss., & Böckh de Trag. Græc. c. v.

[2] See Müller's Eumeniden, § 35, fol.

[3] 'Αφ' οὗ Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς, βιώσας ἔτη [Δ]ΔΠΙΙΙΙ, ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν [Γέλ]ᾳ τῆς [Σι]κελίας ἔτη Η[Δ]ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ, ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνησι Καλλίου τοῦ προτέρου. Mar. Arund. No. 50.

[4] Vit. Anonym. Suidas in Χελώνη μυῶν. Valer. Max. ix. 2. Ælian Hist. Animal. vii. 16.

There are great discrepancies respecting the number of plays written by Æschylus. The writer of the life prefixed to his remains assigns seventy plays to him, Suidas ninety, and Fabricius more than 100. Of these, only seven remain.

The most remarkable improvements which Æschylus introduced into Tragedy are the following: he added a second actor, limited the functions of the chorus, and gave them a more artificial character: he made the dialogue, which he created by the addition of a second actor, the principal part of the drama[9]: he provided his Tragedy with all sorts of imposing spectacles[1], and introduced the custom of contending with trilogies, or with three plays at a time. He seems also to have improved the theatrical costumes, and to have made the mask more expressive and convenient, while he increased the stature of the performers by giving them thick soled boots (ἀρβύλαι, κόθορνοι[2].) In short, he did so much for the drama, that he was considered as the father of Tragedy[3], and his plays were allowed to be acted after his death[4].

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[5] Ethic. iii. 1: ὃ δὲ πράττει, ἀγνοήσειεν ἂν τις· οἷον λέγοντές φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτούς, ἢ οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόῤῥητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά.

[6] Αἰσχύλος (says Clemens) τὰ μυστήρια ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐξειπών, ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ κριθεὶς οὕτως ἀφείσθη, ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν μὴ μεμυημένον. Strom. ii.—Ælian tells the tale in a somewhat different way; a more romantic one of course: Αἰσχύλος ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἐκρίνετο ἀσεβείας ἐπί τινι δράματι. Ἑτοίμων οὖν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων, βάλλειν αὐτὸν λίθοις, Ἀμεινίας ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφός, διακαλυψάμενος τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔδειξε τὴν πῆχυν ἔρημον τῆς χειρός. Ἔτυχε δὲ ἀριστεύων ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ὁ Ἀμεινίας ἀποβεβληκὼς τὴν χεῖρα, καὶ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀριστείων ἔτυχεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδον οἱ δικασταὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ πάθος, ὑπεμνήσθησαν τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀφῆκαν τὸν Αἰσχύλον. Var. Hist. v. 19.

[7] In his commentary on Aristotle, loc. cit. fol. 40. He mentions the names of five plays on which these charges were founded, the Τοξοτίδες, the Τερείας, the Σίσυφος πετροκυλιστής, the Ἰφιγένεια, and the Οἰδίπους. But we know nothing of the dates of these plays. Comp. Welcker, Tril. 106, 276

[8] Thucyd. vi. 53. Andocid. de Myster. Comp. Droysen in the Rhein. Museum for 1835, p. 161, fol.

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[9] These first three improvements are stated by Aristotle, Poet. c. iv. 16 (below, Part II., p. 7): καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε, καὶ τὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ἠλάττωσε καὶ τὸν λόγον πρωταγωνιστὴν παρεσκεύασε. The first is given also by Diogen. Laert. vit. Plat. Θέσπις ἕνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξεῦρεν . . . καὶ δεύτερον Αἰσχύλος. The names of his two actors are given in an old life prefixed to one of the editions. Ἐχρήσατο δὲ ὑποκριτῇ πρῶτον μὲν Κελάνδρῳ . . . δεύτερον αὐτῷ πρόσηψε Μιόνισκον τὸν Χαλκιδέα. Hermann has made an extraordinary blunder with regard to the latter part of the quotation from Aristotle: he has actually supposed that πρωταγωνιστὴν is an epithet, though it is obvious from the position of the article, that it is a tertiary predicate (Donalds. Gr. Gr. 484, seqq.), and is used tropically, just as Aristotle elsewhere uses χορηγεῖν, &c. metaphorically. Compare Plut. *Mus.* p. 667. Wyttenb.: πρωταγωνιστούσης τῆς ποιήσεως, τῶν δ' αὐλητῶν ὑπηρετούντων τοῖς διδασκάλοις.

[1] Primum Agatharcus Athenis, Æschylo docente tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de eâ commentarium reliquit. Vitruv. Præf. libri vii.

[2] Post hunc [Thespin] personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Horat. Epist. ad Pis. 279.

So Suidas: Αἰσχύλος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικούς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις, ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐμβάταις, κεχρῆσθαι. The Aristophanic Æschylus alludes to these improvements in the costumes. Ran. 1060. Compare Athen. i. p. 21, and Philost. Vit. Apoll. vi. 11: ἐσθήμασί τε πρῶτος ἐκόσμησεν ἃ πρόσφορον ἥρωσί τε καὶ ἡρωΐσιν ἠσθῆσθαι. Vit. Gorg. i. 9: ἐσθῆτί τε τὴν τραγῳδίαν κατασκευάσας καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῷ, καὶ ἡρώων εἴδεσιν. There are many allusions to the ἀρβύλαι of the actors in the Greek Tragedians themselves.

[3] —Ὅθεν Ἀθηναῖοι πατέρα μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς τραγῳδίας ἡγοῦντο. Philost. Vit. Apoll. vi. 11. And thus the Chorus in the Ranæ address him:

Ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά,
Καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον. V. 1004.

So Quinctilian: Tragœdias *primus* in lucem Æschylus protulit, x. 1.

[4] " Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα εἰς Διονύσια. Τὰ γὰρ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου ψηφισαμένων ἀνεδιδάσκετο, καὶ ἐνίκα ἐκ καινῆς. Philostr. Vit. Apoll. vi. 11.—Also, Vit. Anonym.—Aristophanes alludes to this custom of re-exhibiting the dramas of Æschylus in the opening of the Acharnians, where Dicæopolis complains,

ἀλλ' ὠδυνήθην ἕτερον αὖ τραγῳδικόν,
ὅτε δὴ κεχήνη προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον,
ὁ δ' ἀνεῖπεν· 'εἴσαγ', ὦ Θέογνι, τὸν χορόν.' V. 9, &c.

Upon which the Scholiast remarks: Τιμῆς δὲ μεγίστης ἔτυχε παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Αἰσχύλος, καὶ μόνου αὐτοῦ τὰ δράματα ψηφίσματι κοινῷ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἐδιδάσκετο. The allegation of the Poet (Ranæ, 868)

Ὅτι ἡ ποίησις οὐχὶ συντέθνηκέ μοι,

is also supposed by the Scholiast to refer to this decree. Quinctilian assigns a very different reason for this practice, when, speaking of Æschylus as 'rudis in plerisque et incompositus,' he goes on, '*propter quod correctas* ejus fabulas in cer-

We shall find, in the remaining Tragedies of Æschylus, most ample confirmation of what we have said respecting his political opinions, and also of Cicero's statement, that he was a Pythagorean[5]. Even the improvements which are due to him are so many proofs of his anti-democratical spirit. For though he seems to have first turned his attention to the Drama, in consequence of his accidental connexion with the country worship of Bacchus, yet in all his innovations we shall detect a wish to diminish the choral or Bacchic element of the Tragedy, and to aggrandize the other part, by connecting it with the old Homeric Epos, the darling of the Aristocracy: indeed he used to say himself, that his Dramas were but dry scraps from the great banquets of Homer[6], and it was owing to this that he borrowed so little from the Attic traditions, or from the Heracleia and Theseis, of which Sophocles and Euripides afterwards so freely availed themselves[7]. We have another proof of his willingness to abandon all reference to the worship of Bacchus in his way of treating the dithyrambic chorus, which the state gave him as the basis of his tragedy. He did not keep all this chorus of fifty men on the stage at once, but broke it up into subordinate chorusses, one or more of which he employed in each play of his trilogy[8]. Even his improvement of the costume was a part of the same plan; for the more appropriate he made the costumes of his actors, the farther he departed from the

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tamen deferre posterioribus poetis Athenienses permisere, suntque eo modo multi coronati.' x. 1. What authority he had for such an assertion does not now appear." Former Editor.

[5] Veniat Æschylus, non poeta solum, sed etiam Pythagoreus; sic enim accepimus. Cicero, Tusc. Disp. ii. 9.

"In philosophical sentiments, Æschylus is said to have been a Pythagorean. In his extant dramas the tenets of this sect may occasionally be traced; as, deep veneration in what concerns the gods, Agam. 360; high regard for the sanctity of an oath and the nuptial bond, Eumen. 208; the immortality of the soul, Choëph. 320; the origin of names from imposition and not from nature, Agam. 683. Prom. v. 85. 852; the importance of numbers, Prom. Vinct. 457; the science of physiognomy, Agam. 769; and the sacred character of suppliants, Suppl. 342. Eum. 226." Former Editor.

Comp. a paper in the Class. Journal, No. xxii. p. 207. fol. "on the Philosophical sentiments of Æschylus."

[6] Athen. viii. p. 347, E. Τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ λαμπροῦ Αἰσχύλου ὃς τὰς αὐτοῦ τραγῳδίας τεμάχη εἶναι ἔλεγε τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων.

[7] See Welcker, Trilogie, p. 484. In style and representation, however, Sophocles was much more Homeric than Æschylus, who probably paid attention only to the mythical materials in general, and according to their Epic connexion. Trilogie, p. 485.

[8] See Müller's *Eumeniden*, near the beginning of the first essay.

dresses worn in the Bacchic ~~processions~~; which, however, to the last kept their place on the Tragic stage [9]. And may not the invention of the Trilogy have been also a part of his attempt to make the λόγος, or theatrical declamation [1], the principal part in his tragedy (πρωταγωνιστής)? We think we could establish this, if our limits admitted a detailed examination of the principles which governed the composition of an Æschylean trilogy [2]: at present we shall merely suggest, that the invention of a πρόλογος and a ῥῆσις, attributed to Thespis, points to two entrances only of the Thespian actor: and that the τριλογία, in its old sense, may have been originally a πρόλογος, and two λόγοι or ῥήσεις, instead of one; consequently, an increase of business for the ὑποκριτής. Now, when Æschylus had added a second actor, each of these λόγοι became a διάλογος, or δρᾶμα; and it would be natural enough that Æschylus, if he had the intentions which we have attributed to him, should expand each of these διάλογοι into a complete play, and break up the chorus into three parts, assigning one to each dialogue, and subordinating the whole chorus to the action of the piece. There is something in favour of this view in the probable analogy between the first piece of a trilogy and the prologue of Thespis, which we consider to have been certainly of less importance than the ῥῆσις. "It is credible," says an ingenious writer [3], "that when the new trilogy first came out, only the middle piece received an accurate dialogical and dramatic completion; whereas, on the contrary, the introductory and concluding pieces were less removed from the old form, and besides remained confined to a more moderate compass." This is borne out by all that we know of the earlier trilogies of Æschylus, in which the first play has generally a prophetic reference to the second; and the third, though important in a moral and religious point of view, is little more than a finale [4], whereas all the stirring interest is concentrated in the middle tragedy: *παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος Θεὸς ὤπασεν*, say the chorus in the Eumenides, and this principle is the key as well to the trilogy of Æschylus as to the morals of Aristotle. Besides, the leading distinction between the Æschylean Tragedy and the Homeric Epos is, that the latter contains an uninterrupted series of events, whereas the former exhibits the events in detached groups[5]. In this also we are to seek for the relation subsisting between the drama of Æschylus and the plastic arts, of which he was always full, to which he often alludes[6], and which perhaps he practised himself[7]. Now, in all ages of art the pyramidal group has been considered the most beautiful: the reader need only recal to his mind the Æginetan pediment, the Laocoon, and the most beautiful of Raphael's pictures; for instance, the upper part of the Transfiguration, the Sistine Madonna, and the *Mater pulcræ dilectionis*. It may have been the object of Æschylus to realize this. But as he always subjoined a satyrical drama to the three tragedies, and was very eminent in that species of composition[8], he must have aimed, in his Trilogies, rather at internal symmetry than at external completeness.

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[9] Ibid. § 32.

[1] That this is the meaning of λόγος, in the passage of Aristotle, is sufficiently clear; for λογεῖον was the stage on which the actor, as distinguished from the chorus, performed.

[2] Welcker has done a great deal towards settling this question æsthetically. (Trilogie, p. 482—540.)

[3] Gruppe, Ariadne, p. 147; compare Welcker, Trilogie, p. 490. Hermann (Opusc. ii. p. 313) admits this of the musical importance.

[4] See Welcker, Tril. p. 491, 492.

But, in addition to all these evidences, from the general form of the Tragedies of Æschylus, of a Dorian spirit warring against their once Dorian element, the chorus: there is no lack of passages in his plays which point directly to his fondness for the Dorians[9] and for Aristeides[1], and which show that the maxims of Solon were deeply engraved on his memory[2]. It is also highly interesting to trace in his few remaining Tragedies the frequently occurring allusions to his military and other public employments. For as we easily detect in the writer of the Divina Commedia the stern Florentine, who charged in the foremost ranks of the Guelfian chivalry at the battle of Campaldino[3], so may we at once recognize, in the tone of Æschylus' Tragedies, the high-minded Athenian, the brother of Ameinias and Cynegeirus, whose sword drank the blood of the dark-haired Medes at Marathon and Salamis. His poems are full of military and political terms[4]; he breathes an unbounded contempt for the barbarian prowess[5], and he introduces on the stage the grotesque monsters whose images he had often seen among the spoils of the Persians[6]. Even his high-flown diction is a type of his military character, for many of his words strike on the ear like trumpet-sounds. The description given of his language by Aristophanes is so vivid, and at the same time so true, that we must endeavour to lay it before our readers in an English dress. The chorus of initiated persons is speaking of the prospect of a contest between Æschylus and Euripides: they express their expectations thus[7]:—

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[5] See Welcker, Trilogie, p. 486, fol.

[6] For instance, Agamem. 233. *πρέπουσά θ' ὡς ἐν γραφαῖς.*
——— 405. *εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν*
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί.
775. *κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος.*
Eumen. 50. *εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας*
. . . .
. . . .
ῥέγκουσι δ' οὐ πλαστοῖσι φυσιάμασιν.
284. *τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα.*
(Comp. Müller, Eumeniden, p. 112.)
Supplices, 279. *Κύπριος χαρακτὴρ τ' ἐν γυναικείοις τύποις*
Εἰκὼς πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων.
458. *νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμῆσαι τάδε.*

[7] This is implied in the improvements which he made in the masks, dresses, &c.

[8] As the trilogies were acted early in the year, it is probable that the night began to close in before the last piece and the satyrical drama were over. This may account for Prometheus, the fire-kindler, (which was probably a torch-race, Welcker, Tril. p. 120. 507,) being the satyrical drama of the Perseis; for the torch-procession at the end of the Eumenides, and for the conflagration at the end of the Troades. Comp. Gruppe, Ariadne, p. 361.

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[9] Comp. Pers. 179, 803.

[1] See Müller, Eumeniden, § 138.

[2] The following is one of many passages in which the words of Solon are nearly repeated by Æschylus.

Solon, p. 80, Bach.:

πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνδράσι κεῖται·
οἳ γὰρ νῦν ἡμῶν πλεῖστον ἔχουσι βίον
διπλάσιον σπεύδουσι· τίς ἂν κορέσειεν ἅπαντας;

Agamemn. 972: μάλα γάρ τοι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὑγιείας
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα.

[3] In quella battaglia memorabile e grandissima, che fu a Campaldino lui giovane e bene stimato si trovò nell' armi combattendo vigorosamente a cavallo nella prima schiera. Aretin. Vita di Dante, p. 9.

[4] We allude to such phrases as μακάρων πρύτανις, βασιλῆς δίοποι, στρατιᾶς ἔφοροι, φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς.

[5] For instance, in the Supplices, 727, 8. 930, seqq.

[6] Aristoph. Ran. 937:

οὐχ ἱππαλεκτρυόνας, μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ τραγελάφους ἅπερ σύ,
ἃν τοῖσι περιπετάσμασιν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς γράφουσιν.

[7] Aristoph. Ran. 814. It may be as well to remind the student, that Æschylus is here compared to a lion, Euripides to a wild boar. Great contempt for Euripides is expressed in l. 820, in the opposition of φωτὸς applied to him, to ἀνδρὸς applied to Æschylus; l. 824 intimates the difficulty of pronouncing the long words of Æschylus, which are afterwards compared to trees torn up by the root, as opposed to

Surely unbearable wrath will rise in the thunderer's bosom,
When he perceives his rival in art, that treble-toned babbler,
Whetting his teeth: he will then, driven frantic with anger,
Roll his eyeballs fearfully.

Then shall we have plume-fluttering strifes of helmeted speeches,
Break-neck grazings of galloping words and shavings of actions,
While the poor wight averts the great geniusmonger's
Diction high and chivalrous.

Bristling the stiffened mane of his neck-enveloping tresses,
Dreadfully wrinkling his brows, he will bellow aloud as he utters
Firmly rivetted words, and will tear them up plankwise,
Breathing with a Titan's breath.

Then will that smooth and diligent tongue, the touchstone of verses,
Twisting and twirling about, and moving the snaffle of envy,
Shatter his words, and demolish, with subtle refinement,
Doughty labours of the lungs.

In addition to the many other allusions to nautical matters in Æschylus, the importance which he attaches to Zeus Soter, the god of mariners, is of itself a sufficient indication of his sea-faring life[8].

Though Æschylus does not seem to have had much relish for the Dionysian rites or for an elementary worship of Bacchus, he was a highly religious man, and strongly attached to the Dorian idolatry, on which Pythagoras founded his more spiritual and philosophical system of religion[9].

We need hardly mention, that Æschylus borrowed, in his later days, the third actor, and the other improvements of Sophocles.

the twigs and branches with which the rolling-places were generally strewed. (904.)

τὸν δ' ἀνασπῶντ' αὐτοπρέμνοις
τοῖς λόγοισιν
ἐμπέσοντα συσκεδᾷν πολ-
λὰς ἀλινδήθρας ἐπῶν.

[8] See Müller, Eumeniden, § 94, fol. It appears to us, from the fact mentioned by Strabo, (ix. p. 396,) that there was a temple of Zeus Soter on the shore of the Peiræus, and from the words of Diphilus, (Athen. p. 229, B.)

ὑπὸ τοῦτον ὑπέμυξ' (we would read *ὑπένυξ'*) *εὐθὺς ἐκβεβηκότα,*
τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλον ἐμνήσθην Διὸς
Σωτῆρος.

that this Zeus Soter was the god of mariners, to whom they offered up their vows immediately on landing. Comp. Agamemn. v. 650. *τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο*, and see our note on Pindar, Olymp. viii. 20, sqq. p. 54.

[9] See Müller, Eumeniden, u. s. and elsewhere; and Klausen's Theologumena Æschyli.—And in connexion with the remarks on Æschylus' love of sculpture, see above, p. 23, note 6.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION III.

SOPHOCLES.

Τόν σε χοροῖς μέλψαντα Σοφοκλέα, παῖδα Σοφίλλου,
  Τῆς τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεκρόπιον,
Πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλῃσι καὶ ἐν σκηνῇσι τεθηλὼς
  Βλαισὸς Ἀχαρνίτης κισσὸς ἔρεψε κόμην,
Τύμβος ἔχει καὶ γῆς ὀλίγον μέρος· ἀλλ' ὁ περισσὸς
  Αἰὼν ἀθανάτοις δέρκεται ἐν σελίσιν.

Simmias.

Sophocles, the son of Sophilus or Sophillus, was born at Colonus, an Attic deme about a mile from the city, in (b.c.) 495. His father, who was a man of good family, and possessed of considerable wealth[1], gave him an excellent education. His teacher in music was the celebrated Lamprus, and he profited so much by his opportunities, that he gained the prize both in music and in the Palæstra[2]. He was hardly sixteen years old when he played an accompaniment on the lyre to the Pæan, which the Athenians sang around the trophy erected after the battle of Salamis; in other words, he was the exarchus, and possibly, therefore, composed the words of the ode[3]. His first appearance, as a tragedian, was attended by a very remarkable circumstance. Cimon removed the bones of Theseus from Scyrus to Athens (468 B.C.[4]). He arrived at Athens about the time of the tragic contests, and Æschylus and Sophocles were among the competitors. The celebrity of the former, and the personal beauty, rank, popularity, and known accomplishments of the latter, excited a great sensation. When therefore Cimon and his nine colleagues entered the theatre of Bacchus, to perform the usual libations, the Archon, Apsephion, instead of choosing judges by lot, detained the ten generals in the theatre, and having administered an oath to them, made them decide between the rival tragedians. The first prize was awarded to Sophocles, and, as we have seen, Æschylus departed immediately for Sicily[5]. This decision does not imply any disregard of the Æschylean Tragedy on the part of the Athenians. The contest was, as has been justly observed, not between two individual works of art, but between two species or ages of art[6]; and if, as we think has been fully demonstrated[7], the Triptolemus was one of the plays which Sophocles exhibited on that occasion, we can readily conceive that when the minds of the people were full of their old national legends, the subject which the young poet had chosen, and the desire to encourage his first attempt, would be sufficient to overweigh the reputation of his antagonist, coupled as it was with anti-popular politics, especially as the Æschylean Tragedy lacked that freshness of novelty and loveliness of youth which hung around the form and the poetry of the beautiful son of Sophillus. Sophocles rarely appeared on the stage, in consequence of the weakness of his voice[8]: we are told, however, that he performed on the lyre, in the character of Thamyris, and distinguished himself by the grace with which he played at ball in his own play called Nausicaa[9]. In 440 B.C. he brought out the Antigone, and we are informed that it was to the political wisdom exhibited in that play, that he owed his appointment as colleague of Pericles and Thucydides in the Samian war[1]. On this occasion he met with Herodotus, and composed a lyrical poem for that historian[2]. It does not appear that he distinguished himself in his military capacity[3]. He received many invitations from foreign courts, but loved Athens too well to accept them. He held several offices in his old age. He was priest of the hero Alon[4], and in the year 413 B.C. was elected one of the *πρόβουλοι*. This was a board of commissioners, all old men, which was established immediately after the disastrous termination of the Syracusan expedition, to devise expedients for meeting the existing emergencies[5]. The constitution of such a committee was necessarily aristocratic[6], and two years after, B.C. 411, Sophocles, once the favourite of the people and the colleague of Pericles, fell into the plans of Peisander and the other conspirators, and consented in the temple of Neptune, at his own Colonus, to the establishment of a council of four hundred; in other words, to the subversion of the old Athenian constitution[7]. He afterwards defended his policy on the grounds of expediency[8]. Nicostrata had borne him a son, whom he named Iophon: he had another son Ariston, by Theoris of Sicyon, whose son, Sophocles, was a great favourite with his grandfather and namesake. From this reason, or because, according to Cicero, his love for the stage made him neglect his affairs, his son Iophon charged him with dotage and lunacy, and brought him before the proper court, with a view to remove him from the management of his property. The poet read to his judges a part of the *Œdipus at Colonus*, which he had just finished, and triumphantly asked "if that was the work of an idiot?" Of course the charge was dismissed[9]. We are sorry to say that this very pretty story is a mere fabrication, for the Œdipus at Colonus must have been acted, at least for the first time, before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war[1]. So-

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[1] Lessing, (Leben des Sophocles, sämmtliche Schriften, vol. vi. p. 282, sqq.) to whom we are indebted for nearly all the particulars which we have given in the text, quotes (note C.) Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 11: principe loco genitum Athenis.

[2] καλῶς τε ἐπαιδεύθη καὶ ἐτράφη ἐν εὐπορίᾳ. . . . διεπονήθη δὲ ἐν παισὶ καὶ περὶ παλαίστραν καὶ μουσικὴν, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοτέρων ἐστεφανώθη, ὥς φησιν Ἴστρος. ἐδιδάχθη δὲ τὴν μουσικὴν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. Vit. Anonym.

[3] Σοφοκλῆς δὲ πρὸς τῷ καλὸς γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἦν καὶ ὀρχηστικὴν δεδιδαγμένος καὶ μουσικὴν ἔτι παῖς ὢν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ. μετὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος ἐχόρευσε μετὰ λύρας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἱματίῳ φασί. Καὶ τὸν Θάμυριν διδάσκων αὐτὸς ἐκιθάρισεν· ἄκρως δὲ ἐσφαίρισεν, ὅτε τὴν Ναυσικάαν καθῆκε. Athen. i. p. 20.

Μετὰ τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Ἀθηναίων περὶ τρόπαιον ὄντων, μετὰ λύρας γυμνὸς ἀληλιμμένος τοῖς παιανίζουσι τῶν ἐπινικίων ἐξῆρχε. Vit. Anon.

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[4] Marm. Par. No. lvii. *ἀφ' οὗ Σοφοκλῆς ὁ Σοφίλλου ὁ ἐκ Κολωνοῦ ἐνίκησε τραγῳδίᾳ, ἐτῶν ὢν* ΔΔΠΙΙΙ, *ἔτη* ΗΗΠΙ, *ἄρχοντος 'Αθήνῃσιν 'Αψηφίονος.* "These were the greater Dionysia, or the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει*, in the month Elaphebolion; because the *Archon Eponymus*, Apsephion, presided; and, *ὁ μὲν ἄρχων διατίθησι Διονύσια, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς* (conf. Aristoph. Acharn. 1224, et Schol. ad loc.) *προέστηκε Ληναίων.* Pollux, viii. 89, 50."—Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 39.

[5] *῎Εθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην· πρώτην γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, 'Αφεψίων, ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονεικίας οὔσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος· ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποιήσατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νενομισμένας σπονδάς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁρκώσας, ἠνάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρῖναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς, μιᾶς ἕκαστον· ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγὼν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ Σοφοκλέους, λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον, καὶ βαρέως ἐνέγκοντα, χρόνον οὐ πολὺν 'Αθήνῃσι διαγαγεῖν, εἶτ' οἴχεσθαι δι' ὀργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν.*—Plutarch, Cimon, c. viii.

There is probably an allusion to this in Aristoph. Ran. 1109, seqq., where the chorus says, that the military character of the spectators fits them to be judges of the contest between Æschylus and Euripides, *ἐστρατευμένοι γάρ εἰσι.*

[6] Welcker, Trilogie, p. 513.

[7] By Lessing, Leben des Sophocles (note I.), from a passage in Plin. H. N. xviii. 7: *Sophoclis Triptolemus ante mortem Alexandri annis fere* 145. But Alexander died 323 B.C., and 323 + 145 = 468. On the Triptolemus in general, see Welcker, Tril. 514, (who thinks it was certainly not a satyrical drama,) and Niebuhr, Hist. Rom. vol. i. p. 17, 18. The arguments adduced by Gruppe (*Ariadne*, p. 358, foll.) to prove that the Rhesus was the play which Sophocles exhibited on this occasion, are all in favour of Lessing's opinion.

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[8] *Πρῶτον καταλύσας τὴν ὑπόκρισιν τοῦ ποιητοῦ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἰσχνοφωνίαν.* Vit. Anonym.

[9] See the passage of Athen. (i. p. 20) quoted above. "The Nausicaa was, according to all appearances, a satyric drama. The Odyssee was in general a rich storehouse for the satyrical plays. The character of Ulysses himself makes him a very convenient satyrical impersonation." Lessing, Leben des Sophocles, note K. (vol. vi. p. 342.)

[1] Strabo xiv. p. 446. Suidas v. *Μέλιτος*. Athen. xiii. p. 603, F. Scholiast. Aristoph. Pax. v. 696. Cic. de Off. i. 40. Plutarch, Pericl. c. viii. Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 2. Val. Max. iv. 3: all testify that the true cause is assigned by Aristophanes of Byzantium in the argument to the Antigone: *Φασὶ δὲ τὸν Σοφοκλέα ἠξιῶσθαι τῆς ἐν Σάμῳ στρατηγίας εὐδοκιμήσαντα ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῆς Ἀντιγόνης.* A similar distinction was conferred upon Phrynichus, Ælian, V. H. iii. 8. It is probable that Sophocles conciliated the favour of the more popular party, by the way in which he speaks of Pericles, v. 662, and they were perhaps willing to take the hint in v. 175, where we may observe, in passing, *φρόνημα* signifies "political opinions," as in the phrases, *ἐμπέδοις φρονήμασιν, τοιόνδ᾽ ἐμὸν φρόνημα, ἶσον φρονῶν*, which occur in the same play. On the meanings of *φρονεῖν* and *φρόνημα* in Sophocles, see the notes on the translation of the Antigone, pp. 155, 168.

[2] Plutarch An seni, &c. c. 3. iv. 153, Wyttenb. On this subject the student may consult the Introduction to the Antigone, p. xvii., and Transactions of the Philol. Soc. I. No. 15, where it will be seen that Herodotus was an imitator of Sophocles.

[3] At least if we may credit the tale told of him by Ion, a contemporary poet, (Athenæus, xiii. 604,) where he is made to say of himself—*Μελετῶ στρατηγεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες· ἐπειδήπερ Περικλῆς ποιεῖν μὲν ἔφη με, στρατηγεῖν δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι.*

[4] *Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἄλωνος ἱερωσύνην, ὃς ἥρως ἦν μετὰ Ἀσκληπιοῦ παρὰ Χείρωνι.* Vit. Anonym.

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[5] Thucyd. viii. 1: *καὶ ἀρχήν τινα τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἑλέσθαι οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ προβουλεύσουσι.* We consider these *πρόβουλοι* to have been most problably elected to serve as *ξυγγραφῆς* (Thucyd. viii. 67), for it was the *ξυγγραφῆς* who brought about the revolution, and we learn from Aristotle (see below) that Sophocles contributed to it in his character of *πρόβουλος*.

[6] Aristot. Polit. vi. 5, 10: *δεῖ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συνάγον τὸ κύριον τῆς πολιτείας. καλεῖται δ᾽ ἔνθα μὲν πρόβουλοι διὰ τὸ προβουλεύειν· ὅπου δὲ τὸ πλῆθός ἐστι βουλὴ μᾶλλον.*

[7] Thucyd. viii. 67: *ξυνέκλῃσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸν Κολωνόν (ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω πόλεως ἀπέχον σταδίους μάλιστα δέκα) κ. τ. λ.*

[8] *Καὶ συμπεραινόμενον, ἐὰν ἐρώτημα ποιῇ τὸ συμπέρασμα, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν· οἷον Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ Πεισάνδρου, "εἰ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προβούλοις, καταστῆσαι τοὺς τετρακοσίους;" ἔφη—"Τί δὲ οὐ πονηρά σοι ταῦτα ἐδόκει εἶναι;" ἔφη. "Οὐκ οὖν σὺ ταῦτα ἔπραξας τὰ πονηρά;" "Ναί," ἔφη, "οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλα βελτίω."* Aristot. Rhet. iii. 18.

[9] Vit. Anonym. Cicero de Senectute, § 7. Val. Max. viii.

[1] See Reisig. Enarrat. Œd. Col. p. v. seqq. J. W. Süvern "On some historical and political allusions in ancient tragedy," pp. 6. 8. Lachmann in the Rhein. Mus. for 1827, p. 313, fol. Hermann in Zimmermann's Zeitschrift, 1837, No. 98, p. 803, sqq., inclines to the opinion that the Œdip. Col. was written before, but not published till after, the Peloponnesian war.

phocles died in the very beginning of the year 405 B.C.; according to Ister and Neanthes he was choked by a grape, which the actor Callippides brought him from Opus, at the time of the Anthesteria. Satyrus tells us that he died in consequence of exerting his voice too much while reading the Antigone aloud[2]: others say that his joy at being proclaimed tragic victor was too much for his decayed strength. His family burial-place was Decelea, and as that town was in the possession of the Lacedæmonians, it was not possible to bring him there until Lysander, having heard from the deserters that the great poet was dead, permitted his ashes to rest with those of his ancestors. There is a legend, that Bacchus appeared twice to Lysander in a dream, and enjoined him to allow the interment to take place[3]. According to one account, they placed the image of a Siren over his tomb, according to another, a bronze swallow. Ister informs us that the Athenians decreed him an annual sacrifice. He wrote, besides Tragedies, an Elegy, Pæans, and a prose work on the Chorus, against Thespis and Chœrilus. Only seven of his tragedies have come down to us; but an ingenious attempt has been lately made to show that the Rhesus, which is generally attributed to Euripides, was the first of the plays of Sophocles[4].

With regard to the whole number of plays composed by Sophocles; we have the authority of Aristophanes, of Byzantium, that 130 were ascribed to him, of which seventeen were spurious. It has been objected[5] to this large number, that the Antigone, which was acted in 440, was the thirty-second play; and as Sophocles began to exhibit in 468, and died in 405, he would have written eighty-one pieces in the last thirty-six years of his literary life, and only thirty-two in the first twenty-seven years. Whereas it is not likely that he would have written more in his declining years than in the vigour of his life: and it has been conjectured that he wrote only about seventy plays. Reasons have, however, been lately given[6], which incline us to believe that Aristophanes is correct in assigning to him 113 genuine dramas. For, in the first place, the meaning of the words on which this objection is founded is not sufficiently clear: it is not certain that the grammarian is not referring to tragedies only, and in that case, even supposing that Sophocles wrote five separate plays in that time, we should have to add nine satyrical dramas to make up the tetralogies, and thus we should not have a very disproportionate number of trilogies for the remaining thirty-six years. Besides, we have a list of 114 names of dramas attributed to Sophocles, of which ninety-eight are quoted more than once as his, and it is exceedingly unlikely that many of these should have been written by his son Iophon, or his grandson, the younger Sophocles. It will be recollected too, that, in the earlier part of his life, Sophocles was much engaged in public affairs; he was a general, at least once[7], and went on several embassies[8]; this, in addition to the greater facility in writing, which he might have acquired by long practice, would account for his pen being more prolific in the latter part of his life. He obtained the first prize eighteen[9], twenty[1], or twenty-four times[2], and it is not probable that his first and second prizes taken together were much fewer than thirty. Now it seems that about twenty-four of the dramas, the names of which have come down to us, were satyrical: we may suppose that he wrote about twenty-seven satyrical dramas on the whole: this would give us twenty-seven tetralogies, or 108 plays, and there remain five single plays to satisfy the statement of Suidas, that he contended with drama against drama. This statement we shall now proceed to examine. It certainly does not imply that he never contended with trilogies, for it is known that he wrote satyrical dramas, which in his time were never acted by themselves. One of the conjectures, which have been proposed with respect to the meaning of the words of Suidas, is, that Sophocles opposed to the trilogies of Æschylus three tragedies, not intimately connected with one another, like the Æschylean plays, but each complete in itself[3]. This presumes, however, that Suidas understood the word τετραλογία in a technical sense, as expressing the distinguishing peculiarity of the Æschylean trilogy with its accompanying satyric drama. We cannot believe that the grammarian had any such accurate perception of the real nature of the trilogy. Nevertheless, the fact may have been such, although Suidas did not know it: for nothing is more likely than that the custom of contending with single plays, which Sophocles, perhaps sparingly, adopted, arose from his having given to each of the plays in his trilogies an individual completeness which the constituent parts of an Æschylean trilogy did not possess. We shall derive some further reasons for believing this from a consideration of the general principles which guided the art of Sophocles.

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[2] We have seen that *ἰσχνοφωνία* was attributed to Sophocles: if it arose from delicate lungs, this account of his death is probable enough. There are chronological objections to the other two statements. See Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 85.

[3] See vita Anonym. Pausanias, i. 21. § 1, gives a somewhat different story. *Λέγεται δὲ Σοφοκλέους τελευτήσαντος ἐσβάλλειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ σφῶν τὸν ἡγούμενον ἰδεῖν ἐπιστάντα οἱ Διόνυσον κελεύειν τιμαῖς, ὅσαι καθεστήκασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τεθνεῶσι, τὴν Σειρῆνα τὴν Νέαν τιμᾷν. καί οἱ τὸ ὄναρ Σοφοκλέα καὶ τὴν Σοφοκλέους ποίησιν ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν.*

[4] Gruppe, Ariadne, p. 285—305.

[5] By Böckh, de Gr. Trag. Princip. p. 107—109.

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[6] By Clinton, Phil. Museum, i. p. 74, fol.

[7] Justin says, (lib. iii. 6,) that he served against the Lacedæmonians.

[8] *καὶ ἐν πρεσβείαις ἐξητάζετο.* Vit. Anonym.

[9] Diodor. xiii. 103.

[1] *Νίκας ἔλαβεν εἴκοσιν ὥς φησι Καρύστιος· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δευτερεῖα ἔλαβε.* Vit. Anonym.

[2] Suidas.

[3] Welcker, Trilogie, p. 51.

That he did act upon general principles is sufficiently proved, by the fact that he wrote a book on the dramatic chorus. The objection, which (according to Chamæleon) he made to Æschylus, that even when his poetry was what it ought to be, it was so only by accident [4], is just such a remark as a finished artist would make to a self-taught genius. But we might conclude, without any extrinsic authority, from a moderate acquaintance with his remaining Tragedies, that he is never beautiful or sublime, without intending to be so: we see that he has a complete apprehension of the proper means of arriving at the objects of tragical imitation: he feels that his success depends not upon his subject, but upon himself; he has the faculty of making with right reason; in short, he is an artist in the strictest sense of the word [5]. "Sophocles," says one who has often more than guessed at truth, "is the summit of Greek art; but one must have scaled many a steep before one can estimate his height: it is because of his classical perfection that he has generally been the least admired of the great ancient poets; for little of his beauty is perceptible to a mind that is not thoroughly principled and imbued with the spirit of antiquity [6]." The ancients themselves fully appreciated Sophocles: his great contemporary

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[4] See Athen. i. 22. x. 428. quoted in the sect. on Æschylus.

[5] Aristot. Eth. Nicom. vi. p. 1140. l. 10. Bekker: ἔστι δὲ τέχνη πᾶσα περὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸ τεχνάζειν, καὶ θεωρεῖν, ὅπως ἂν γένηταί τι τῶν ἐνδεχομένων καὶ εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι καὶ ὧν ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ ποιοῦντι ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐν τῷ ποιουμένῳ.—— ἡ μὲν οὖν τέχνη ὥσπερ εἴρηται ἕξις τις μετὰ λόγου ποιητική ἐστι.

[6] Guesses at Truth, vol. i. p. 267. Comp. Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr. c. xxiv. § 13.

Aristophanes will not expose Æschylus to the risk of a contest with a man to whom he has voluntarily given up a part of the tragic throne, and to whom he delegates his authority when he returns to the upper world[7]: his numerous victories and the improvements which Æschylus found it necessary to borrow from him, are all so many proofs of the estimation in which he was held by his countrymen: but it is to be feared that few, if any, of his modern readers, will ever be able to divest themselves completely of all their modern associations, and thus set a just value upon productions so entirely and absolutely Greek as the Tragedies of Sophocles. If we would understand them at all, we must always bear in mind that he was the successor of Æschylus; that he intended rather to follow up and improve upon his predecessor and contemporary, than to create an entirely new species for himself. Art always follows at the heels of Genius. Genius creates forms of beauty; art marshals them, and sets them in order, forming them into groups and regulating the order of their successive appearances. Genius hews rude masses from the mines of thought, but art gives form and usefulness to the shapeless ore. Æschylus felt what a Greek Tragedy ought to be, as a religious union of the two elements of the national poetry, and he modelled bold, colossal groups, such as a Phidias might have conceived, but not such as a Phidias would have executed. Sophocles, with a highly cultivated mind, and a deep and just perception of what is beautiful in art, was enabled to effect an outward realization of his great contemporary's conceptions, and what was already perfected in the mind of Æschylus, this he exhibited, in its most perfect form, before the eyes of all Athens. The Tragedy of Sophocles was not generically different from that of Æschylus; it bore the same relation to its forerunner that a finished statue bears to an unfinished group. For when Sophocles added a third actor to the two of Æschylus[8], he gave so great a preponderance to the dialogue, that the chorus, or the base on which the three plays stood, was unable any longer to support them; in assigning to each of them a separate pedestal, he rendered them independent, and destroyed the necessary connexion which had previously bound them together; so that it became from thenceforth a matter of choice with the poet, whether he represented with trilogies or with separate plays. As we have before said, we think Sophocles did both: the number of his satyrical Dramas shows that his exhibitions were principally tetralogies, and we are willing to accept the statement in Suidas, that he sometimes brought out his Tragedies one by one. What Æschylus, following his natural taste, practised in the internal economy of his pieces, for instance, in the exclusion of every thing beneath the dignity of Tragedy, this Sophocles adopted as a rule of art, to be applied or departed from as the occasion might suggest. The words which Landor puts into his mouth express what appear to us to have been his general feelings[9]. "I am," says he, in reference to the master-works at Athens, "only the interpreter of the heroes and divinities who are looking down upon me." He felt himself called upon to make an advance in the tragic art, corresponding to those improvements which Phidias had made upon the works of his immediate forerunners: he did so, and with reference to the same objects. The persons who figured in the old legends, and in the poems of the Epic Cycle, were alone worthy in his opinion of the cothurnus; and if ever an inferior or ludicrous character appears in his Tragedies, he is but a slavish instrument in the poet's hands to work out the irony of the piece; a streak of bright colour thrown into the picture, in order to render more conspicuous its tragic gloom.

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[7] Comp. Aristoph. Ran. 790. 1515.

[8] Τρεῖς δὲ [ὑποκριτὰς] καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς.—Arist. Poet. iv. 16. Τὸν δὲ τρίτον [ὑποκριτὴν] Σοφοκλῆς, καὶ συνεπλήρωσεν τὴν τραγῳδίαν.—Diog. Laert. in Plat.

Besides the addition of a τριταγωνιστής[1], some other improvements are ascribed to this poet; he seems to have made the costumes more appropriate, to have introduced scene painting, and to have altered the distribution of the chorus.

The public character of Sophocles was, as we have seen, rather inconsistent. In the earlier years of his political life he was a partizan of Pericles, and his plays contain many passages evidently written with a view to recommend himself to that statesman. In the Antigone he advises the Athenians to yield a ready and implicit obedience to the man whom, for the time being, they had placed over themselves[2]; and if, as we believe, the Œdipus at Colonus was written just before the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, it is more than probable that the refusal of Theseus to deliver up Œdipus, though a polluted person, has reference to the demand made by the confederates with regard to the expulsion of Pericles[3].

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[9] Landor's Imaginary Conversations, ii. p. 142.

[1] Which is also attributed to Æschylus. (Themistius. p. 316.)

The private character of Sophocles was unfortunately very far from faultless. He was a notorious sensualist[4], and, in his later days, rather avaricious[5]. He possessed, however, those agreeable qualities which are very often found along with habits of vicious indulgence; he was exceedingly good natured, always contented[6], and an excellent boon companion[7]. His faults were due rather to his age and country than to any innate depravity. His Tragedies are full of the strongest recommendations of religion and morality; and we know no ancient poet who has so justly and forcibly described the infallibility and immortality of God, as opposed to man's weakness, ignorance, and liability to error[8]: or who has set the beauty of piety and

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[2] 670. *'Αλλ' ὃν πόλις στήσειε τοῦδε χρὴ κλύειν*
Καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ δίκαια καὶ τἀναντία.

See Introduction to the Antigone, p. xv.

[3] Comp. Œd. Col. 943, seqq. with Thucyd. i. 126, 127. Lachmann. in the Rhein. Mus. for 1827, p. 327, fol.

[4] Cic. Offic. i. 40. de Senect. 47. Athen. xii. p. 510. xiii. p. 592. xiii. p. 603. Plato, i. Resp. p. 329. B.

[5] 'Ερμῆς. *πρῶτον δ' ὅ τι πράττει Σοφοκλέης ἀνήρετο.*
Τρυγαῖος. *εὐδαιμονεῖ· πάσχει δὲ θαυμαστόν.*
'Ερμῆς. *Τὸ τί;*
Τρυγαῖος. *ἐκ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους γίγνεται Σιμωνίδης.*
'Ερμῆς. *Σιμωνίδης; πῶς;*
Τρυγαῖος. *Ὅτι, γέρων ὢν καὶ σαπρός,*
κέρδους ἕκατι κἂν ἐπὶ ῥιπὸς πλέοι.—Pax 695, seqq.

[6] Aristoph. Ran. 82.

[7] See the amusing anecdote from Ion, Athen. xiii. p. 603. E.

[8] We allude to Antig. 604, which is generally misunderstood. The connexion of ideas in the passage is as follows: "What mortal transgression or sin is Jupiter liable to, Jupiter the sleepless and everlasting god! But mortal men know nothing of the future till it comes upon them." We should certainly read *ὑπερβασία* in the nominative case. *Τίς ὑπερβασία κατέχει τεὰν δύνασιν;* is equivalent to *τεὰ δύνασις κατέχει οὔτινα ὑπερβασίαν.* Compare Theognis, 743—6, which Sophocles had in his head.

Καὶ τοῦτ', ἀθανάτων βασιλεῦ, πῶς ἐστι δίκαιον
Ἔργων ὅστις ἀνὴρ ἐκτὸς ἐὼν ἀδίκων,
Μή τιν' ὑπερβασίην κατέχων, μηδ' ὅρκον ἀλιτρόν,
'Αλλὰ δίκαιος ἐών, μὴ τὰ δίκαια πάθῃ;

righteousness, and the danger and folly of impiety and pride, in a stronger and clearer light than he has[9].

To characterize the man and his works in one word, calmness is the prominent feature in the life and writings of Sophocles. In his politics, an easy indifference to men and measures; in his private life, contentment and good nature; in his Tragedies, a total absence of that wild enthusiasm which breaks down the barriers of common sense, are the manifestations of this rest of mind: his spirit was

> Like a breath of air,
> Such as is sometimes seen, and hardly seen,
> To brush the still breast of a crystal lake[1].

He lived, as it were, in the strong hold of his own unruffled mind, and, unmoved, heard the pattering storm without[2]. His very burial created peace out of war, and the tomb closed upon one loved by all Athens, admired by all Greece, and to be remembered by all the civilized world.

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[9] See the beautiful chorus in Œd. Tyr. 863, seqq.

[1] Wordsworth (Excursion, p. 90).

[2] He says himself, in a fragment of the Tympanistæ (No. 563):

> *Φεῦ, φεῦ, τί τούτου χάρμα μεῖζον ἂν λάβοις,*
> *τοῦ γῆς ἐπιψαύσαντα κᾆθ' ὑπὸ στέγῃ*
> *πυκνῆς ἀκοῦσαι ψεκάδος εὑδούσῃ φρενί.*

It is clear that this, like many other passages referring to escape from the sea, expresses the feelings, and in part the language of those, who were initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. Cf. Eurip. *Bacch.* 900. Demosth. *Coron.* p. 516, A. Lucret. ii. init. Cic. Att. ii. 7.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION IV.

EURIPIDES.

Æschylus ruft Titaner herauf und Götter herunter;
Sophocles führt anmuthig der Heldinnen Reih'n und Heroen.
Endlich Euripides schwatzt ein sophistischer Rhetor am Markte.
A. W. Schlegel.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολιτικῶς ἐποίουν λέγοντας, οἱ δὲ νῦν ῥητορικῶς.
Aristoteles.

Like as many substances in nature, which are solid, do putrify and corrupt into worms; so it is the property of good and sound knowledge, to putrify and dissolve into a number of subtle, idle, unwholesome, and, as I may term them, vermiculate questions, which have indeed a kind of quickness, and life of spirit, but no soundness of matter or goodness of quality. Bacon.

Euripides, the son of Mnesarchus, was born in the island of Salamis, on the day of the glorious sea-fight (B.C. 480)[1]. His mother, Clito, had been sent over to Salamis with the other Athenian women when Attica was given up to the invading army of Xerxes[2]; and the name of the poet, which is formed like a patronymic from the Euripus, the scene of the first successful resistance to the Persian navy, shows that the minds of his parents were full of the stirring events of that momentous crisis. His father was certainly a man of property, else how could his son have been a pupil of the extravagant[3] Prodicus? It would appear that he was also born of a good family[4]. But this is no argument, as Philochorus supposes[5], against the implications of Aristophanes[6], and the direct statement of Theopompus[7], that his mother was a seller of herbs; for it is quite possible that his father may have made a marriage of disparagement. Like Sophocles, he was well educated. He attended the lectures of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, and Protagoras; and was so well versed in the gymnastic exercises of the day, that he gained two victories in the Eleusinian and Thesean athletic games when only seventeen years old. Mnesarchus had intended that he should enter the lists of Olympia among the younger combatants, but some objection was raised against him on the score of age, and he was excluded from the contest[8]. To his other accomplishments he added a taste for painting, which he cultivated with some success; a few specimens of his talents in this respect were preserved for many years at Megara. He brought out his first Tragedy, the Peliades, in (B.C.) 455[9], consequently at an earlier age than either of his predecessors. He was third on this occasion, but gained the first prize fourteen years after[1], and also in 428 B. C., when the *Hippolytus* was represented[2], though he does not appear to have been often so successful[3]. His reputation, however, spread far and wide, and if we may believe Plutarch, some of the Athenians, who had survived the disastrous termination of the Syracusan expedition, obtained their liberty or a livelihood by reciting and teaching such passages from the poems of Euripides as they happened to recollect[4]. We shall show by and by that Euripides was one of the advocates for that expedition: and we are told that he wrote a funeral poem on the Athenian soldiers who fell in Sicily. Late in life he retired to Magnesia, and from thence proceeded to Macedonia, where his popularity procured him the protection and friendship of King Archelaus. It is not known what induced him to quit Athens, though many causes might be assigned. The infidelity of his two wives, Melito and Chœrila, which is supposed to have occasioned the misogynism for which he was notorious, may perhaps have made him desirous of escaping from the scenes of his domestic discomforts, especially as his misfortunes were continually recalled to his remembrance by the taunts and jeers of his merciless political enemy, Aristophanes[5]. Besides, he appears to have been very intimate with Socrates and Alcibiades, the former of whom is said to have assisted him in the composition of his tragedies[6]; and when Alcibiades won the chariot race at Olympia, Euripides wrote a song in honour of his victory[7]. That Socrates was, even at this time, very unpopular, is exceedingly likely[8]; and Alcibiades was a condemned exile. Perhaps, then, Euripides only followed the dictates of prudence in withdrawing from a country where his philosophical[9], as well as his political sentiments, exposed him to continual danger. At the court of Archelaus, on the contrary, he was treated with the greatest distinction, and was even admitted to the private counsels of the king. He wrote some plays in Macedonia, in one of which (the *Bacchæ*) he seems to have been inspired by the wild scenery of the country[1] where he was residing; and the story, according to which he is torn to pieces by dogs[2], just as his hero Pentheus is rent asunder by the infuriated Bacchanals, arose perhaps from a confusion between the poet and the last subject on which he wrote. It is clearly a fabrication, for Aristophanes in the Frogs would certainly have alluded to the manner of his death, had there been any thing remarkable in it. He died B.C. 406, on the same day

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[1] Diog. Laert. ii. 45: ἡμέρᾳ καθ' ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐναυμάχουν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. Plutarch. Sympos. viii. 1. ἐτέχθη καθ' ἣν ἡμέραν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς Πέρσας. Suid. The Parian marble places his birth five years earlier, and we shall see in the passage of Aulus Gellius, quoted below, that his age was not known with certainty while he was yet alive.

[2] He belonged properly to the deme Phlyæ of the Cecropid tribe, but he, perhaps, had some land in Salamis, and sometimes resided there. "Philochorus refert," says Aulus Gellius, "in insulâ Salamine speluncam esse tetram et horridam, quam nos vidimus, in quâ Euripides tragœdias scriptitarit."—Noct. Att. xv. 20. (Whenever we have quoted no other authority, it will be presumed that we refer either to the life of Euripides by Thomas Magister, or to the anonymous life published by Elmsley, from the Ambrosian MS., and printed at the end of his edition of the Bacchæ.)

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[3] See Rhein. Mus. for 1832, p. 22, fol.

[4] Athenæus, x. p. 424.

[5] Apud Suid. Εὐριπ.

[6] Προπηλακιζομένας ὁρῶσ' ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ
Εὐριπίδου, τοῦ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας.—Thesmoph. 386.

Again, speaking of Euripides, the female orator says—

Ἄγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γυναῖκες, δρᾷ κακά,
Ἅτ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφείς.—455.

Dicæopolis, in the Acharnians, among his other requests, says to Euripides—

Σκάνδικά μοι δός, μητρόθεν δεδεγμένος.—454.

The same insinuation is more obscurely conveyed in the Equites—

Νικ. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε
Εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευριπικῶς;
Δημ. Μή μοι γε, μή μοι, μὴ διασκανδικίσῃς.—17.

And in the Ranæ—

Αἰσχ. Ἄληθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ;—839.

[7] Euripidis poetæ matrem Theopompus agrestia olera vendentem victum quæsisse dicit.—Noct. Att. xv. 20.

[8] Mnesarchus, roborato exercitatoque filii sui corpore, Olympiam certaturum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguam ætatem receptus non est. Post Eleusinio et Theseo certamine pugnavit et coronatus est.—Aul. Gell. Noct. Att. xv. 20.

[9] Arund. Marble, no. 61. It appears, however, that he had applied himself to dramatic composition before this. See Aul. Gell. xv. 20.

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[1] Arundel Marble, 61.

[2] Argument to the Hippol. *ἐδιδάχθη ἐπὶ Ἀμείνονος ἄρχοντος ὀλυμπιάδι πζ ἔτει τετάρτῳ· πρῶτος Εὐριπίδης· δεύτερος Ἰοφῶν· τρίτος Ἴων.*

[3] Suidas says he gained only five victories, one of which was with a posthumous play.

[4] *Ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δι' Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. Μάλιστα γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἐντὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῦσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἑκάστοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμανθάνοντες, ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. Τότε γοῦν φασι τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς μέν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν, ἐκδιδάξαντες, ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηντο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην, τροφῆς καὶ ὕδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ᾄσαντες. Οὐ δεῖ δὴ θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασί, πλοίου προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν, ὑπὸ λῃστρίδων διωκομένου, μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν· εἶτα μέντοι διαπυνθανομένους, εἰ γινώσκουσιν ᾄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρεῖναι καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον.* Plutarch, Nicias cxxix.

[5] Ran. 1045.

Eurip. *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι·*
Æschyl. *μηδέ γ' ἐπείη·*
Ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σοί τοι καὶ τοῖς σοῖσιν πολλὴ πολλοῦ 'πικαθῆτο.
Ὥστε γε καὐτόν σε κατ' οὖν ἔβαλεν.
Bacchus. *Νὴ τὸν Δία τοῦτο γε τοι δή·*
Ἃ γὰρ ἐς τὰς ἀλλοτρίας ἐποίεις, αὐτὸς τούτοισιν ἐπλήγης.

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[6] "Laertius (in Socrat.) has preserved a couplet which cunningly brings this charge :

Φρύγες, ἐστὶ καινὸν δρᾶμα τοῦτ' Εὐριπίδου,
'Ωι καὶ τὰ φρύγαν' ὑποτίθησι Σωκράτης.

Allusion is made to the same imputation in a line of Antiphanes (Athen. iv. 134) :

'Ο τὰ κεφάλαια συγγράφων Εὐριπίδῃ,

where *κεφάλαια* are the sententious sayings which Socrates was reputed to have furnished. Ælian (Var. Hist. ii. 13) states that Socrates seldom went to the theatre, except to see some new tragedy of Euripides performed.

This philosophising in his dramas gave Euripides the name of the *stage philosopher*; Euripides, auditor Anaxagoræ, quem philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt. Vitruv. viii. in præf.—Former Editor. See Dindorf in Poet. Scen. p. 574.

[7] Plutarch, Alcibiad. c. xi. *Λέγει δ' ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐν τῷ ᾄσματι ταῦτα·*

Σὲ δ' ἀείσομαι, ὦ Κλεινίου παῖ.
Καλὸν ἁ νίκα· κάλλιστον δ' ὃ
Μηδεὶς ἄλλος 'Ελλάνων
"Αρματι πρῶτα δραμεῖν καὶ δεύτερα
Καὶ τρίτα βῆναι δ' ἀπονητί,
Τρὶς στεφθέντ' ἐλαίᾳ
Κάρυκι βοᾷν παραδοῦναι.

[8] Archelaus invited Socrates also to his court. Aristot. Rhet. ii. 23.

[9] Aristot. Rhet. iii. 15.

[1] See Elmsley on the argument, p. 4. In v. 400, we should read Πέλλαν for Πάφον.

[2] Hermesianax Colophonius (Athen. xiii. 598). Ovid, Ibis, 595. Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. xv. 20. Val. Max. ix. 12.—Pausanias (i. p. 3) seems to doubt the truth of the common account. Dionysius Byzantius expressly denies it (Anthol. iii. 36).

on which Dionysius assumed the tyranny[3]. He was buried at Pella, contrary to the wishes of his countrymen, who requested Archelaus to send his remains to Athens, where however a cenotaph was erected to his memory with this inscription:—

> Μνᾶμα μὲν Ἑλλὰς ἅπασ' Εὐριπίδου· ὀστέα δ' ἴσχει
>   Γῆ Μακεδών· ᾗ γὰρ δέξατο τέρμα βίου.
> Πατρὶς δ' Ἑλλάδος Ἑλλὰς, Ἀθῆναι· πλεῖστα δὲ Μούσας
>   Τέρψας, ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον ἔχει.

Euripides was the last of the Greek Tragedians properly so called. "The sure sign of the general decline of an art," says an able writer, "is the frequent occurrence, not of deformity, but of misplaced beauty. In general, Tragedy is corrupted by eloquence, and Comedy by wit[4]." This symptom of the decline of Tragedy is particularly conspicuous in Euripides, and so much of tragical propriety is given up for the sake of rhetorical display, that we sometimes feel inclined to doubt whether we are reading the works of a poet or of a teacher of elocution. It is this quality of Euripides which has in all ages rendered him a much greater favourite than either Æschylus or Sophocles: it is this also which made the invention of tragi-comedy by him so natural and so easy; it is this which recommended him to Menander as the model for the dialogue of his new comedy; and it is for this that Quintilian so strongly recommends him to the notice of the young aspirant after oratorical fame[5]. In the middle ages too, Euripides was infinitely better known than the two other great Tragedians; for the more un-Greek and common-place and rhetorical and hair-splitting the former was, the more attractive was he likely to prove in an age when scholastic subtleties were mistaken for eloquence, minute distinctions for science, and verbal quibbles for sure evidences of proficiency in the *ars artium*. We cannot wonder then that Dante, who calls his Latin Aristotle "the master of those that know[4]," and an Italian version of the Moralia "his own ethics[5]," should make no mention of Æschylus and Sophocles in his survey of the shades of departed poets, but should class the rhetorical Euripides, and the no less quibbling Agathon, among the greatest of the poets of Greece[6]. But if it be easy to explain how the quasi-philosophical character of Euripides gained him so much popularity among his less civilized contemporaries, the Sicilians and Macedonians, and among the semi-barbarous Europeans of the middle ages, we shall have still less difficulty in explaining how he came to be so unlike the two great writers who preceded him; one of whom was in his later days the competitor of Euripides. We have already insisted at some length upon the connexion between the actors of Sophocles, Æschylus, and their predecessors, and the Homeric rhapsode. Now the rhapsodes were succeeded by a class of men whom, for want of a more definitive name, it has been customary to call sophists[7], and sometimes the sophist and the rhapsode were united in the same person: indeed so completely were they identified in most cases, that Plato makes Socrates treat Hippias the sophist, who was also a rhapsode, and Ion the rhapsode, who seems to have been a sophist too, with banter and irony of precisely the same kind. Since then Euripides was nursed in the lap of sophistry, was the pupil and friend of the most eminent of the sophists, and perhaps to all intents a sophist himself, we cannot wonder that he should turn the rhapsodical element of the Greek Drama into a sophistical one: in fact, the transition was not only natural, but perhaps even necessary. It may, however, be asked, how is this reconcileable with the statement that Socrates assisted Euripides in the composition of his tragedies? for

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[3] See Clin. F. H. ii. p. 81.

[4] Mr. Macaulay in the Edinburgh Review, No. XC. p. 278.

[5] Sed longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides; quorum in dispari dicendi viâ uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. Idque ego sane, quoniam ad præsentem materiam nihil pertinet, injudicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis, qui se ad agendum comparant, utiliorem longe Euripidem fore. Namque is et in sermone (quod ipsum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas et cothurnus et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi: et sententiis densus, et in iis, quæ a sapientibus tradita sunt, pene ipsis par, et in dicendo ac respondendo cuilibet eorum, qui fuerunt in foro diserti, comparandus. In affectibus vero cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis, qui miseratione constant, facile præcipuus. Hunc et admiratus maxime est (ut sæpe testatur) et secutus, quamquam in opere diverso, Menander.—Inst. Orat. x. 1. 67.

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[4] Inf. iv. 131.

[5] Inf. xi. 80, referring to Aristot. Eth. vii. 1. That Dante read Aristotle's Ethics in the Italian translation of Taddeo d'Alderotto, surnamed *l'Ippocratista*, may be inferred from the *Convito*, I. 10, p. 39.

[6] Purgat. xxii. 106.

> *Euripide* v' è nosco e Anacreonte,
> Simonide, *Agatone*, e altri piúe
> Greci che già di lauro ornar la fronte.

[7] The young student will find some interesting remarks on these personages in Coleridge's Friend, Vol. III. p. 112, fol. See also the articles on Prodicus in Nos. I. and IV. of the Rhein. Mus. 1832.

Socrates was, if we can believe Plato's representation of him, the sworn foe of the sophists. We answer that Socrates was, in the more general sense of the word, himself a sophist; his opposition to the other sophists, which has probably been exaggerated by his pupils and apologists, to whom we owe nearly all we know about him, is no proof of a radical difference between him and them: on the contrary, it is proverbial that there are no disagreements so rancorous and implacable as those between persons who follow the same trade with different objects in view. That Socrates was the least pernicious of the sophists, that, if he was not a good citizen, he was at least an honest man, we are very much disposed to believe; but in the eyes of his contemporaries he differed but little from the rest of the tribe: Aristophanes attacks him as the head of the school, and perhaps some of the comedian's animosity to Euripides may have arisen from his belief that the tragedian was only a Socrates and a sophist making an *epideixis* in iambics[8].

Euripides was not only a rhetorical sophist. He also treated his audience to some of the physical doctrines of his master Anaxagoras[9]. For instance, he goes out of his way to communicate to them the Anaxagorean discovery, that the sun is nothing but an ignited stone[1]: he tells them that the overflowing of the Nile is merely the consequence of the melting of the snow in Æthiopia[2], and that the æther is an embodiment of the Deity[3].

In his political opinions Euripides was attached to Alcibiades and to the war party; and in this again he was opposed to Aristophanes, and, we may add, to the best interests of his country. He endeavours to inspire his countrymen with a contempt for their formidable enemies the Spartans[4], and with a distrust of their good faith[5]; in order that the Athenians might not, through fear for their prowess, scruple to continue at war with them, and might, through suspicion, be as unwilling as possible to make peace. We find him also united with the sophist Gorgias and the profligate Alcibiades in urging the disastrous expedition to Sicily; for he wrote the trilogy to which the Troades belonged, in the beginning of the year 415[6], in which that expedition started, manifestly with a view to encourage the gaping *quidnuncs* of the Agora to fall into the ambitious schemes of Alcibiades, by recalling the recollection of the success of a similar expedition, undertaken in the mythical ages; and we believe that his wiser opponent wrote the "Birds" in the following year, to ridicule the whole plan and its originators[7].

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[8] Aristophanes speaks of him thus:

ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθ' Εὐριπίδης ἐπεδείκνυτο
τοῖς λωποδύταις, κ. τ. λ.—Ranæ, 771.

[9] On the allusions which Euripides makes to the philosophy of Anaxagoras, the reader of this poet should consult Valckenaer's Diatribe, pp. 25—58.

[1] Orest. vi. 984, and the fr. of the Phaëthon.

[2] Helen. 1—3. fr. of the Archelaus.

[3] Troad. 878, seqq.

[4] For instance, in his ridiculous exhibition of Menelaus in the Troades, and in the Orestes. See particularly Orest. 717, seqq. Androm. 590.

[5] Andromache 445, seqq.

Besides obliterating the genuine character of the Greek Tragedy, by introducing sophistry and philosophy into the dialogue, Euripides degraded it still farther by laying aside all the dignity and *καλοκὰγαθία* which distinguished the costumes and the characters of Æschylus and Sophocles, by vulgarizing the tragic style[8], by introducing rags and tatters on the stage[9], by continually making mention of the most trivial and ordinary subjects[1], and by destroying the connexion which always subsisted, in the perfect form of the Drama, between the chorus and the actors[2]. With regard to his system of prologues, which Lessing most paradoxically considers as showing the perfection of the Drama, we need only mention that Menander adopted it from him, and point to the difference between this practice and that of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare, in order to justify the ridicule which Aristophanes unsparingly heaps upon them as factitious and unnecessary parts of a Tragedy.

Like the other Sophists, Euripides was altogether devoid of religious feelings; his moral character was the worst possible; and, unlike the good-tempered, cheerful Sophocles, he displayed the same severity of manner which distinguished his never-smiling preceptor, Anaxagoras. On the whole, were it not for the exceeding beauty of many of his choruses, and for the proof which he occasionally exhibits of really tragic power, we should join with Aristophanes, in calling him, not only what he undeniably was, a bad citizen[3], and an unprincipled man, but also a very second-rate poet.

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[6] See Clinton, F. H. II. p. 75.

[7] See J. W. Süvern's interesting Essay on the "Birds" of Aristophanes.

[8] See Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr. I. p. 366. In *Hercul. fur.* 859, it is clear that *στάδια δραμοῦμαι*, the reading of Flor. 2, is a gloss on the genuine *σταδιοδρομήσω*, which ought to be restored.

[9] Ran. 841, seqq.

[1] Ib. 980, seqq.

[2] *Καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἵνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου, καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλῆς.*—Aristot. Poet. xviii. 21.

Thanks to accident, or the bad taste of those to whom we owe all of ancient literature that we possess, the remaining plays of Euripides are more than all the extant Dramas of Æschylus and Sophocles taken together. Of his many compositions, fifteen Tragedies[4], two Tragi-comedies[5], and a satyrical Drama[6], have come down to us; and the fragments of the lost plays are very numerous.

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[3] On the connexion of Euripides and Socrates with the mischievous Girondism of the middle-class party at Athens, we have written elsewhere (Quarterly Review, No. CLXI. Vol. 71. p. 116. Continuation of Müller's Hist. Lit. Gr. p. 127.)

[4] Or 16, if the *Rhesus* is reckoned one of his.

[5] The *Orestes* and the *Alcestis*.

[6] The *Cyclops*.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION V.

AGATHON AND THE REMAINING TRAGEDIANS.

> 'Επιφυλλίδες ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ στωμύλματα
> Χελιδόνων μουσεῖα, λωβηταὶ τέχνης,
> Ἃ φροῦδα θᾶττον, ἢν μόνον χορὸν λάβῃ.
>
> ARISTOPHANES.

In addition to the seven Tragedians, of whom we have attempted to give some account, a list of thirty-four names of tragic poets, so called, has been drawn up [1]. Of these, very few are worthy of even the slightest mention, and we have but scanty information respecting those few, of whom we might have wished to know more.

Ion, the son of Orthomenes of Chios, was, according to Suidas, not only a Tragedian, but a lyric poet and philosopher also. He began to exhibit in B.C. 451, and wrote twelve, thirty, or forty dramas. The names of eleven have been collected [2]. He gained the third prize when Euripides was first with the Hippolytus in B.C. 428 [3]. He wrote, not only Tragedies, but elegies [4], dithyrambs [5], and an account of the visits paid by eminent men to his native island [6]. Though he did not exhibit till after Euripides had commenced his dramatic career, and though he was, like that poet, a friend of Socrates [7], we should be inclined to infer, from his having written dithyrambs, that he belonged to an earlier age of the dramatic art, and that his plays were free from the corruptions which Euripides had introduced into Greek Tragedy: it is, indeed, likely that a foreigner would copy rather from the old models, than from modern innovations. He died before Euripides, for he was dead when Aristophanes brought out the "Peace[8]" (B.C. 419). From an anecdote mentioned by Athenæus, that he presented each Athenian citizen with a Chian vase, on one occasion, when he gained the tragic prize[9], we may infer that he was a man of fortune.

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[1] By Clinton, F. H. ii. p. xxxii.—xxxv.

[2] By Bentley (Epistola ad Millium).

[3] Argum. Hippolyti.

[4] Athenæus, x. p. 436.

[5] Aristoph. Pax, 798.

[6] Athenæus, iii. p. 93.

[7] Diogenes Laert. ii. p. 23.

ARISTARCHUS, of Tegea, who first exhibited in B.C. 454, deserves to be mentioned as having furnished models for the imitations of Ennius.

ACHÆUS, of Eretria, must also be considered as belonging to an earlier age of the tragic art than Euripides, whose senior he was by four years. He wrote forty-four, thirty, or twenty-four dramas, but only gained one tragic victory[1]. His countryman Menedemus considered him the best writer of satyrical dramas after Æschylus[2].

AGATHON was, like his friend Euripides, a dramatic sophist. He is best known to us from his appearance in the *Banquet* of Plato, which is supposed to have taken place at his house on the day after the celebration of his tragic victory. This appears to have taken place at the Lenæa, in the archonship of Euphemius, B.C. 416[3]. He is introduced to us by Plato as a well-dressed, handsome young man, courted by the wealth and wisdom of Athens, and exercising the duties of hospitality with all the ease and refinement of modern politeness. In the *Epideixis*, in praise of love, which he is there made to pronounce, we are presented with the artificial and rhetorical expressions which his friend[4] Aristophanes attributes to his style[5], and which we might have expected from a pupil of Gorgias[6]. Aristotle tells us[7] that he was the first to introduce into his dramas arbitrary choral songs, which had nothing to do with the subject; and it appears from the same author that he sometimes wrote pieces with fictitious names, which Schlegel justly concludes were something between the idyl and the newest form of comedy[8]. He was residing at the court of Archelaus when Euripides died[9]: the cause of his departure from Athens is not known. He is represented as a little effeminate person in Aristophanes' play, called the Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι[10]; and it is, perhaps, only the intimacy subsisting between Aristophanes and him which has gained for him the affectionate tribute of esteem which the comedian puts into the mouth of Bacchus[11], and has saved him from the many strictures which he deserved, both as a poet and as a man. The time of his death is not known.

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[8] Schol. Pac. 837, ὅτι ὁ μὲν Ἴων ἤδη τέθνηκε, δῆλον.

[9] Athenæus, i. p. 4.

[1] Suidas.

[2] Diog. Laert. ii. p. 133.

[3] Athenæus, v. p. 217. A. ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος Εὐφήμου στεφανοῦται Ληναίοις.

[4] It will be recollected, that Aristophanes is introduced at Plato's *Banquet* among the other intimates of Agathon.

Xenocles, though he is called an execrable poet[12], gained a tragic prize with a trilogy, over the head of Euripides, in B.C. 415[13]. He was the son of **Carcinus**, a tragedian of whom nothing is known, and is continually ridiculed by Aristophanes. His brothers, Xenotimus and Demotimus or Xenoclitus, were choral dancers.

[5] *Μέλλει γὰρ ὁ καλλιεπὴς Ἀγάθων*
Δρυόχους τιθέναι, δράματος ἀρχάς·
Κάμπτει δὲ νέας ἁψῖδας ἐπῶν·
Τὰ δὲ τορνεύει, τὰ δὲ κολλομελεῖ,
Καὶ γνωμοτυπεῖ, κἀντονομάζει,
Καὶ κηροχυτεῖ, καὶ γογγύλλει,
Καὶ χοανεύει.—Thesmoph. 49.

[6] It appears from the *Banquet* that he was Gorgias' pupil: his imitation of Gorgias is mentioned by Philostratus, De Soph. i. *Ἀγάθων ὁ τῆς τραγῳδίας ποιητὴς ὃν ἡ κωμῳδία σοφόν τε καὶ καλλιεπῆ οἶδε* (in allusion to the last quotation,) *πολλαχοῦ τῶν ἰαμβείων γοργιάζει*: and by the Clarkian Scholiast on Plato (Gaisford, p. 173) *ἐμιμεῖτο δὲ τὴν κομψότητα τῆς λέξεως Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος*.

[7] *Τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ᾀδόμενα οὐ μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου, ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστί· δι' ὃ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσι, πρώτου ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοιούτου.* Aristot. Poet. xviii. 22.

[8] Below, Part III. p. 253. One of these was called the *Flower*. Aristot. Poet. ix. 7.

[9] Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran. 85. Ælian, V. H. II. 21, xiii. 4. Clark. Schol. Plato, p. 173.

[10] Thesmoph. 29. *Ἀγάθων ὁ κλεινός*. 191.

[11] Ran. 84. *Ἡρ. Ἀγάθων δὲ ποῦ 'στιν; Δι. ἀπολιπών μ' ἀποίχεται,*
Ἀγαθὸς ποιητὴς καὶ ποθεινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

[12] Aristoph. Ran. 86. Thesm. 169.

[13] Ælian, V. H. ii. 8.

Iophon, the son of Sophocles, is described by Aristophanes[5] as a man whose powers were, at the time of his father's death, not yet sufficiently proved to enable a critic to determine his literary rank. He appears, however, to have been a creditable dramatist, and gained the second prize in 428 B.C., when Euripides was first and Ion third[6].

Euphorion, the son of Æschylus, deserves to be mentioned as having gained the first prize, when Sophocles gained the second, and Euripides the third. He probably produced, on this occasion, one of his father's posthumous Tragedies, with which he is said to have conquered four times. He did, however, occasionally bring out Tragedies of his own composing[7].

Euripides and Sophocles, the nephew and grandson respectively of their namesakes, are said to have exhibited, either for the first or for the second time, some of the dramas of their relatives. The younger Sophocles reproduced the *Œdipus at Colonus*, in 401 B.C.[8]; and first contended in his own name 396 B.C.[9] Euripides the younger is said to have published an edition of Homer[10].

Meletus, the accuser of Socrates, is stated to have been a Tragedian[11], and a writer of drinking songs[12]. Œdipus was the subject of one of his plays[13].

Chæremon, who flourished about B.C. 380, was celebrated for his *Centaur*, in which he mixed up the drama, with the styles of epic and lyric poetry then fashionable[14]. He had a great talent for description, but his works were better suited for the closet than for the stage[15].

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[5] Ran. 73, seqq.

[6] Arg. Hippolyti.

[7] Suidas, v. Εὐφορίων. Argument. Medeæ.

[8] Elms. ad Bacch. p. 14, and Suidas.

[9] Diodor. Sic. xiv. 53.

[10] Suidas.

[11] Schol. Ran. 1337. τραγικὸς ποιητὴς ὁ Μέλητος· οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Σωκράτῃ γραψάμενος· κωμῳδεῖται δὲ ὡς ψυχρὸς ἐν τῇ ποιήσει καὶ ὡς πονηρὸς τὸν τρόπον.

[12] Ran. 1297.

[13] Gaisford, Lect. Platon. p. 170.

[14] Aristot. Poet. I. Athenæus, xiii. p. 608.

[15] Aristot. Rhet. iii. 12.

Sosicles, of Syracuse, gained seven victories, and wrote seventy-three Tragedies. He flourished in the reigns of Philip and Alexander of Macedon[1].

The tyrants **Critias** and **Dionysius** the elder, and the rhetorician **Theodectes** obtained some eminence as Tragedians.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, seven Tragic poets flourished at Alexandria, who were called the Pleiades; their names were, **Homer**, **Sositheus**, **Lycophron**, **Alexander**, **Aeantides**, **Sosiphanes**, and **Philiscus**[2]. It is quite uncertain, however, how far their works were dramatical; probably they were mere *centos,* like the *Christus Patiens* of Gregorius Nazianzenus.

[1] Suidas. He is not in Clinton's list.

[2] Schol. Hephæst. p. 32.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE GREEK COMEDIANS.

SECTION I.

THE COMEDIANS WHO PRECEDED ARISTOPHANES.

Quorum Comœdia prisca virorum est.
HORATIUS.

It has been already remarked, that, though Greek Comedy underwent three successive variations in form, we cannot arrange the Comedians according to this classification; we shall be content, therefore, with stating, as far as our authorities permit, the general character of the Dramas of those poets whom we may deem it necessary to mention.

From the first exhibition of Epicharmus to the last of Posidippus, the first and last of the Greek Comedians, is a period of about 250 years; and between these two poets, one hundred and four authors are enumerated[1], who are all said to have written comedy. The claims of some of these, however, to the rank of Comedians are very doubtful, and two who are contained in the list, Sophron and his son Xenarchus, were mimographers, and as such, were not only not Comedians, but hardly Dramatists at all, in the Greek sense of the word.

It has been already mentioned[2] that the first beginnings of a more artificial Comedy must be attributed to the Dorians of Megara and to their Sicilian colonists. Before therefore we speak of the Attic Comedians, we must give some account of Epicharmus and his school.

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[1] By Clinton, F. H. ii. p. xxxvi—xlvii.

[2] Above, p. 57.

Epicharmus, the son of Helothales, whom Theocritus calls the inventor of Comedy[3], and who, according to Plato[4], bore the same relation to Comedy that Homer did to Tragedy, was a native of Cos[5], and went to Sicily with Cadmus, the son of Scythes, about the year 488 B.C. After residing a short time at the Sicilian Megara[6], he was removed to Syracuse along with the other inhabitants of that town, when it was conquered by Gelo in B.C. 484. Diogenes Laertius states that Epicharmus was only three months old when he first went to Sicily: but this is contradicted by his own statement, that the poet was one of the auditors of Pythagoras[7], who died in 497 B.C., by the statement of Aristotle[8], that he was long before Chionides and Magnes, and by the fact that he was a man of influence in the reign of Hiero, who died eighteen years after the date of Epicharmus' arrival in Sicily. Besides being a Pythagorean and a comic poet, he is said to have been a physician, as was also his brother. This has been considered an additional proof of his Coan origin[9]. He was ninety or ninety-seven years old when he died[1]. The comedies of Epicharmus[2] were partly parodies of mythological subjects, and as such, not very different from the dialogue of the satyrical Drama; partly political, and in this respect may have furnished a model for the dialogue of the old Athenian Comedy. He must have made some advance towards the Comedy of Character, if it be true that the *Menæchmi* of Plautus was founded upon one of his plays[3], and Müller has therefore well remarked[4], that although "the Sicilian Comedy in its artistic development preceded the Attic by about a generation, yet the transition to the *middle* Attic Comedy, as it is called, is easier from Epicharmus than from Aristophanes, who appears very unlike himself in the play which tends towards the form of the middle comedy." It is not stated expressly that he had choruses in his comedies; it seems, however, probable from the title of one of them (the Κωμασταὶ) that he had[5]. His style was not less varied than his subjects, for while, on the one hand, he indulged in the wildest buffoonery, he was fond, on the other hand, of making his characters discourse most philosophically on all topics, and we may discern in many of his remaining lines that moral and gnomic element which contributed so much to the formation of the dialogue in the Attic Tragedy[6]. Aristotle charges him with using false antithesis[7], the effect perhaps of his acquaintance with the forced and artificial rhetoric of the Sicilians. The titles of thirty-five of his comedies are known[8].

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[3] Ἅ τε φωνὰ Δώριος, χὡνὴρ, ὁ τὰν κωμῳδίαν
Εὑρὼν Ἐπίχαρμος·
Ὦ Βάκχε, χάλκεόν νιν ἀντ' ἀλαθινοῦ
Τὶν ὧδ' ἀνέθηκαν,
Τοὶ Συρακόσσαις ἐνίδρυνται Πελωρεῖς τᾷ πόλει,
Οἷ' ἀνδρὶ πολίτᾳ,
Σωρὸν γὰρ εἶχε χρημάτων, μεμναμένοι
Τελεῖν ἐπίχειρα.
Πολλὰ γὰρ ποττὰν ζοάν τοῖς παισὶν εἶπε χρήσιμα.
Μεγάλα χάρις αὐτῷ.—Epig. xvii.

[4] Theætet. p. 152. E. οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμῳδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγῳδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος.

[5] Diog. Laert. viii. 78.

[6] See Müller, Dorians, i. 8, § 5, note (q), and iv. 7, § 2.

[7] Diog. u. s. καὶ οὗτος ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρου.

[8] Ἐκεῖθεν [ἐκ Σικελίας] γὰρ ἦν Ἐπίχαρμος ὁ ποιητὴς, πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου καὶ Μάγνητος. Arist. Poet. iii. 5.—Chionides, on the authority of Suidas and Eudocia, began to exhibit B.C. 487: Aristotle's expression, πολλῷ πρότερος ὢν Χιωνίδου, would therefore almost induce us to carry back the date of Epicharmus' first comedy still higher than B.C. 500.

[9] Müller, Dor. iv. 7, § 2.

[1] Diog. Laert. (viii. 78) gives the former number; Lucian (Macrob. xxv.) the latter.

[2] On the nature of the Comedy of Epicharmus, see Müller, Dor. iv. 7, § 2, 3, 4. Hist. Lit. Gr. ii. p. 44, seqq.

Although Epicharmus is mentioned as the inventor of comedy, it is probable that PHORMIS[9], or Phormus[1], preceded him by a few Olympiads; for he was the tutor to the children of Gelon, Hiero's predecessor. He is supposed to have been the same with the Phormis of Mænalus, who distinguished himself in the service of Gelo and Hiero in a military capacity[2]. From the titles of his plays, it is presumed that they were mythological parodies[3]. He is said to have been the first to cover the stage with purple skins[4].

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[3] Prolog. Menæchm. 12.

[4] Hist. Lit. Gr. ii. p. 46.

[5] See above, p. 58.

[6] See the passages in Clinton, F. H. II. p. xxxvi. note (g).

[7] Rhetoric. iii. 9,

[8] These titles are as follows:—

1. Ἀλκυών, 2. Ἄμυκος, 3. Ἀταλάνται, 4. Βάκχαι, 5. Βούσιρις, 6. Γᾶ καὶ Θάλασσα, 7. Διόνυσοι, 8. Ἐλπὶς ἢ Πλοῦτος, 9. Ἥβας γάμος, 10. Ἡρακλῆς Παράφορος, 11. Κύκλωψ, 12. Κωμασταὶ ἢ Ἥφαιστος, 13. Μέγαρις, 14. Μοῦσαι, 15. Νιόβης γάμος, 16. Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος, 17. Ὀδυσσεὺς ναυαγός, 18. Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς, 19. Σειρῆνες, 20. Σκίρων, 21. Σφίγξ, 22. Τρῶες, 23. Φιλοκτήτης, 24. Ἀγρωστῖνοι, 25. Ἁρπαγαί, 26. Δίφιλος, 27. Ἑορτή, 28. Θεωροί, 29. Λόγος ἢ Λογική, 30. Νᾶσοι, 31. Ὀρύα, 32. Περίαλλος, 33. Πέρσαι, 34. Πίθων, 35. Χύτραι. See Fabricius, ii. p. 300, Harles, where however there are some repetitions of names.

[9] Aristot. Poet. iii. 5, v. 5.

[1] Athenæus, xiv. 652. A. Suidas Φόρμος.

DINOLOCHUS, according to Suidas the son, according to others the scholar of Epicharmus, flourished about B.C. 487. He was a native of Syracuse or Agrigentum: probably he was born at the latter place, and represented at Syracuse. Ælian says he contended with Epicharmus[5].

While the Doric comedy was rapidly advancing to perfection in Sicily, a comic drama of perhaps much the same kind sprang up in Attica.

CHIONIDES, who is called the first writer of the old Athenian Comedy, was a contemporary of the Sicilian Comedians[6]. To judge from the three titles which have come down to us—the Ἥρωες, Πέρσαὶ ἢ Ἀσσύριοί, and the Πτωχοί, we should conclude that his comedies had a political reference, and were full of personal satire; and, from an allusion in Vitruvius[7], we may infer, that they were gnomic like those of Epicharmus. The same appears to have been the character of the comedies of his countryman and contemporary MAGNES, from whom Aristophanes borrowed the titles of two of his plays, the Βάτραχοι and Ὄρνιθες, and perhaps the form of all of them. Magnes gained many victories in his younger days: but when he was old, says Aristophanes[8], he was cast aside, merely because the edge of his satire was blunted.

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[2] Pausan. v. 27, 1. Bentley thinks he is the same with the poet: not so Müller, Dor. iv. 7, § 2, note (g).

[3] Three of them were called Κεφαῖος, Ἀλκυόνες, and Ἰλίου πόρθησις.

[4] Suid. Comp. Aristot. Ethic. iv. 2, 20.

[5] Ælian, H. A. vi. 51.

[6] Aristot. Poet. iii. 5. Suid. Χιωνίδης.

[7] "Hæc ita esse plures philosophi dixerunt, non minus etiam poetæ, qui antiquas comœdias Græcè scripserunt, et easdem sententias versibus in scena pronuntiaverunt, Eucrates, *Chionides*, Aristophanes," &c. Vitruv. Præf. in lib. vi.

[8] Equit. 520.

Τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ἅπαθε Μάγνης ἅμα ταῖς πολιαῖς κατιούσαις,
Ὃς πλεῖστα χορῶν τῶν ἀντιπάλων νίκης ἔστησε τρόπαια,
Πᾶσας δ' ὑμῖν φωνὰς ἱεὶς, καὶ ψάλλων, καὶ πτερυγίζων,
Καὶ λυδίζων, καὶ ψηνίζων, καὶ βαπτόμενος βατραχείοις,
Οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν· ἀλλὰ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ γήρως, οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἥβης,
Ἐξεβλήθη πρεσβύτης ὤν, ὅτι τοῦ σκώπτειν ἀπελείφθη.—518.

Cratinus, the son of Callimedes, was born at Athens, B.C. 519[1]. It is stated that he succeeded Magnes; he must, therefore, have commenced his dramatic career late in life[2]. We do not know the date of any of his comedies earlier than the Ἀρχίλοχοι: and since allusion was made in that comedy to the death of Cimon (B.C. 449), it must have been represented after that event[3]. By a decree prohibiting comedy, which was passed in the year 440 B.C., and was not repealed till the year 436 B.C., he was prevented from producing any comedies or plays in that interval[4]. After the repeal of this decree in 436 B.C. Cratinus gained three comic victories. In 425 B.C. he was second with the Χειμαζόμενοι, Aristophanes being first with the Ἀχαρνῆς, and Eupolis third with the Νουμηνίαι[5]. In 424 B.C. he gained the second prize with the Σάτυροι, Aristophanes being first with the Ἱππῆς, and Aristomenes third with the Ὑλοφόροι or Ὀλοφυρμοί[6]. In 423 B.C. Cratinus gained the first prize with the Πυτίνη: Ameipsias was second with the Κόννος, and Aristophanes third with the Νεφέλαι[7]. The old poet died the year after this victory[8]. The names of forty of his comedies are known[9]. He appears to have been an exceedingly bold satirist[10], and was so popular that his choruses were sung at every banquet by the *comus* of revellers[11]. The model for his iambic style was doubtless Archilochus[12], whom he regarded as a type of his own profession, and whom he multiplied, as he might have done any other ideal, in the chorus of one of his plays (the Ἀρχίλοχοι). To his audacious frankness, even Aristophanes appeared to be infected with the mincing rhetoric of Euripides[1]. There is reason to believe that Cratinus, in imitation of Sophocles, increased the number of comic actors to three[2]. Of his private character we know nothing, save that he was a great tippler, and recommended the use of wine both by precept and by example[3].

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[1] He died in 422 B.C. at the age of ninety-seven. Lucian, Macrob. c. xxv.

[2] See Clinton, F. H. II. p. 49.

[3] See Plutarch. Cimon, c. x.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. 67.

[5] Argum. Acharn.

[6] Argum. Equit.

[7] Argum. Nub.

[8] Lucian. Macrob. xxv. Proleg. Küst. p. xxix.

[9] Fabric. II. p. 431, Harles.

[10] Comp. Horat. I. Serm. iv. 1, seqq. with Persius, I. 123.

[11] Aristoph. Equit. 526, seqq.

> Εἶτα Κρατίνου μεμνημένος, ὃς πολλῷ ῥεύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνῳ
> Διὰ τῶν ἀφελῶν πεδίων ἔῤῥει, καὶ τῆς στάσεως παρασύρων
> Ἐφόρει τὰς δρῦς καὶ τὰς πλατάνους καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς προθελύμνους·
> Ἀσαι δ' οὐκ ἦν ἐν συμποσίῳ, πλὴν ΔΩΡΟΙ ΣΥΚΟΠΕΔΙΛΕ,
> Καὶ ΤΕΚΤΟΝΕΣ ΕΥΠΑΛΑΜΩΝ ΥΜΝΩΝ· οὕτως ἥνθησεν ἐκεῖνος.
> Νυνὶ δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες παραληροῦντ' οὐκ ἐλεεῖτε,
> Ἐκπιπτουσῶν τῶν ἠλέκτρων, καὶ τοῦ τόνου οὐκ ἔτ' ἐνόντος,
> Τῶν θ' ἁρμονιῶν διαχασκουσῶν· ἀλλὰ γέρων ὢν περιέῤῥει,
> Ὥσπερ Κόννας, στέφανον μὲν ἔχων αὖον, δίψει δ' ἀπολωλώς,
> Ὃν χρῆν διὰ τὰς προτέρας νίκας πίνειν ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ,
> Καὶ μὴ ληρεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεᾶσθαι λιπαρὸν παρὰ τῷ Διονύσῳ.

Comp. Buttm. Mythol. II. 345, foll.

[12] His fragments abound in direct imitations of the great iambographer. See Cratin. Archiloch. Fr. viii., ix. Pytine, Fr. xi. &c. The verb *συγκεραυνόω* in Pyt. Fr. viii., is Archilochian; see above, p. 14.

Crates is said to have been originally an actor in the Plays of Cratinus[4]; he could not, however, have followed this profession very long, for we learn from Eusebius that he was well known as a comedian in 450 B. C., which was not long after Cratinus, if he could be called in any sense the successor of Magnes, began to exhibit. He was the first Comedian at Athens who departed from the satirical form of Comedy, and formed his plots from general stories[5]. The names of twenty-six of his Comedies are known[6]. Aristophanes speaks in the highest terms of his wit and ingenuity[7]. His brother Epilycus was an epic Poet and Comedian[8].

Phrynichus, the comic poet, who must be carefully distinguished from the tragedian of the same name, exhibited first in the year 435 B. C.[9]. He was attacked as a plagiarist in the Φορμοφόροι of Hermippus, which was written before the death of Sitalces, i. e. before 424 B. C.[1] In 414 B. C. when Ameipsias was first with the Κωμασταί, and Aristophanes second with the Ὄρνιθες, Phrynichus was third with the Μονότροπος[2]. In 405 B. C. Philonides was first with the Βάτραχοι of Aristophanes, Phrynichus second with the Μοῦσαι, and Plato third with the Κλεοφῶν[3]. He is ridiculed by Aristophanes in the Βάτραχοι for his custom of introducing grumbling slaves on the stage[4]. The names of ten of his pieces are known to us[5].

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[1] He asks this question of his rival (Fragm. Incert. CLV.):

Τί δὲ σύ; κομψός τις ἔροιτο θεατής,
Ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

To which Aristophanes answers (Fragm. CCCXCVII.):

Χρῶμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ στόματος τῷ στρυγγύλῳ,
Τοὺς νοῦς δ' ἀγοραίους ἧττον ἢ κεῖνος ποιῶ.

[2] Anon. de Com. p. xxxii. Comp. Meineke, Quæstiones Scenicæ, I. p. 19.

[3] Comp. Horat. I. Epist. xix. 1. Aristoph. Pax, 687 (700) and Schol. Meineke, Fragm. Com. vol. ii. p. 119.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. Equit. (p. 567, Dindorf.)

[5] *Τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνῃσιν* Κράτης *πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας, καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους ἢ μύθους.*—Aristot. Poet. iv. 7.

[6] Fabricius, ii. p. 429, Harles.

[7] Aristoph. Equit. 537.

——— Κράτης
Ὃς ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς δαπάνης ὑμᾶς ἀριστίζων ἀπέπεμπεν
Ἀπὸ κραμβοτάτου στόματος μάττων ἀστειοτάτας ἐπινοίας.

[8] Suid. Κράτης.

[9] Suid. Φρύν.—*ἐδίδαξε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ πστ' ὀλυμπιάδος.* Clinton would read πζ'.

Of Hermippus, the son of Lysis, we know nothing save that he was opposed to Pericles[6], and on one occasion prosecuted Aspasia for impiety[7]. His brother Myrtilus was also a comedian[8].

Eupolis was not much older than Aristophanes. It is stated by Suidas that he was seventeen years old when he began to exhibit; and if we may conclude from another statement[9], that he produced his first comedy in the archonship of Apollodorus, he must have been born about the year 446 B.C.[10] The success of his comedy, called Νουμηνίαι, in 425 B.C., has been already mentioned. Two of his comedies, the Μαρικᾶς and the Κόλακες, appeared in 421 B.C. The Αὐτόλυκος came out in the following year, when perhaps he wrote the Ἀστράτευτοι also, for that play appears to have preceded the Εἰρήνη of Aristophanes, which was acted in 419 B. C.[11] According to one account he was thrown overboard by Alcibiades on his way to Sicily in 415 B.C., in consequence of some invectives against that celebrated man, which he had introduced into one of his comedies. This story is improbable in itself; and is, besides, refuted by two circumstances: Eratosthenes adduced some comedies which he had written after the year 415 B.C.[1], and Pausanias tells us that his tomb was on the banks of the Asopus in the territory of the Sicyonians[2]. According to another account, he fell in a sea fight in the Hellespont; and Ægina is said to have been the place of his burial. The titles of twenty-four of his comedies have been preserved[3]. Eupolis was very personal and scurrilous, and almost every one of his plays seems to have been written to caricature and lampoon some obnoxious individual. The *Μαρικᾶς* was a professed attack upon the demagogue Hyperbolus[4]: in the *Αὐτόλυκος* he ridiculed the handsome pancratiast of that name[5]; in the *Ἀστράτευτοι*, which was probably a pasquinade, directed against the useless and cowardly citizens of Athens, Melanthius was denounced as an epicure[6]: the *Βαπταὶ* dealt very hardly with Alcibiades[7], and in the *Λάκωνες* he inveighed against Cimon, both in his public and private character, because that statesman was thought to incline too much to the Spartans, and showed in every action a desire to counteract the democratical principle, which was at work in the Athenian constitution[8]: Aristophanes, too, seems to have been on bad terms with Eupolis, whom he charges with having pillaged the materials for his Μαρικᾶς from the Ἱππῆς[9], and with making scurrilous jokes on his premature baldness[1]. Eupolis appears to have been a warm admirer of Pericles as a statesman and as a man[2], as it was reasonable that such a Comedian should be, if it is true that he owed his unrestrained license of speech to the patronage of that celebrated minister. We may form an idea of the style of Eupolis from the "Horsemen" and "Frogs" of Aristophanes, which had many points in common with the "Maricas" and "Demi" of this poet. For as in the "Maricas," Hyperbolus, so in the "Horsemen," Cleon is represented as an intriguing and influential slave of the people, and in both Comedies the worthy Nicias appears as an undervalued and superseded domestic. As in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes, Bacchus visits the lower world to seek out and restore to Athens one of the older and better tragedians, so in the "Demi" of Eupolis, Myronides is made to bring back Solon, Miltiades, and Pericles, to their unworthy and degenerate countrymen.

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[1] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 67.

[2] Arg. Av.

[3] Arg. Ran.

[4] Aristoph. Ran. 12, seqq.

Ξανθίας. τί δῆτ' ἔδει με ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη φέρειν,
εἴπερ ποιήσω μηδὲν ὧνπερ Φρύνιχος
εἴωθε ποιεῖν, καὶ Λύκις, κ' Ἀμειψίας,
σκεύη φεροῦσ' ἑκάστοτ' ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ ;
Διόνυσος. μὴ νῦν ποήσῃς· ὡς ἐγὼ θεώμενος,
ὅταν τι τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων ἴδω,
πλεῖν ἢ 'νιαυτῷ πρεσβύτερος ἀπέρχομαι.

[5] Fabricius, ii. p. 483, Harles.

[6] See the Anapæsts in Plutarch. Pericles, xxxiii.

[7] Plutarch, Pericles, cxxxi, xxxii. This was about the year 432 B.C.

[8] Suid. Μυρτίλος.

[9] Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxix.

[10] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 63.

[11] See Clinton, under these years. Autolycus was a sort of Agathon; like Agathon he obtained a victory at the public games, and is the hero of a symposium (Athen. v. 187. F, 217. D, and Xenoph. Symposium); and, like Agathon he was courted for his personal attractions. Athen. p. 188, A.

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[1] Quis enim non dixit, *Εὔπολιν, τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας*, ab Alcibiade, navigante in Siciliam, dejectum esse in mare? Redarguit Eratosthenes. Adfert enim, quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit.—Cicero ad Att. vi. 1.

[2] Pausan. ii. 7, 3.

[3] Fabricius, ii. p. 445, Harles.

[4] Schol. Nub. 591. *ἐδιδάχθη καθ' Ὑπερβόλου μετὰ τὸν Κλέωνος θάνατον.* See also the passage from the *Ἱππῆς* quoted below.

[5] Athen. v. 216, where Eupolis is said to have brought out this piece under the name of Demostratus, probably the same as Demopœetus, a comic poet mentioned by Suidas, v. *χάραξ*. There were two editions of the *Autolycus*.

[6] Schol. Aristoph. Pax, 808.

[7] Themist. p. 110, B. The words of Juvenal, ii. 91, if they refer to this Comedy, would imply that the obscene rites of Cotytto were the objects of his censure—

> Talia secretâ coluerunt orgia tædâ
> Cecropiam soliti *Baptæ* lassare Cotytto.

On the Cotyttia and the Baptæ, see Buttmann, Mythol. II. p. 159, seqq., and Meineke, Hist. Crit. p. 119, seqq.

[8] Plutarch. Cim. xv. With regard to the name of the Comedy, we may remark, that Cimon had called his son Lacedæmonius (see Thucyd. i. 45), and that the name of the son was often an epithet of the father. Müller, Dor. i. 3, § 10. note (f).

Other writers of the Old Comedy are mentioned as the predecessors or contemporaries of Aristophanes; but we know little more of them than their names; though it is probable that many of them (for instance, **Ameipsias**, who twice conquered Aristophanes) were (at least in the opinion of their contemporaries) by no means deficient in merit.

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[9] Οὗτοι δ' ὡς ἅπαξ παρέδωκεν λαβὴν Ὑπέρβολος,
Τοῦτον δείλαιον κολετρῶσ' ἀεὶ καὶ τὴν μητέρα.
Εὔπολις μὲν τὸν Μαρικᾶν πρώτιστον παρείλκυσεν
Ἐκστρέψας τοὺς ἡμετέρους Ἱππέας κακὸς κακῶς,
Προσθεὶς αὐτῷ γραῦν μεθύσην, τοῦ κόρδακος εἵνεχ', ἣν
Φρύνιχος πάλαι πεποίηχ', ἣν τὸ κῆτος ἤσθιεν.—Nubes, 551, seqq.

Eupolis, however, had reasons for recriminating. See Meineke, Hist. Crit. p. 101, and below, pp. [119], [128].

[1] See the Schol. on Nub. 532,

οὐδ' ἔσκωψε τοὺς φαλακρούς.

[2] Eupolis, Δήμοις·

Κράτιστος οὗτος ἐγένετ' ἀνθρώπων λέγειν.
Ὁπότε παρέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀγαθοὶ δρομῆς,
Ἐκ δέκα ποδῶν ᾕρει λέγων τοὺς ῥήτορας.
B. Ταχὺν λέγεις μὲν, πρὸς δέ γ' αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει
Πειθώ τις ἐπεκάθιζεν ἐπὶ τοῖς χείλεσιν·
Οὕτως ἐκήλει, καὶ μόνος τῶν ῥητόρων
Τὸ κέντρον ἐγκατέλειπε τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις.—

Schol. Aristoph. Acharn. p. 794, Dindorf. See Meineke, Fragm. II. 458.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION II.

ARISTOPHANES.

> *Ie suys, moyennant ung peu de Pantagruelisme (vous entendez que c'est certaine guayeté desperit conficte en mepriz des choses fortuites) sain et degourt; prest a boyre, si voulez.*
>
> RABELAIS.

OF the works of the other comedians we possess only detached fragments; but eleven of the plays of ARISTOPHANES have come down to us complete. This alone would incline us to wish for a fuller account of the writer, even though the intrinsic value of his remaining comedies were not so great as it really is. Unfortunately, however, we know much less about Aristophanes than about any of his distinguished contemporaries, and the materials for his biography are so scanty and of so little credit, that we willingly turn from them to his works, in which we see a living picture of the man and his times. The following are the few particulars which are known regarding his personal history[1]. His father's name was Philippus[2], not Philippides, as has been inferred from the inscription on a bust supposed to represent him[3]. Of the rank and station of his father we know nothing;

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[1] The reader will find a full and accurate discussion of all questions relating to the life of Aristophanes down to the representation of the "Clouds" in Ranke's *Commentatio de Aristophanis Vitâ*, prefixed to Thiersch's edition of the "Plutus." See also Bergk in Meineke's Fragm. II. 2, pp. 893—940.

[2] This is stated by all the authorities of his life—namely, his anonymous biographer, the writer on Comedy in the Greek prolegomena to Aristophanes, the Scholiast on Plato, and Thomas Magister.

[3] The inscription is 'Αριστοφάνης Φιλιππίδου. That this statue is not genuine is now generally agreed. See Winckelmann, ii. p. 114. The fact that his son's name was Philippus is an evidence that it was also his grandfather's name. Ranke, clxxxiv.

it is presumed, however, from his own silence, and that of his enemies, that it was respectable. More than one country claims the honour of being his birth-place. The anonymous writer on Comedy says merely that he was an Athenian; the author of his life, and Thomas Magister, add that he was of the Cydathenæan Deme, and Pandionid Tribe. Suidas tells us, that some said he was from Lindus in Rhodes, or from Camirus; that others called him an Ægyptian[4], and others an Æginetan. All this confusion seems to have arisen from the fact, that Cleon, in revenge for some of the invectives with which Aristophanès had assailed him, brought an action against the poet with a view to deprive him of his civic rights (ξενίας γραφή). Now the defence, which Aristophanes is said to have set up on this occasion, shows the object of Cleon was to prove that he was not the son of his reputed father Philippus, but the offspring of an illicit intercourse between his mother and some person who was not an Athenian citizen. Consequently his nominal parents are tacitly admitted to have been Athenian citizens, and as Cleon failed to prove his illegitimacy, he must have been one likewise. That he was born at Athens cannot but be evident to every one who has read his comedies. Would a mere resident alien have laboured so strenuously for the good of his adopted country? Would one who was not a citizen by birth have ventured to laugh at all who did not belong to the old Athenian φρατρίαι[5]? and how are we otherwise to account for the purely Athenian spirit, language, and tone which pervade every line that he wrote? It would not be difficult to explain why these different countries have been assigned as the birth-places of Aristophanes. With regard to the statement that he was a Rhodian; he is very often confounded with Antiphanes and Anaxandrides, the former of whom was, according to Dionysius, a Rhodian, and the latter, according to Suidas, born at Camirus. The notion that he was an Ægyptian may very well have arisen from the many allusions which he makes to the people of that country, and their peculiar customs. With regard to the statement of Heliodorus that he was from Naucratis, it is possible that writer may be alluding to some commercial residence of his ancestors in that city, but his words do not imply that either Aristophanes or his parents were born there. His Æginetan origin has been presumed from the passage in the "Acharnians," in which his actor Callistratus (who was the nominal author of the play) alludes to his being one of the κληροῦχοι, to whom that island had been assigned[6]. We have positive evidence that he was one of them, and the fact that these κληροῦχοι were generally poor[7] would show that Callistratus is alluding to himself, and not to Aristophanes; and even if he were, this would be no proof that Aristophanes was not a citizen, for all the κληροῦχοι continued to enjoy their civic rights[8]. The remains of Aristophanes are sufficient to show that he had received a first-rate education. There is no positive evidence for the opinion[9], that he was the pupil of Prodicus. The three passages in his remaining comedies[1], in which he mentions that sophist, do not show the usual respect of a disciple for his master, and the coincidence in name, and probable similarity of subject, between the Ὧραι of Aristophanes and "the Choice of Hercules" by Prodicus, are perhaps a proof that the comedian parodied and ridiculed, rather than admired and imitated, the latter[2].

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[4] Heliodorus περὶ Ἀκροπόλεως (apud Athen. vi. p. 229, E) says that he was of Naucratis in the Delta.

[5] Ran. 418. Aves 765.

Aristophanes brought out his first comedy, the "Banqueters," (Δαιταλεῖς) in B.C. 427[3]; and it is from the known date of this play that we must infer his birth-year. It is stated[4] that he was at this time little more than a boy (σχεδὸν μειράκισκος). We are told, indeed[5], that he was thirty years of age when the "Clouds" was acted. This would place his birth-year at 453, if the first edition, or at 452 B.C., if the second edition of that play is referred to[6]. But could a man born so early as 452 B.C. be called σχεδὸν μειράκισκος at the time of the great plague? We think he could not. If, then, these two authorities of the same kind contradict one another, which are we to adopt? Now there is no reason to doubt the first statement, that Aristophanes was very young at the time when his first comedy appeared; and there is reason to believe that the second statement is merely an inference drawn from a misinterpretation of a passage in the "Clouds." We feel inclined, therefore, to reject the latter altogether, and take the former as the only means we have of approximating to the birth-year of Aristophanes, which, if he was σχεδὸν μειράκισκος or nearly seventeen in 427 B.C., must have been about the year 444 B.C. The "Banqueters," which was acted in the name of Philonides[7], was an exposition of the corruptions which had crept into the Athenian system of education. A father was introduced with two sons, one of them educated in the old-fashioned way, the other brought up in all the new-fangled and pernicious refinements of sophistry; and by drawing a comparison between the two young men to the disadvantage of the latter, the poet hoped to attract the attention of his countrymen to the dangers and inconveniences of the new system[8]. The second prize was awarded to Philonides, and the play was much admired[9]. In 426 B.C. he brought out the "Babylonians," and, in the following spring, the "Acharnians," both under the name of his actor Callistratus[1]. The latter gained the first prize, the second and third being adjudged to Cratinus and Eupolis. The chorus of the "Babylonians" consisted of barbarian slaves employed in the mills[2]: this is all that we know of the plot of the piece. It appears to have been acted at the great Dionysia, and to have been an attack upon the demagogues; for Cleon, who was then (Pericles having recently died) at the head of affairs[3], brought an

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[6] Thucyd. ii. 27. Diod. xii. 44. Callistratus was one of them, Aristophanes not. Schol. Acharn. 654, p. 801. Dind. οὐδεὶς ἱστόρηκεν ὡς ἐν Αἰγίνῃ κέκτηταί τι Ἀριστοφάνης, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταῦτα περὶ Καλλιστράτου λέγεσθαι, ὃς κεκληρούχηκεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν Αἰγινητῶν ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

[7] Böckh, Econ. of Ath. vol. ii. p. 172, note 521, Engl. Tr.

[8] Böckh, Ec. ii. p. 174. [9] Of Rückert on Plat. Symp. p. 280, seqq.

[1] Aves 692; Nubes 360; fr. Tragonist. No. 418, Dindorf.

[2] On the Ὧραι of Aristophanes and Prodicus, see Welcker in the Rhein. Mus. for 1833, p. 576. He thinks that the connexion between the Ὧραι of these two authors is merely accidental, p. 592.

[3] See the passages in Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 65.

[4] Schol. Ran. 504. Müller thinks (Hist. Lit. Gr. II. p. 15) that this statement is an exaggeration, and that Aristophanes was at least twenty-five in B. C. 427.

[5] Schol. Nub. p. 237, Dindorf.

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[6] Unless we adopt Ranke's conjecture with regard to the date of the second edition, which would make the two accounts nearly agree. See below, p. 121.

[7] Dindorf. fr. Aristoph. p. 527, Oxford edition. Ranke (p. cccxx.) thinks it was Callistratus. If there is truth in the statement that he handed over to Callistratus his political dramas, and to Philonides those which related to private life, the Δαιταλεῖς was probably transferred to the latter.

[8] See Süvern über die Wolken, p. 26, foll.

[9] Schol. Nub. 529.

[1] Clinton, F. H. under those years.

[2] See Hesych. s. vv. Βαβυλώνιοι.—Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. And Suid. s. v. Βαβυλωνία κάμινος.

[3] Thucydides, writing of the year before the performance of "The Babylonians," says (iii. 36), that Κλέων was τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ πολὺ ἐν τῷ τότε πιθανώτατος.

εἰσαγγελία before the senate against Callistratus, on the grounds that he had satirized the public functionaries in the presence of their allies, who were then at Athens to pay the tribute[4]. It is this accusation which has been confounded with the indictment of *ξενία*, brought by Cleon against Aristophanes himself. It does not appear that Cleon was successful in establishing his charge, for we find Callistratus again upon the stage the following year, when the "Acharnians" was performed at the Lenæa. The object of this play, the earliest of the comedies of Aristophanes which have come down to us entire, is to induce the Athenians, by holding before them the blessings of peace, and by ridiculing the braggadocios of the day, to entertain any favourable proposals which the Lacedæmonians might make for putting an end to the disastrous war in which they were engaged; and while he ventured to utter the well-nigh forgotten word *Peace*, he boldly told his countrymen that they had sacrificed, without any just or sufficient cause, the comforts which he painted to them in such vivid colours. Aristophanes, having conferred upon the nominal authors of his early plays much, not only of reputation, but also of danger, now thought it right to appropriate to himself both the glory and the hazard of his undertaking, and in 424 B.C. demanded a chorus in his own name. The Comedy, which he exhibited on this occasion, and in the composition of which Eupolis claimed a share, was the "Horsemen;" it was acted at the Lenæa, and gained the first prize: Cratinus was second, and Aristomenes third[5]. The object of this play is to overthrow Cleon, who was then flushed with his undeserved success at Sphăcteria in the preceding year, and had excited the indignation of Aristophanes and all the Athenians who wished well to their country, by his constant opposition to the proposals of the Lacedæmonians for an equitable arrangement of the terms of peace. The demagogue was considered at that time so formidable an adversary, that no one could be found to make a mask to represent his features, so that Aristophanes, who personated him on the stage, was obliged to return to the old custom of smearing the face with wine-lees[6]; and, as Cleon is represented in the play as a great drunkard, the substitute was probably adequate to the occasion. The Comedy is an allegorical caricature of the broadest kind, showing how the eminent generals and statesmen, Nicias and Demosthenes, with the aid of the *καλοὶ κἀγαθοί* among the citizens, delivered the Athenian John Bull from the clutches of the son of Cleænetus, and effected a marvellous change in the temper and external appearance of their doting master. This is expressed in a wonderfully ingenious manner. The instrument they use is one Agoracritus, who is called a sausage-seller (*ἀλλαντοπώλης*). Now there lived, at this time, a celebrated sculptor of that name, who, having made for the Athenians a most beautiful statue of Venus which they could not buy, transformed it into a representation of Nemesis, and sold it to the Rhamnusians[7]. It is this Agoracritus, who, by a play upon the words *ἀλλάσσειν* and *ἀλλᾶς*, is called a transformation-monger in regard to the Demus: he changes the easy good-tempered old man into a punisher of the guilty—a laughing Venus into a frowning Nemesis;—he metamorphoses the ill-clad unseemly Demus of the Pnyx into a likeness of the beautiful Demus, the son of Pyrilampes the Rhamnusian, just as Agoracritus transferred to Rhamnus a statue destined for Athens. It seems to have been in consequence of this attack that Cleon made the unsuccessful attempt (to which we have already alluded) to deprive Aristophanes of his civic rights. The next recorded Comedy of Aristophanes is the "Clouds," the most celebrated and perhaps the most beautiful of his remaining plays. When he first submitted it to the judges, the plays of Cratinus and

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[4] Comp. Acharn. 355, foll.

Αὐτός τ' ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὸ Κλέωνος ἄπαθον
'Επίσταμαι διὰ τὴν πέρυσι κωμῳδίαν.
Εἰσελκύσας γάρ μ' εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον
Διέβαλλε καὶ ψευδῆ κατεγλώττιζέ μου,
Κἀκυκλοβόρει κἄπλυνεν ὥστ' ὀλίγου πάνυ
'Απωλόμην μολυνοπραγμονούμενος·

with v. 476, foll.

'Εγὼ δὲ λέξω δεινὰ μὲν δίκαια δέ·
Οὐ γάρ με νῦν-γε διαβαλεῖ Κλέων ὅτι
Ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω,
Αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν οὑπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγὼν,
Κοὔπω ξένοι πάρεισιν.

and the Scholiasts. On the relations between Aristophanes and Cleon, and on the character of the latter, the student will find some remarks in Grote, Hist. Gr. vol. vi. p. 657, seqq.

[5] Argum. Eqq. The reference of this piece to the Lenæa is supported by the allusion in v. 881—3, to the wintry weather, which prevailed in the month Lenæon, according to Hesiod. On the claims of Eupolis to a share in this Comedy, see Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, II. p. 973, and for the passage attributed to him, Meineke, *Fragm.* II. 1, p. 577.

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[6] Schol. Eqq. 230. See above, p. 60.

[7] Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 4.

Ameipsias, who were his competitors, were honoured with the first and second prizes. This was in the year 423 B.C.; and it is probable that Aristophanes, indignant at his unexpected ill-success, withdrew the play, and did not bring it out till some years afterwards, when he added something to the parabasis, and perhaps made a few other alterations. The author of the argument and the Scholiast refer the second edition to the year 422 B. C.; but it has been shown from the mention of the "Maricas" of Eupolis, and other internal evidences, that it could not have been acted till some years after the death of Cleon; and it is conjectured that it did not appear till after the exhibition of the Lysistrata in 411 B. C.[8] It will not be expected that we should here enumerate the various opinions which have been entertained of the object of Aristophanes in writing this Comedy[9], or that we should enter upon a new and detailed examination of the piece. We must, on the present occasion, be content with stating briefly and generally, what we conceive to have been the design of the poet. In the "Wasps," which was written the year after the first ill-success of the "Clouds," he calls this Comedy an attack upon the prevailing vices of the young men of his day[1]. Now, if we turn to the "Clouds," we shall see that he not only does this, but also investigates the causes of the corrupt state of the Athenian youth; and this he asserts to have arisen from the changes introduced into the national education by the Sophists, by the substitution of sophistical for rhapsodical instruction. The hero of the piece is Socrates, who was, in the judgment of Aristophanes, a Sophist to all intents and purposes. We do not think it necessary to deny that Socrates was a well-meaning man, and in many respects a good citizen; we are disposed to believe that he was, not because Plato and Xenophon have represented him as such (in their justification of his character, each of them is but *ἰατρὸς ἄλλων αὐτὸς ἕλκεσι βρύων*), but because Aristophanes has brought no specific charges against him, as far as his intentions are concerned. But Socrates was an innovator in education; he approved, perhaps assisted in the corruptions which Euripides introduced into Tragedy; he was the pupil and the friend of several of the sophists; it was in his character of dialectician that he was courted by the ambitious young men; he was the tutor of Alcibiades: his singular manners and affected slovenliness had every appearance of quackery; and, if we add, that he was the only one of the eminent sophists who was an Athenian-born, we shall not wonder that Aristophanes selected him as the representative of the class. The other two principal characters are a father and son. The latter is a general personification of the young profligates of the day, and only wants a little sophistical education to enable him to throw aside every moral restraint. His silly father supplies this defect, and is the first to suffer from the weapon which he has placed in his son's hand. The name of the father, Strepsiades, shows that he is intended as a representative of the class who advocated the change in education[2]. It does not appear of whom his mask was a portrait. It is likely that the son, Pheidippides, came forward in the character of Alcibiades, who had the same love for horses, and bore a similar relation to Socrates[3]: at the same time, the prominent part which Alcibiades was beginning to take in public affairs, and the influence he possessed over the young men of his own age, pointed him out as their most adequate representative. With these actors, then, the "Clouds" was merely a general exhibition of the corrupt state of education at Athens, and of its causes; it was a loudly uttered protest, on the part of Aristophanes, against the useless and pernicious speculations of the sophists[4], and was not intended to pave the way for the accusation which was many years afterwards brought against Socrates as a corrupter of youth, whatever may have been its effect upon the verdict of the Dicasts at the trial. The "Clouds" appears to have been acted at the great Dionysia [5]. The "Wasps" was brought out in the name of Philonides, and performed at the Lenæa, in 422 B.C. Its object was to ridicule the love of litigation, which was so prevalent at Athens, and which the sophists did so much to foster. In the "Peace," which was produced in 419 B.C., he returns to the subject of the "Acharnians," and insists strongly upon the advantages of peace. These two comedies, though exceedingly amusing, and perhaps very useful at the time, are not so meritorious in the eyes of a modern reader as most of the plays of Aristophanes. In the year 414 B.C., Aristophanes produced two comedies; the "Amphiaraus," which appeared at the Lenæa, under the name of Philonides; and the "Birds," which came out at the great Dionysia, under the name of Callistratus. The objects of these two plays appear to have been the same. The former was named after one of the seven chiefs who led the Argive army against Thebes, and was always foretelling the misfortunes which attended that expedition. In this he corresponded to Nicias, who in the same manner foretold the disastrous termination of the expedition which had sailed for Syracuse the year before; and Aristophanes no doubt took this opportunity of warning his countrymen of the dangers into which their compliance with the wishes of Alcibiades would lead them [6]. The "Birds," which is certainly one of the most wonderful compositions in any language, was designed, we think, in conjunction with the "Amphiaraus," to parody and ridicule the Euripidean trilogy, which came out the year before [7]. The Athenians are represented as a set of gaping foolish birds, persuaded by the extravagant promises of a couple of designing adventurers

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[8] Ranke, chapters xxviii. and xl.

[9] We refer the reader who wishes to study this subject minutely and accurately to Hermann, Præfat. ad Nubes, xxxii—liv.; Wolf's Introduction to his German translation of the play, Reisig. Præfat. ad Nubes, viii.—xxx. and his Essay in the Rheinisches Museum for 1828, pp. 191 and 464; Mitchell's and Welcker's Introductions to their Translations of Aristophanes; Ranke, Comment. chapters xli—xliv.; Süvern's Essay; and Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr. ii. p. 25 sqq. Rötscher has given a general statement of some of these opinions in his "Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter," pp. 294—391, which he follows up with his own not very intelligible view of the question.

[1] V. 1037, foll.

> Ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔτι καὶ νυνὶ πολεμεῖ· φησίν τε μετ' αὐτοῦ
> Τοῖς ἠπιάλοις ἐπιχειρῆσαι πέρυσιν καὶ τοῖς πυρετοῖσιν
> Οἳ τοὺς πατέρας τ' ἦγχον νύκτωρ καὶ τοὺς πάππους ἀπέπνιγον,
> Κατακλινόμενοί τ' ἐπὶ ταῖς κοίταις ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπράγμοσιν ὑμῶν
> Ἀντωμοσίας καὶ προσκλήσεις καὶ μαρτυρίας συνεκόλλων, κ. τ. λ.

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[2] Nub. 88. 434. 1455.

[3] Süvern über die Wolken, p. 33.

[4] Süvern has conjectured very ingeniously, that the *λόγος ἄδικος* wore a mask representing Thrasymachus, because his opponent addresses him in v. 890, *καίπερ*

θρασὺς ὢν, and in v. 915, *θρασὺς εἶ πολλοῦ*; and that the *λόγος δίκαιος* was Aristophanes himself. Über die Wolken, p. 12, note (3).

[5] See Nubes, 311.

[6] Süvern's Essay on the "Birds," p. 77, Engl. Tr.

[7] See above, p. 99.

to set up a city in the clouds, and to declare war against the gods. In this caricature we easily recognize a ridicule of the extravagant schemes of universal rule which Alcibiades had formed, and which might well be called castle-building in the air; and the termination of the play, in which the chief adventurer is represented as making a supper off his subjects, points clearly to what the Athenians had to expect from the success of an ambitious plan, conceived by an uncompromising aspirant after sovran power. The names of the two heroes of the piece, *Peisthetærus* and *Euelpides*, whom we have elsewhere anglicized as Messrs. *Agitator* and *Hopegood*, point at once to the objects of this satirical delineation. The former is a combination of the two great moving causes of the expedition to Syracuse, Gorgias, and Alcibiades[8]: the age of Master Agitator, his eloquence, his being a stranger, and his sophistical harangues, remind us of Gorgias, and Callistratus probably wore a mask which was a portrait of the Leontine ambassador; at the same time, the prominent part which Alcibiades took in the affair, and the notorious fact that he was the head of an extensive club (*ἑταιρία*) at Athens, point to him as also represented by Peisthetærus[9]. Euelpides personifies those confident citizens, who, full of hope for the future (*εὐέλπιδες*[1]), willingly undertook the expedition[2]. The "Lysistrata" and "Thesmophoriazusæ" were performed in the year 411 B.C. The former, which appeared in the name of Callistratus, is a coarse and laughable recommendation of peace, and the latter is an attack upon Euripides. The "Plutus," which has come down to us, is the second edition of the play; the first was acted in 408 B.C., the second appeared four years after the "Ecclesiazusæ," which came out 392 B.C. The object of these two plays was much the same. The influence which the Lacedæmonians had acquired at Athens after the Peloponnesian war had created a fondness for the Dorian institutions, and had given rise to an affectation of Spartan manners. The former was fostered by the writings of some able men attached to the government of the thirty tyrants, among whom the most eminent was Plato. Connected with Critias by the ties of blood, and a near relation of the Charmides, who fell fighting against the party of Thrasybulus, he endeavoured to effect with his pen what they had failed to establish with the sword; and in a series of three dialogues, in which the principal interlocutors are Socrates, the Syracusan Hermocrates, Critias, and Timæus the Locrian legislator, attempted to recommend to the Athenians, as well by argument as by fiction, a system of government based upon the Lacedæmonian institutions. The object of the "Ecclesiazusæ" is to ridicule this work, and especially Plato's plan for the management of his female citizens; and the "Plutus" is designed to divert the Athenians from the prevalent adoption of Dorian manners. Before the date of these two plays, the "Frogs" was acted at the Lenæa in the name of Philonides, and won the first prize. The general object of the play is, in our opinion, to maintain the superiority of the old rhapsodical tragedy over the sophistical innovations of Euripides: a proper examination of the play involves so many difficult questions, that it is better to say nothing than to say a little on a subject on which so much might be written[3]. The last two comedies which Aristophanes wrote were called Æolosicon and Cocalus; they were brought out about the time of the peace of Antalcidas, by Araros, one of the sons of the poet, who had been his principal actor at the representation of the second edition of the Plutus. They both belonged to the second variety of Comedy; namely, the Comedy of Criticism. The "Æolosicon" was a parody and criticism of the "Æolus" of Euripides[4]. The "Cocalus" was, perhaps, a similar criticism of a tragedy or epic poem, the hero of which was Cocalus, the fabulous king of Sicily, who slew Minos[5]; it was so near an approach to the third variety of Comedy, that Philemon was able to bring it again on the stage with very few alterations[6].

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[8] Süvern, p. 31, fol. Eng. Tr.

[9] Thucyd. vi. 13: comp. Göller's notes upon iii. 82. viii. 54; and Arnold's Thucyd. vol. iii. p. 414.

[1] Thucyd. vi. 24, *εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι*.

[2] In addition to Süvern's Essay, we must refer the curious reader to Droysen's Essay on the "Birds," in the Rhein. Mus. for 1835, p. 161. fol.

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[3] The reader who wishes to study the subject fully is referred to Bohtz. De Aristophanis Ranis Dissertatio. Gothæ, 1828.

[4] See Grauert, in the Rhein. Mus. for 1828, p. 50, fol. The name *Αἰολοσίκων* is a compound (like Ἡρακλειοξανθίας, &c.) of the name of Euripides' tragic hero, and Sicon, a celebrated cook. Grauert, p. 60. And for this reason the whole comedy was full of cookery terms. Grauert, p. 499, fol.

[5] Grauert, p. 507.

It is altogether unknown in what year Aristophanes died; it is probable, however, that he did not long survive the commencement of the 100th Olympiad, 380 B.C.[7] He left three sons, Philippus, Araros, and Nicostratus, who were all poets of the Middle Comedy, but do not appear to have inherited any considerable portion of their father's wonderful abilities. Their mother was not a very estimable woman; at all events, the poet is said to have declared, in one of his comedies, that he was ashamed of her and his two foolish sons; meaning, we are told, the two first-mentioned[8].

The number of comedies brought out by Aristophanes is not known with certainty: the reader will see in the note a list of forty-four names of comedies attributed to him[9]. In the very brief sketch which we have given of the general objects of Aristophanes' comedies, we have confined ourselves to their external and political references. It must not, however, be supposed, because Aristophanes was a Pantagruelist, a fabricator of allegorical caricatures, giving vent at times to the wildest buffoonery, and setting no bounds to the coarseness and plain-spokenness of his words, that his writings contain nothing but a political *gergo;* on the contrary, we find here and there bursts of lyric poetry, which would have done honour to the sublimest of his Tragical contemporaries. The fact is, that Aristophanes was not merely a wit and a satirist; he had within himself all the ingredients which are necessary to form a great poet; the nicest discrimination of harmony, a fervid and active imagination drawing upon the stores of an ever-creating fancy, and a true and enlarged perception of ideal beauty. This was so notorious even in his own time, that Plato, who had little reason to speak favourably of him, declared that the Graces, having sought a temple to dwell in, found it in the bosom of Aristophanes[1], and it is very likely in consequence of Plato's belief in the real poetical power of Aristophanes, that he makes Socrates convince him in the "Banquet," that the real artist of Tragedy and Comedy are one and the same[2]. Of the private character of Aristophanes we know little, save that he was, like all other Athenians, a free-liver and fond of pleasure[3]. That coarseness of language was in those times no proof of moral depravity, has already been sufficiently shown by a modern admirer of Aristophanes[4]: the fault was not in the man, but in the manners of the age in which he lived, and to blame the comedian for it, is to give a very evident proof of that unwillingness to shake off modern associations which we have already deprecated[5]. The object of Aristophanes was one most worthy of a wise and good man; it was to cry down the pernicious quackery which was forcing its way into Athens, and polluting, or drying up, the springs of public and private virtue; which had turned religion into *cagotisme,* and sobriety of mind into the folly of word-wisdom; and which was the cause alike of the corruption of Tragedy, and of the downfal of the state. He is not to be blamed for his method of opposing these evils: it was the only course open to him; the demagogues had introduced the *comus* into the city, and he turned it against them, till it repented them that they had ever used such an instrument. So far, then, from charging Aristophanes with immorality, we would repeat, in the words which a great and a good man of our own days used when speaking of his antitype Rabelais, that the morality of his works is of the most refined and exalted kind, however little worthy of praise their manners may be[6], and, on the whole, we would fearlessly recommend any student, who is not so imbued with the lisping and drivelling mawkishness of the present day as to shudder at the ingredients with which the necessities of the time have forced the great comedian to dress up his golden truths, to peruse and re-peruse Aristophanes, if he would know either the full force of the Attic dialect, or the state of men and manners at Athens, in the most glorious days of her history[7].

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[6] Clemens Alex. Strom. vi. p. 628. *τὸν μέντοι Κώκαλον τὸν ποιηθέντα Ἀραρότι τῷ Ἀριστοφάνους υἱεῖ, Φιλήμων ὁ κωμικὸς ὑπαλλάξας ἐν Ὑποβολιμαίῳ ἐκωμῴδησεν.*

[7] Ranke, p. cxcix.

[8] Vit. Anonym. p. xvii. (*Ἀριστοφάνης*) *μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον παῖδας καταλιπὼν τρεῖς, Φίλιππον ὁμώνυμον τῷ πάππῳ καὶ Νικόστρατον καὶ Ἀραρότα. —τινὲς δὲ δύο φασὶ, Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀραρότα, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμνήσθη·*

Τὴν γυναῖκα δὲ
αἰσχύνομαι τώ τ' οὐ φρονοῦντε παιδίω·

ἴσως αὐτοὺς λέγων.

[9] I. *Δαιταλῆς.* II. *Βαβυλώνιοι.* III. *Ἀχαρνῆς.* IV. *Ἱππῆς.* V. *Νεφέλαι πρότεραι.* VI. *Προάγων.* VII. *Σφῆκες.* VIII. *Εἰρήνη προτέρα.* IX. *Ἀμφιάραος.* X. *Ὄρνιθες.* XI. *Λυσιστράτη.* XII. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι πρότεραι.* XIII. *Πλοῦτος πρότερος.* XIV. *Βάτραχοι.* XV. *Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι.* XVI. *Πλοῦτος δεύτερος.* XVII. *Αἰολοσίκων πρότερος.* XVIII. *Αἰολοσίκων δεύτερος.* XIX. *Κώκαλος.* These are arranged in the supposed order of their appearance. The remaining names are alphabetically arranged. I. *Ἀνάγυρος.* II. *Γεωργοί.* III. *Γῆρας.* IV. *Γηρυτάδης.* V. *Δαίδαλος.* VI. *Δαναΐδες.* VII. *Δράματα ἢ Κένταυρος.* VIII. *Δράματα ἢ Νίοβος.* IX. *Εἰρήνη δευτέρα.* X. *Ἥρωες.* XI. *Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι δεύτεραι.* XII. *Λήμνιαι.* XIII. *Ναυαγός*, or *Δὶς Ναυαγός.* XIV. *Νεφέλαι δεύτεραι.* XV. *Νῆσοι.* XVI. *Ὁλκάδες.* XVII. *Πελαργοί.* XVIII. *Ποίησις.* XIX. *Πολύειδος.* XX. *Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσαι.* XXI. *Ταγηνισταί.* XXII. *Τελμισσῆς.* XXIII. *Τριφάλης.* XXIV. *Φοίνισσαι.* XXV. *Ὧραι.* See Dindorf's Collection of the Fragments. Bergk, p. 901. On the *Γῆρας*, see Süvern's essay on that play; and on the *Τριφάλης*, Süvern über die Wolken, pp. 62—65.

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[1] Apud Thom. Mag.

Αἱ χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται
Ζητοῦσαι, ψυχὴν εὗρον Ἀριστοφάνους.

[2] Sympos. p. 223. D.

[3] For instance, see Symp. 176, B.

[4] Porson's Review of Brunck's Aristophanes, Mus. Criticum, ii. pp. 114, 115.

[5] Above pp. 7, 8.

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[6] Coleridge's Table Talk, i. p. 178.

[7] The admiration which all true scholars have felt and expressed for Aristophanes, will survive the attacks of certain modern detractors. Among these, Hartung in his *Euripides restitutus* has endeavoured to exalt that tragedian at the expense of the great author of the "Frogs," whom he assails in the most abusive language (I. 380, 476). The disapprobation of the poetry and politics of Euripides, which Aristophanes so strongly avowed, is not incompatible with the imitation of his style, which he frankly admitted in his Σκηνὰς καταλαμβάνουσαι (above p. 111). And with regard to another charge, it is quite impossible, with the fragmentary evidence before us, to strike the balance of mutual obligation between Eupolis and Aristophanes. See Bernhardy, *Grundriss*, II. p. 973.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION III.

THE COMEDIANS WHO SUCCEEDED ARISTOPHANES.

I coltivatori della commedia seguirono l'esempio di questi primi, come essi aveano pur seguito quello degli antichi, senza che nè gli uni nè gli altri, impediti da una servile imitazione, avessero soffocato il proprio genio o negletto i costumi del paese e del tempo loro.
SALFI.

THERE are a few names in the lists of writers of the Middle and New Comedy which deserve some notice[1]. It appears from the words of Suidas[2], that **EUBULUS** the son of Euphranor, who was an Athenian, and flourished about the year 375 B.C., stood on the debateable ground between the first and second species of comedy, and to judge from the fragments in Athenæus, who quotes more than fifty of his Comedies by name, he must have written plays of both sorts. He composed in the whole 104 comedies.

ANTIPHANES was born in Rhodes in B.C. 404, began to exhibit about B.C. 383, and died at Chios in B.C. 330. He composed 260 or 280 comedies, and the titles of 130 of these have come down to us. It appears from these names and from the numerous fragments, that the Comedies of Antiphanes were generally of the critical kind, but sometimes approximated to the Comedy of Manners[3].

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[1] On these authors and their works, see Meineke, Quæstiones Scenicæ Spec. iii. and his Historia Critica, pp. 303, seqq. and 445, seqq., also Müller, Hist. Lit. Gr. II. p. 46, seqq.

[2] Εὔβουλος—ἐδίδαξε δράματα ρδ΄. ἦν δὲ κατὰ ρα΄ ὀλυμπιάδα, μεθόριος τῆς μέσης κωμῳδίας καὶ τῆς νέας.

[3] On Antiphanes and his fragments, see Clinton, Phil. Mus. i. p. 558, fol.

Anaxandrides, of Camirus in Rhodes, flourished about the year 376 B.C.[4]. He wrote sixty-five Comedies. To judge from the twenty-eight titles which have come down to us, we should infer that they were all of the second class; as, however, we are told that he introduced intrigues and love-affairs on the stage, we must presume that, like his countryman Antiphanes, he made an advance towards the third class of Comedy. Chamæleon tells us[5], that he was a tall handsome man, and fond of fine dresses; he gives as a proof of his want of temper, that he used to destroy, or sell for waste paper, all his unsuccessful Comedies. He lived to a good old age.

Alexis, of Thurium, wrote two hundred and forty-five Comedies: the titles of one hundred and thirteen of them are known to us. The "Parasite," one of his Comedies, seems from the name to belong to the New Comedy. He flourished from the year 356 to the year 306, and was more than one hundred years old when he died[6]. We know nothing of him, except that he was an epicure[7], and the uncle and instructor of Menander[8].

It is doubtful to what class of Comedies we are to refer the plays of Timocles, who was exhibiting in 324 B.C.[9].

Philippides, the son of Philocles of Athens, is one of the six poets generally selected as specimens of the New Comedy[1]. He flourished about the year 335 B.C. and wrote forty-five Comedies; of the twelve titles preserved, one at least, the "Amphiaraus[2]," seems to belong to the Middle or Old Comedy. The intimacy which existed between him and Lysimachus was of great service to Athens[3]. As that prince did not assume the title of king till 306 B.C., and as it appears from the words of Plutarch[4], that Lysimachus was king at the time of his acquaintance with Philippides, the poet must have lived after that year; besides we know that he ridiculed the honours paid by the Athenians to Demetrius, in 301 B. C.[5] There is, therefore, every reason to believe the statement of Aulus Gellius, that he lived to a very advanced age[6], though perhaps the cause assigned for his death, excessive joy on account of an unexpected victory, is, like the similar story respecting Sophocles, a mere invention.

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[4] Parian Marble, No. 71, and Suidas.

[5] Athenæus, ix. p. 374, A.

[6] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 175.

[7] Athenæus, viii. p. 334, C.

[8] Prolegom. Aristoph. p. xxx. and Suidas, where we must read *πάτρως*.

[9] See the passages in Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 161.

[1] Prol. Aristoph. p. xxx. *ἀξιολογώτατοι Φιλήμων, Μένανδρος, Δίφιλος, Φιλιππίδης, Ποσείδιππος, Ἀπολλόδωρος.*

[2] Quoted by Athenæus, iii. p. 90.

[3] Plutarch, Demetr. c. xii.

PHILEMON was, according to Strabo[7], a native of Soli, though Suidas makes him a Syracusan, probably because he resided some time in Sicily. He began to exhibit about the year 330 B. C., and died at the age of 97, some time in the reign of Antigonus the second[8]. According to Diodorus[9], he lived ninety-nine years, and wrote ninety-seven comedies. Various accounts are given of the manner of his death[10]. Lucian tells us, he died in a paroxysm of laughter at seeing an ass devouring some figs intended for his own eating. The names of fifty-three of his comedies have come down to us[11]. Philemon was considered as superior to Menander[12], and Quintilian, while he denies the correctness of this judgment[13], is nevertheless willing to allow Philemon the second place. We may see a favourable specimen of his construction of plots, in the Trinummus of Plautus, which is a translation from his Θησαυρός[14]. His plays, like those of Menander, contained many imitations of Euripides, and he was so ardent an admirer of that poet, that he declared he would have hanged himself for the prospect of meeting Euripides in the other world, if he could have convinced himself that the departed spirits were really capable of recognizing one another[1].

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[4] Φιλοφρονουμένου δέ ποτε τοῦ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπόντος, "Ὦ Φιλιππίδη, τίνος σοι τῶν ἐμῶν μεταδῶ;" "Μόνον," ἔφη, "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ τῶν ἀποῤῥήτων."

[5] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 177.

[6] iii. 15. Philippides comœdiarum poëta haud ignobilis, ætate jam editâ, cum in certamine poëtarum præter spem vicisset, inter illud gaudium repente mortuus est.

[7] xiv. p. 671.

[8] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 157.

[9] Eclog. lib. xxiii. p. 318.

[10] Plutarch, An seni, &c. p. 785. Lucian. Macrob. c. xxv. (vol. viii. p. 123, Lehm.) Apuleius, Florid. xvi. Suidas says he was ninety-four when he died, and gives nearly the same description of his death as Lucian.

[11] Fabricius, ii. p. 476, Harles.

[12] Aul. Gell. xvii. 4. Quintil. iii. 7. 18.

[13] x. 1, 72. *Philemon*, qui ut pravis sui temporis judiciis Menandro sæpe prælatus est, ita consensu tamen omnium meruit credi secundus.

[14] Prol. Trinummi, 18.

Huic nomen Græce est Thesauro fabulæ;
Philemo scripsit; Plautus vortit barbare,
Nomen Trinummo fecit.

Menander, the son of Diopeithes and Hegesistrata[2], and the nephew of the comedian Alexis[3], was born at Athens in B.C. 342[4], while his father was absent on the Hellespont station[5]. He spent his youth in the house of his uncle, and received from him and from Theophrastus instructions in poetry and philosophy[6]: he may have derived from the latter, in some measure, the knowledge of character for which he was so eminent. In 321 B.C. his first Comedy came out[7]; it was called Ὀργή[8]. He wrote in the whole 105[9] or 108[10] comedies, and gained the prize eight times: 115 titles of comedies ascribed to him have come down to us; it is not certain, however, that all these are correctly attributed to him[11]. He died at Athens in the year 291 B.C.[12] According to one account he was drowned while bathing in the harbour of the Peiræus[13]. It appears from the encomiums which are heaped upon him[14], that he was by far the best writer of the Comedy of Manners among the Greeks. We have a few specimens of the ingenuity of his plots in some of the plays of Terence, whom Julius Cæsar used to call a demi-Menander[1]. He was an imitator of Euripides[2], and we may infer from what Quintilian says of him[3], that his comedies differed from the tragicomedies of that poet only in the absence of mythical subjects and a chorus. Like Euripides, he was a good rhetorician, and Quintilian is inclined to attribute to him some orations published in the name of Charisius[4]. The every-day life of his countrymen, and manners and characters of ordinary occurrence, were the objects of his imitation[5]. His plots, though skilfully contrived, are somewhat monotonous; there are few of his Comedies which do not bring on the stage a harsh father, a profligate son, and a roguish slave[6]. In his person Menander was foppish and effeminate[7]. He wrote several prose works[8]. A statue was erected to his memory in the Theatre at Athens[9].

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[1] Fragm. 40, A. p. 48, Meineke; Anthol. Pal. vol. ii. p. 161.

Εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν οἱ τεθνηκότες
Αἴσθησιν εἶχον, ἄνδρες, ὥς φασίν τινες,
Ἀπηγξάμην ἂν ὡς ἰδεῖν Εὐριπίδην.

[2] Suidas, Μένανδρος.

[3] Suidas, Ἄλεξις.

[4] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 143.

[5] Comp. Ulpian and Demosth. p. 54, 3, with Dionys. Dinarch. p. 666.

[6] Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx. Diogen. Laërt. v. 36.

[7] Proleg. Aristoph. p. xxx.

[8] Euseb. ad Olyn. 114, 4.

[9] Apollod. ap. Aul. Gell. xvii. 4.

Κηφισιεὺς ὢν ἐκ Διοπείθεος πατρός,
Πρὸς τοῖσιν ἑκατὸν πέντε γράψας δράματα
Ἐξέλιπε, πεντήκοντα καὶ δυοῖν ἐτῶν.

[10] Suidas, γέγραφε κωμῳδίας ρη′.

[11] Fabricius, ii. p. 460, 468, Harles.

[12] Clinton, F. H. ii. p. 181.

[13] A line in the "Ibis," attributed to Ovid, is supposed by some to allude to this (591):

Comicus ut mediis periit dum nabat in undis.

[14] Quintil. x. 1, 69. Plutarch, tom. ix. p. 387, seqq. Reiske, and Dio Chrysost. xviii. p. 255.

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[1] Donatus, Vit. Terentii.

[2] See the passages compared by Meineke, Fragm. Com. Gr. vol. iv. p. 705, foll. It is interesting to know that it is still doubtful whether the Senarius quoted by St. Paul in 1 Corinth. xv. 33, was not borrowed by Menander, in his Thais, from some lost play of Euripides. It is quoted in Latin by Tertullian, ad Uxor. i. 8.

[3] x. 1, 69.

[4] x. 1, 70.

[5] Aristoph. Byz. ap. Schol. Hermogenis, p. 38.

Ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε,
Πότερος ἄρ' ὑμῶν πότερον ἐμίμησατο;

Manilius, v. 472.

Ardentes juvenes, raptasque in amore puellas,
Elusosque seues, agilesque per omnia servos,
Quis in cuncta suam produxit sæcula vitam
Doctor in urbe sua linguæ sub flore Menander,
Qui vitæ ostendit vitam, chartisque sacravit.

[6] Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba læna,
Vivent, dum meretrix blanda, Menandrus erit.
Ovid, I. Amorum, xv. 18.

[7] In quis Menander, nobilis comœdiis,

. . . .

Unguento delibutus, vestitu affluens,
Veniebat gressu delicato et languido.

. . . .

Quisnam cinædus ille in conspectu meo
Audet venire? Responderunt proximi:
Hic est Menander scriptor.—Phædrus, v. i. 9.

Prorsus si quis Menandrico fluxu delicatam vestem humi protrahat.
Tertullian, c. iv. de Pallio.

[8] Suidas, Μένανδρος.

[9] Pausan. i. 21, 1.

The date of the birth of DIPHILUS is unknown; it is stated that he exhibited at the same time with Menander[1]. He was born at Sinope[2], and died at Smyrna. Of one hundred Comedies, which he is said to have written, the names of forty-eight are preserved[3]. The "Casina" of Plautus is borrowed from his Κληρούμενοι[4]; and Terence tells us, that he introduced into the "Adelphi" a literal translation of part of the Συναποθνήσκοντες of Diphilus[5]. It appears from a fragment of Machon, that he wrote prologues to his dramas[6], which were probably very like the prologues of the Latin Comedians, though they were, we think, originally borrowed (like all the New Comedy) from the tragedies of Euripides.

APOLLODORUS, of Gela[7], is also called a contemporary of Menander. The "Phormio" of Terence is a translation from his Ἐπιδικαζόμενος, and the "Hecyra," which is said in the didascalia to have been taken from Menander, was, according to Donatus, also borrowed from this poet.

POSIDIPPUS, the son of Cyniscus of Cassandreia, wrote thirty comedies; the titles of fifteen of these are known, and some of them were Latinized like those of the three last mentioned poets[1]. He began to exhibit in 289 B.C. two years after the death of Menander[2].

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[1] Δίφιλος Σινωπεύς, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐδίδαξε Μενάνδρῳ, τελευτᾷ δὲ ἐν Σμύρνῃ, δράματα δὲ αὐτοῦ ρʹ. Proleg. Arist. p. xxxi.

[2] Strabo, xii. p. 546.

[3] Fabricus, ii. p. 438. Harles.

[4] *Clerumenæ* vocatur hæc comœdia
Græce; Latine *Sortientes*. Diphilus
Hanc Græce scripsit, post id rursum denuo
Latine Plautus cum latranti nomine.
Prolog. Casinæ, 30—32.

[5] *Synapothnescontes* Diphili comœdia 'st:
Eam *Conmorientes* Plautus fecit fabulam.
In Græca adolescens est, qui lenoni eripit
Meretricem in primâ fabulâ: eum Plautus locum
Reliquit integrum, eum hic locum sumpsit sibi
In *Adelphos*, verbum de verbo expressum extulit.
Prol. Adelph. 6—11.

[6] Athen. xiii. p. 580, A.

ὁ Δίφιλος,
"νὴ τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν καὶ θεοὺς ψυχρόν γ'," ἔφη,
"Γναθαῖν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως."
ἡ δ' εἶπε, "τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς
εἰς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν."

[7] On the two comedies of this name see Clinton, F. H. iii. p. 521—2.

The Greek Comedy properly ends with Posidippus, but there are some writers of a later date called comedians. Rhinthon, of Tarentum, is called a comedian, by Suidas, but his plays seem to have been rather *phlyacographies*, or tragi-comedies. He flourished in the reign of Ptolemy. The titles of six of his plays are known[3]. Sopater, of Paphos, was a writer of the same kind; and also Sotades, of Crete, who flourished about the year 280 B.C., and wrote in the Ionic dialect[4]. Macho wrote comedies at Alexandria about the year 230 B.C. He was a Corinthian or Sicyonian by birth, and the instructor of Aristophanes of Byzantium[5]. Apollodorus, of Carystus, who is confounded with the Apollodorus of Gela mentioned above, was a contemporary of Macho. He exhibited at Athens. Of twenty-four comedies which are mentioned under the name of Apollodorus, four are ascribed to the earlier poet, six to the latter, and four to both. The remaining ten are quoted under the name Apollodorus without any ethnic distinction[6].

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[1] Aul. Gell. ii. 23.

[2] Suidas, Ποσείδιππος.

[3] Clinton, F. H. iii. p. 486.

[4] Ibid. p. 500.

[5] Athenæus, vi. p. 241. E. F. xiv. 664, A.

[6] Clinton, F. H. iii. p. 521.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GREEK DRAMA.

B. C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
708	XVIII. 1.	*Archilochus.*	*Gyges* of Lydia.
693	XXI. 4.	*Simonides* of Amorgus.	
610	XLII. 3.	*Arion* and *Stesichorus,* fl.	*Pisander* of Corinth.
594	XLVI. 3.	*Solon,* fl.	
562	LIV. 3.	*Susarion.*	Usurpation of *Pisistratus,* B. C. 560.—The accession of *Cyrus,* B.C. 559.
549	LVII. 4.		Death of *Phalaris.*
544	LIX. 1.	*Theognis.*	
535	LXI. 2.	*Thespis* first exhibits.	*Anacreon, Ibycus, Hipponax,*—*Pythagoras.*
525	LXIII. 4.	*Æschylus* born.	*Cambyses* conquers Egypt.
524	LXIV. 1.	*Chœrilus* first exhibits.	
519	LXV. 2.	*Cratinus* born.	
518	—— 3.		*Pindar* born.
511	LXVII. 2.	*Phrynichus* first exhibits.	Expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ,* B. C. 510 — of the *Tarquins,* B. C. 509.
508	LXVIII. 1.	Institution of the Χορὸς ἀνδρῶν. *Lasus* of Hermione, the dithyrambic poet.	*Heraclitus* and *Parmenides,* the philosophers.—*Hecatæus,* the historian.
500	LXX. 1.	*Epicharmus* perfects Comedy.	Birth of *Anaxagoras.*
499		*Æschylus* first exhibits, and contends with *Chœrilus* and *Pratinas.*	Ionian war commences, and Sardis is burnt.
495		Birth of *Sophocles.*	Miletus taken, B.C. 494.
490		*Æschylus* at Marathon.	*Miltiades.*

B.C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
487	LXXIII. 1.	*Chionides* first exhibits.	
484	LXXIV. 1.	*Æschylus* gains his first tragic prize.	Birth of *Herodotus*.
480	LXXV. 1.	*Euripides* born.	Thermopylæ, Salamis.—*Leonidas, Aristides, Themistocles*.—*Pherecydes*, the historian.—*Gelon* of Syracuse.
477	LXXV. 3.	*Epicharmi* Νᾶσοι.	*Hiero* succeeds Gelon, B.C. 478.
476	LXXVI. 1.	*Phrynichus* victor with his Φοίνισσαι. *Themistocles* choragus.	*Simonides* gains the prize ’Ανδρῶν Χορῷ.
472	LXXVII. 1.	*Æschyli* Πέρσαι, Φινεύς, Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς, Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος.	Birth of *Thucydides*, B.C. 471.
468	LXXVIII. 1.	*Sophocles* gains his first tragic prize. *Æschylus* goes to Sicily.	*Socrates* born.—Mycenæ destroyed by the Argives.—Death of *Simonides*, B.C. 467.
458	LXXX. 3.	*Æschyli* ’Ορεστεία. *Æschylus* again retires to Sicily.	*Anaxagoras*. Birth of *Lysias*.
456	LXXXI. 1.	*Æschylus* dies.	*Herodotus* at Olympia.
455	——— 2.	*Euripides* exhibits the *Peliades*.	End of the Messenian and Egyptian wars.—*Empedocles* and *Zeno*.—*Pericles*.
454	——— 3.	*Aristarchus*, of Tegea, the tragedian, and *Cratinus*, the comic poet, flourish.	
451	LXXXII. 2.	*Ion* of Chios begins to exhibit.	
450	——— 2.	*Crates* exhibits.	*Bacchylides*, the lyric poet.—*Archelaus*, the philosopher.
448	LXXXIII. 1.	*Cratini* ’Αρχίλοχοι.	Death of *Cimon*, B.C. 449.
447	——— 2.	*Achæus Eretriensis*, the tragedian.	Battle of Coronea.
441	LXXXIV. 4.	*Euripides* gains the first tragic prize.	*Herodotus* and *Lysias* go with the colonists to Thurium, B.C. 443.
440	LXXXV. 1.	Comedy prohibited by a public decree.	The Samian war, in which *Sophocles* is colleague with *Pericles*.
437	——— 3.	The prohibition of comedy repealed.	*Isocrates* born, B.C. 436.
435	LXXXVI. 2.	*Phrynichus*, the comic poet, first exhibits.	Sea-fight between the Corinthians and Corcyræans.

B.C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
434	LXXXVI. 3.	*Lysippus*, the comic poet, is victorious.	*Andocides*, *Meton*, *Aspasia*.
431	LXXXVII. 2.	*Euripidis* Μήδεια, Φιλοκτήτης, Δίκτυς, Θερισταί.	Attempt of the Thebans on Platæa.
		Aristomenes, the comic poet.	*Hippocrates*.
430	—— 3.	*Hermippus*, the comic poet.	Plague at Athens.
429	—— 4.	*Eupolis* exhibits.	Siege of Platæa.—Birth of *Plato*.
428	LXXXVIII. 1.	*Euripidis* 'Ιππόλυτος.	*Anaxagoras* dies.
		Plato, the comic poet.	
427	—— 2.	*Aristophanis* Δαιταλεῖς.	Surrender of Platæa.—*Gorgias* of *Leontium*.
426	—— 3.	*Aristophanis* Βαβυλώνιοι.	*Tanagra*.
425	—— 4.	*Aristophanes* first with the 'Αχαρνεῖς : *Cratinus* second with the Χειμαζόμενοι : *Eupolis* third with the Νουμηνίαι.	*Cleon* at Sphacteria.
424	LXXXIX. 1.	*Aristophanes* first with the 'Ιππεῖς : *Cratinus* second with the Σάτυροι : *Aristomenes* third with the 'Ολοφυρμοί.	*Xenophon* at Delium.—Amphipolis taken from *Thucydides* by *Brasidas*.
423	—— 2.	*Cratinus* first with the Πυτίνη : *Ameipsias* second with the Κόννος : *Aristophanes* third with the Νεφέλαι.	The year's truce with Lacedæmon.—*Alcibiades* begins to act in public affairs.
422	—— 3.	*Aristophanis* Σφῆκες et *αἱ δεύτεραι* Νεφέλαι. (Sed vide supra.)	*Brasidas* and *Cleon* killed at Amphipolis.
		Cratinus dies.	
421	—— 4.	*Eupolidis* Μαρικᾶς et Κόλακες.	Truce for fifty years with Lacedæmon.
420	XC. 1.	*Eupolidis* Αὐτόλυκος et 'Αστράτευτοι.	Treaty with the Argives.
419	—— 2.	*Aristophanis* Εἰρήνη.	
416	XCI. 1.	*Agathon* gains the tragic prize.	Capture of Melos.

B.C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
415	XCI. 2.	*Xenocles* first ; *Euripides* second with the Τρῳάδες, Ἀλέξανδρος; Παλαμήδης, and Σίσυφος.	Expedition to Sicily.
		Archippus, the comic poet, gains the prize.	
414	—— 3.	*Aristophanis* Ἀμφιάραος (εἰς Λήναια).	
		Ameipsias first with the Κωμασταί : *Aristophanes* second with the Ὄρνιθες : *Phrynichus* third with the Μονότροπος (εἰς ἄστυ).	
413	—— 4.	*Hegemonis* Γιγαντομαχία.	Destruction of the Athenian army before Syracuse.
412	XCII. 1.	*Euripidis* Ἀνδρομέδα.	Lesbos, Chios, and Erythræ revolt.
411	—— 2.	*Aristophanis* Λυσιστράτη and Θεσμοφοριάζουσαι.	The 400 at Athens.
409	—— 4.	*Sophocles* first with the Φιλοκτήτης.	
408	XCIII. 1.	*Euripidis* Ὀρέστης.	
406	—— 3.	*Euripides* dies.	*Arginusæ.*—*Dionysius* becomes master of Syracuse.—*Philistus*, the Sicilian historian.
405	—— 4.	Death of *Sophocles*.	*Ægospotamus.*—*Conon.*
		Aristophanis Βάτραχοι, first ; *Phrynichi* Μοῦσαι, second ; *Platonis* Κλεοφῶν, third.	The *Thirty* at Athens.
404	XCIV. 1.	*Antiphanes* born.	
401	—— 3.	*Sophoclis* Οἰδίπους ἐπὶ Κολώνῳ exhibited by the *younger Sophocles*; who first represented in his own name, B.C. 396.	*Xenophon*, with Cyrus.—*Ctesias*, the historian.—*Plato.*
392	XCVII. 1.	*Aristophanis* Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι.	*Agesilaus.*
388	XCVIII. 1.	*Aristophanis* Πλοῦτος β΄.	
387	—— 2.		Peace of *Antalcidas.*

B.C.	Olympiad.	The Drama.	Contemporary Persons and Events.
386	XCVIII. 3.	*Theopompus*, the last poet of the Old Comedy.	
383	XCIX. 2.	*Antiphanes* begins to exhibit.	
376	CI. 1.	*Eubulus*, *Araros*, and *Anaxandrides*, the comic poets, flourished.	
368	CIII. 1.	*Aphareus*, the tragedian.	
356	CVI. 1.	*Alexis*, the comic poet.	*Alexander* born.—Expulsion of *Dionysius*.—Death of *Timotheus*, the musician.
348	CVIII. 1.	*Heraclides*, the comic poet.	*Demosthenes* against Midias.—*Philip* and the Olynthian war.
342	CIX. 3.	Birth of *Menander*.	*Timoleon* at Syracuse.—*Isocrates*.—*Aristotle*.
336	CXI. 1.	*Amphis*, the comic poet, still exhibits.	*Philip* assassinated.
335	—— 2.	*Philippides*, the comedian.	
332	CXII. 1.	*Stephanus*, the comic poet.	Siege of Tyre.
330	—— 3.	*Philemon* begins to exhibit.	*Darius* slain.
324	CXIV. 1.	*Timocles* still exhibits.	*Alexander* dies. — *Demosthenes* dies, B.C. 322.
321	—— 4.	*Menandri* Ὀργή.	
		Diphilus.	
307	CXVIII. 1.	*Demetrius*, the comic poet.	*Epicurus*.—*Agathocles*.
304	CXIX. 1.	*Archedippus*, *Philippides*, and *Anaxippus*, the comic poets, flourished.	*Demetrius Poliorcetes*.
291	CXXII. 2.	Death of *Menander*.	*Arcesilaus*.
289	—— 4.	*Posidippus* begins to exhibit—*Rhinthon* flourished.	
280	CXXV. 1.	*Sotades*.	War with Pyrrhus.
230	CXXXVII. 3.	*Macho*, the comedian.	
200	CXLV. 1.	*Apollodorus*, the Carystian.	*Plautus* dies.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE REPRESENTATION OF GREEK PLAYS.

Dass man auf das ganze Verhältniss der Orchestra zur Bühne keine vom heutigen Theater entnommenen Vorstellungen übertragen, und die alte Tragödie nicht MODERNISIREN *dürfe, ist ja wohl eine der ersten Regeln, die man bei der Beurtheilung dieser Dinge zu beobachten hat.*—MÜLLER.

IF the Greek plays themselves differed essentially from those of our own times, they were even more dissimilar in respect to the mode and circumstances of their representation. We have theatrical exhibitions of some kind every evening throughout the greater part of the year, and in capital cities many are going on at the same time in different theatres. In Greece the dramatic performances were carried on for a few days in the Spring; the theatre was large enough to contain the whole population, and every citizen was there, as a matter of course, from daybreak to sunset[1]. With us a successful play is repeated night after night, for months together: in Greece the most admired dramas were seldom repeated, and never in the same year. The theatre with us is merely a place of public entertainment; in Greece it was the temple of the god, whose altar was the central point of the semicircle of seats or steps, from which some 30,000[2] of his worshippers gazed upon a spectacle instituted in his honour. Our theatrical costumes are intended to convey an idea of the dresses actually worn by the persons represented, while those of the Greeks were nothing but modifications of the festal robes worn in the Dionysian processions[3]. Finally, the modern playwright has only the approbation or disapprobation of his audience to look to; whereas no Greek play was represented until it had been approved by a board appointed to decide between the rival dramatists. It will be worth our while, then, to consider separately the distinguishing peculiarities of a Greek dramatic exhibition. We shall discuss the points of difference successively, as they relate to the *time*, the *means*, the *place*, and the *manner* of performance; to which we shall add a few remarks on the audience and the actors. And first with regard to the *time*.

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[1] Æsch. *κατὰ* Κτησ.—p. 488, Bekker. *καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡγεῖτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον.*

The torch-races in the last plays of a trilogia (above p. 78) seem to show that the exhibitions were not over till dark.

[2] Plato, Sympos. p. 175, E.

Theatrical exhibitions formed a part of certain festivals of Bacchus; in order, then, to ascertain at what time of the year they took place, we must inquire how many festivals were held in Attica in honour of that God, and then determine at which of them theatrical representations were given. There have been great diversities of opinion in regard to the number of the Attic Dionysia[4]: it appears, however, to be now pretty generally agreed among scholars that there were four Bacchic feasts; in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth months respectively of the Attic year.

1. The "country Dionysia," (τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια,) were celebrated all over Attica, in the month Poseideon, which included the latter part of December and the beginning of

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[3] Müller, Eumeniden, § 32 and below, p. [159].

[4] The reader who wishes to investigate the question fully is referred to Scaliger (Emendat. Temp. i. p. 29), Paulmier (Exercitat. in Auctores Græcos, p. 617—619), Petit (Legg. Atticæ, p. 112—117), Spanheim (Argum. ad Arist. Ran. tom. iii. p. 122, seqq. ed. Beck), Oderici (Dissert. de Didasc. Marmorea, Rom. 1777, and in Marini, Iscriz. Albane, Rom. 1785, p. 161—170), Kanngiesser (Kom. Bühne, p. 161—170), and Hermann (Beck's Aristoph. tom. v. p. 11—28), who infer from the Scholiast on Aristoph. Ach. 201 and 503, that the Lenæa were identical with the rural Dionysia; to Selden (ad Marm. Oxon. p. 35—39), Corsini (F. A. ii. 325—329), Ruhnken (in Alberti's Hesych. Auctar. to vol. i. p. 1000), Barthélemy (Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr. xxxix. p. 172, seqq.), Wyttenbach (Biblioth. Crit. ii. 3, p. 41, seqq.), Spalding (Abhandl. d. Berl. Academie, 1804—1811, p. 70—82), Blomfield (in Mus. Crit. ii. p. 75, seqq.), and Clinton (F. H. ii. p. 332), who identify the Lenæa and Anthesteria; finally, to Böckh (Abhandl. d. Berlin. Acad. 1816, p. 47—124), Buttmann (ad Dem. Mid. p. 119), and Dr. Thirlwall (in the Phil. Mus. ii. p. 273, fol.), who adopt the opinion stated in the text. Some arguments in favour of the second hypothesis have been recently brought forward by a writer in the *Classical Museum*, No. xi. p. 70, seqq.

January. This was the festival of the vintage, which is still in some places postponed to December[5].

II. The festival of the wine-press (τὰ Λήναια) was held in Gamelion, which corresponded to the Ionian month Lenæon, and to part of January and February. It was, like the rural Dionysia, a vintage festival, but differed from them in being confined to a particular spot in the city of Athens, called the Lenæon, where the first wine-press (ληνὸς) was erected.

III. The "Anthesteria" (τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια, τὰ ἐν Λιμναῖς) were held on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month Anthesterion. This was not a vintage festival, like the former two. The new wine was drawn from the cask on the first day of the feast (Πιθοίγια), and tasted on the second day (Χόες): the third day was called Χύτροι, on account of the banqueting which went on then[6]. At the *Choës* each of the citizens had a separate cup, a custom which arose, according to the tradition, from the presence of Orestes at the feast, before he had been duly purified[7]; it has been thought, however, to refer to a difference of castes among the worshippers at the time of the adoption of the Dionysian rites in the city[8]. The "Anthesteria" are called by Thucydides the more ancient festival of Bacchus[9].

IV. The "great Dionysia" (τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τὰ κατ' ἄστυ, τὰ ἀστικά,) were celebrated between the eighth and eighteenth of Elaphebolion[1]. This festival is always to be understood when the Dionysia are mentioned without any qualifying epithet.

At the first, second, and fourth of these fesivals, it is known that theatrical exhibitions took place. The exhibitions at the country Dionysia were generally of old pieces[2]; indeed, there is no instance of a play being acted on those occasions for the first time, at least after the Greek Drama had arrived at perfection. At the Lenæa and the great Dionysia, both Tragedies and Comedies were performed[3]; at the latter the Tragedies at least were always new pieces; the instances in the *didascaliæ*, which have come down to us, of representations at the Lenæa are indeed always of new pieces[4], but from the manner in which the exhibition of new Tragedies is mentioned in connexion with the city festival[5], we must conclude that repetitions were allowed at the Lenæa, as well as at the country Dionysia. The month Elaphebolion may have been selected for the representation of new Tragedies, because Athens was then full of the dependent allies, who came at that time to pay the tributes[6], whereas the Athenians alone were present at the Lenæa. It does not clearly appear that there were any theatrical exhibitions at the Anthesteria; it is, however, at least probable that the Tragedians read to a select audience at the Anthesteria the Tragedies which they had composed for the festival in the following month, or, perhaps, the contests took

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[5] Philol. Mus. ii. p. 296.

[6] See the end of the Acharnians, and Aul. Gell. viii. 24.

[7] See Müller's Eumeniden, § 50.

[8] See above, p. 43.

[9] ii. 15.

[1] Æschin. περὶ παραπρέσβ. p. 36. μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησίαν προγράψαι δύο ἐκκλησίας, τὴν μὲν τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐπὶ δέκα, τὴν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα: and κατὰ Κτησ. p. 63. εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει, τῇ ὀγδόῃ καὶ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα.

[2] Thus Demosthenes twits Æschines with his wretched performances in some of the characters of Sophocles and Euripides at the deme Cotyttus. De Coronâ, p. 288. Comp. Æschin. c. Timarch. p. 158. There appear to have been dramatic exhibitions at Phlyæ, in the time of Isæus—Καὶ οὐ μόνον εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεκα·

λούμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν ἀεὶ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, &c.—Isæus de Ciron. Hæred. vol. i. p. 114, Orator. Attic. Oxford.

[3] Law in Demosth. Mid. p. 517. *ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί.*

[4] See above, pp. 102, 119, 123, 125.

[5] See the decree, Demosthenes *περὶ στεφάνου*, p. 264, Bekker.—*ἀναγορεῦσαι τὸν στέφανον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίοις τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς.* Lexicon Sangerm. p. 309, Bekker. *τραγῳδοῖσι, τῶν τραγῳδῶν οἱ μὲν ἦσαν παλαιοὶ οἱ παλαιὰ δράματα εἰσάγοντες· οἱ δὲ καινοὶ, οἱ καινὰ καὶ μηδέποτε εἰσαχθέντα.* See Hemsterhuis on Lucian's Timon. vol. i. p. 465. Lehmann.

This custom continued down to the times of Julius Cæsar, when a similar decree was passed in favour of Hyrcanus the high-priest and Ethnarch of the Jews. See Josephus Antiq. Jud. xiv. 8.

[6] *Οὐ γάρ με καὶ νῦν διαβαλεῖ Κλέων, ὅτι*
Ξένων παρόντων τὴν πόλιν κακῶς λέγω.
Αὐτοὶ γάρ ἐσμὲν, οὑπὶ Ληναίῳ τ' ἀγών,
Κοὔπω ξένοι πάρεισιν· οὔτε γὰρ φόροι
Ἥκουσιν, οὔτ' ἐκ τῶν πόλεων οἱ ξύμμαχοι·
Ἀλλ' ἐσμὲν αὐτοὶ νῦν γε περιεπτισμένοι·
Τοὺς γὰρ μετοίκους ἄχυρα τῶν ἀστῶν λέγω.
Aristoph. Acharn. 477: see the Scholiast.

Hence Æschines takes occasion to reproach Demosthenes with being too vain to be content with the applause of his own fellow-citizens, since he must needs have the crown decreed him proclaimed at the *great Dionysia*, when all Greece was present: *Οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν ἀγωνιζομένων καινῶν, οὐδ' ἐναντίον τοῦ δήμου ἀλλ' ἐναντίον τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἵν' ἡμῖν συνειδῶσιν οἷον ἄνδρα τιμῶμεν.*—Contra Ctesiph. vol. iii. p. 469, Orat. Att. Oxford.

place then, and the intervening month was employed in perfecting the actors and chorus in their parts[7].

In considering the *means* of performance, we must recal to mind the different origins of the two constituent parts of a Greek Drama—the chorus and the dialogue. Choruses were, as we have seen[8], originally composed of the whole population. When, however, in process of time, the fine arts became more cultivated, the duties of this branch of worship devolved upon a few, and ultimately upon one, who bore the whole expense, when paid dancers were employed[9]. This person, who was called the *Choragus*, was considered as the religious representative of the whole people[1], and was said to do the state's work for it (λειτουργεῖν[2]). The Choragia, the Gymnasiarchy, the Feasting of the Tribes, and the Architheoria, belonged to the class of regularly recurring state burthens (ἐγκύκλιοι λειτουργίαι), to which all persons whose property exceeded three talents were liable. It was the choragus' business[3] to provide the chorus in all plays, whether Tragic or Comic, and also for the lyric choruses of men and boys, Pyrrhichists, Cyclian dancers, and others; he was selected by the managers of his tribe (ἐπιμεληταὶ φυλῆς) for the choragy which had come round to it. His first duty, after collecting his chorus, was to provide and pay a teacher (χοροδιδάσκαλος), who instructed them in the songs and dances which they had to perform, and it appears that the choragi drew lots for the first choice of teachers. The choragus had also to pay the musicians and singers who composed the chorus, and was allowed to press children, if their parents did not give them up of their own accord. He was obliged to lodge and maintain the chorus till the time of performance, and to supply the singers with such aliments as conduce to strengthen the voice. In the laws of Solon the age prescribed for the choragus was forty years; but this rule does not appear to have been long in force. The relative expense of the different choruses, in the time of Lysias, is given in a speech of that orator[4]. We learn from this that the Tragic chorus cost nearly twice as much as the Comic, though neither of the Dramatic choruses was so expensive as the chorus of men, or the chorus of flute-players[5].

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[7] Philol. Mus. ii. p. 292, fol.

[8] Above, p. 11.

[9] See Buttmann on Dem. Mid. p. 37.

[1] Hence his person and the ornaments which he procured for the occasion were sacred. See Demosth. Mid. p. 519, *et passim*.

[2] On this word, see Valckenaer on Ammon. ii. 16. Ruhnken, Epist. Crit. i. p. 54. Hesychius, s. v. p. 463, vol. ii. It is formed from λέως, λεῖτον, λήϊτον (see Herod. vii. 197: λήϊτον καλέουσι τὸ πρυτανήϊον οἱ Ἀχαιοί). The best notion of the meaning of a liturgy may be derived from Æschyl. Eumen. 340:

Σπευδόμενος δ' ἀφελεῖν τινα τάσδε μερίμνας
Θεῶν δ' ἀτέλειαν ἐμαῖς λείταις ἐπικραίνειν,

if the emendations which we have introduced, or adopted from Müller, are to be received.

[3] On the choragia, see Böckh's Public Economy, vol. ii. p. 207, foll. Engl. Transl. or Stuart's Athens.

The actors were the representatives not of the people, but of the poet; consequently the choragus had nothing to do with them. If he had paid for them, the dramatic choruses would surely have exceeded in expensiveness all the others; besides, the actors were not allotted to the choragi, but to the poets; and were therefore paid either by these, or, as we rather think, by the state.

When a dramatist had made up his mind to bring out a play, he applied, if he intended to represent at the Lenæa, to the king-archon, and, if at the great Dionysia, to the chief archon[6] for a chorus, which was given to him[7] if his piece was deemed worthy of it[8]. Along with this chorus he received three actors by lot, and these he taught independently of the choragus, who confined his attentions to the chorus. If successful, he chose his own actors for the following year[9]. When the day appointed for the trial came on, they united their efforts, and endeavoured to gain the prize by a combination of the best-taught actors with the most sumptuously dressed and most diligently exercised chorus[10]. That the exertions of the choragus and the actors were often as influential with the judges as the beauty of the poem cannot be doubted, when we have so many instances of the ill-success of the best dramatists. The judges were appointed by lot, and were generally[1], but as we have seen, not always[2], five in number. The archon administered an oath to them; and, in the case of the cyclian chorus, partiality or injustice was punishable by fine[3]. The successful poet was crowned with ivy (with which his choragus and performers were also adorned[4]), and his name was proclaimed before the audience. The choragus who had exhibited the best musical or theatrical entertainment generally received a tripod as a reward or prize. This he was at the expense of consecrating, and in some cases built the monument on which it was placed[5]. Thus the beautiful choragic monument of Lysicrates, which is still standing at Athens, was undoubtedly surmounted by a tripod; and the statue of Bacchus, in a sitting posture, which was on the top of the choragic monument of Thrasyllus,

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[4] Lysias, 'Απολ. δωροδ. p. 698. Translated by Bentley (Phalaris, p. 360, see below, Part II. p. 132).

[5] Demosth. Mid. p. 565.

[6] See above, p. 82, note (4).

[7] There is some difference of opinion as to the person "who gave the chorus." Some think it was the choragus who was applied to (see Küster on Aristoph. Eq. 510. Ducker on Aristoph. Ran. 94); others that it was the archon: this opinion is in itself the most likely to be true, and appears to be confirmed by the words of Aristotle quoted above, p. 57, note (9).

[8] Hence *χορὸν διδόναι* signifies generally to approve or praise a poet. See Plato, Resp. ii. p. 383, c, and Aristoph. Ran. in p. 101 supra.

[9] Hesych. *νέμησις ὑποκριτῶν*.

[10] The contending choragi were called *ἀντιχόρηγοι* (Demosth. Mid. p. 595. Bekker), the rival dramatists *ἀντιδιδάσκαλοι* (Aristoph. Vesp. 1410), and their performers *ἀντίτεχνοι* (Alciphron, iii. 48), a name which is also given to Euripides as the rival of Æschylus in the dramatic contest between them in the Ranæ, 815.

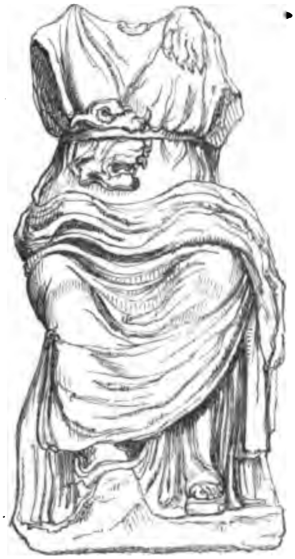

FIG. 1.

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[1] See Maussac, Diss. Crit. p. 204.

[2] Above, p. 82.

[3] Æschin. κατὰ Κτησιφ. § 85.

[4] See the passages quoted by Blomfield (Mus. Crit. ii. p. 88), and the lines of Simmias, in p. 81, supra.

[5] Lysias ubi supra, p. 202. Comp. Wordsworth's "Athens and Attica," p. 153, 4.

probably supported the tripod on its knees. Such, at least, seems to have been the intention of the holes drilled in the lap of the figure. From the inscriptions on these monuments, the *didascaliæ* of Aristotle, Carystius Pergamenus, Dicæarchus, and Callimachus, were probably compiled[7]. The choragus in Comedy consecrated the equipments of his chorus[8]. The successful poet, as we see from Plato's "Banquet," commemorated his victory with a feast. As, however, no prize-drama was permitted to be represented for a second time (with an exception in favour of the three great dramatists, which was not long in operation[9]), the poet's glory was very transient; so much so, that when Thucydides wished to predict the immortality of his work, he sought for an apt antithesis in the once-heard dramas of the contemporary poets[1]. The time allowed for the representation was portioned out by the Clepsydra, and seems to have been dependent upon the number of pieces represented[2]. What this number was is not known. It is probable, however, that about three trilogies might have been represented on one day[3].

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[7] Böckh's Corpus Inscript. i. p. 350.

[8] Lysias ubi supra. Comp. Theophrastus, Charact. xxii.

[9] Above, p. 75. Aul. Gell. vii. 5. Plutarch. Rhetorum Vitæ.

[1] i. 22. *κτῆμα δὲ ἐς ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν ξύγκειται.*

[2] Τοῦ *δὲ μήκους ὅρος, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, οὐ τῆς τέχνης ἐστίν.* Εἰ *γὰρ ἔδει ἑκατὸν τραγῳδίας ἀγωνίζεσθαι, πρὸς κλεψύδρας ἂν ἠγωνίζοντο, ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτέ φασιν.*—Aristot. Poet. c. vii.

[3] "Yet that number seems to have been a fixed thing: so Aristotle speaks of it: Εἴη *δ' ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀρχαίων ἐλάττους αἱ συστάσεις εἶεν, πρός τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τραγῳδιῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων παρήκοιεν.* Poet. § 40. See Tyrwhitt's note. If each tribe furnished but one choragus, and not, as some appear to have supposed, one for each different kind of contest, the number of tragic candidates could scarcely have exceeded three. For there seem never to have been less than three or four distinct kinds of choruses at the great Dionysian festivals; which, when portioned out amongst the ten choragi, could not by any chance allow of more than three or four choragi to the tragic competitors; which agrees very well with all that is elsewhere mentioned on this head, for we seldom meet with more than three candidates recorded, and probably this was in general the whole number of exhibitors. Aristophanes, indeed, had on one occasion *four* rival comedians to oppose (Argum. iii. in Plut.); but this was, in all likelihood, at the *Lenæa*, when, perhaps, not a single tragedy had been offered for representation, and, consequently, a large proportion of choruses would be left disengaged for comic candidates.

"If the custom of contending with tetralogies was still retained, Aristotle, in the passage above, most probably intended by *τῶν τραγῳδιῶν τῶν εἰς μίαν ἀκρόασιν τιθεμένων* the exhibition of one such tetralogy. This supposition is in some measure supported by the fact, that there were three or four separate hearings in the day; since four tetralogies would occupy from twelve to sixteen hours: and if, The *place* of exhibition was, in the days of the perfect Greek Drama, the great stone theatre erected within the Lenæon, or inclosure sacred to Bacchus. The building was commenced in the year 500 B.C., but not finished till about 381 B.C., when Lycurgus was manager of the treasury. In the earlier days of the Drama the theatre was of wood, but an accident having occurred at the representation of some plays of Æschylus and Pratinas, the stone theatre was commenced in its stead[4].

The student who wishes to entertain an adequate notion of the Greek Theatre must not forget that it was only an improvement upon the mode of representation adopted by Thespis, which it resembled in its general features. The two original elements were the θυμέλη, or altar of Bacchus, round which the cyclian chorus danced[5], and the λογεῖον or stage from which the actor or exarchus spoke[6]; it was the representative of the wooden table from which the earliest actor addressed his chorus[7], and was also called ὀκρίβας. But in the great stone theatres, in which the perfect Greek Dramas were represented, these two simple materials for the exhibition of a play were surrounded by a mass of buildings, and subordinated to other details of a very artificial and complicated description. That part of the structure, which was set apart for the audience, and was more properly called the θέατρον, may be discussed without any doubt or difficulty; for not only are the authorities explicit in their accounts, but we have many remains which are sufficiently complete to serve as a safe basis for architectural restorations. With regard, however, to the arrangement of the orchestra and stage, and of the scenes and other machinery of exhibition, we are left in a great measure to conjecture; for the ancient descriptions are not always very intelligible, and the more fragile materials of which these parts of the theatre were constructed have yielded to the stress of time, and so left us no vestiges so distinct as to support a satisfactory theory on the

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as is natural, each competitor took up a whole hearing, this will confirm our former induction with regard to the number of candidates."—Former Editor.

[4] Libanius' Argument. Demosth. Olynth. i. and Suidas, Πρατίνας.

[5] See Müller, *Anhang* zum Buch, Æsch. Eumeniden, p. 35.

[6] Above, p. 77.

[7] Above, p. 48. Pollux, iv. 123: ἐλεὸς δὲ ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ Θέσπιδος εἷς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνετο.

subject. By a reference, however, to the accompanying plan[8], the student will have no difficulty in understanding the following description, which is derived from an examination of the ancient authorities assisted by the speculations of modern architects and scholars.

In building a theatre, the Greeks always availed themselves of the slope of a hill, which enabled them to give the necessary elevation to the back-rows of seats, without those enormous substructions which we find in the Roman theatres. If the hill-side was rocky, semicircles of steps, rising tier above tier, were hewn out of the living material. If the ground was soft, a semicircular excavation of certain dimensions was made in the slope of the hill, and afterwards lined with rows of stone benches. Even when the former plan was practicable, the steps were frequently faced with copings of marble. This was the case with the theatre of Bacchus at Athens, which stood on the south-eastern side of the rocky Acropolis. This semicircular pit, surrounded by seats on all sides but one, and in part filled by them, was called the *κοῖλον* or *cavea* (A A A), and was assigned to the audience. At the top it was enclosed by a lofty portico and balustraded terrace (*c*). Concentric with this circular arc, and at the foot of the lowest range of seats, was the boundary line of the orchestra *ὀρχήστρα*, or "dancing-place" (B), which was given up to the Chorus. If we complete the circle of the orchestra, and draw a tangent to it at the point most removed from the audience, this line will give the position of the scene, *σκηνή*, or "covered building[9]" (D D), which presented to the view of the spectators a lofty façade of hewn stone, susceptible of such modifications as the different plays rendered suitable. In front of this scene was a narrow stage, called, therefore, the *προσκήνιον*[1] (C), which was indicated by the parallel side of a square[2], inscribed in the orchestral circle, but extended to the full length of the central scene on both sides (i. e. to D D). Another parallel at a certain distance behind the scene gave the portico (F F), which formed the lower front of the whole building.

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[8] This plan, with the exception of the stage, is derived from that which was published by Mr. T. L. Donaldson in the supplemental volume to Stuart's Antiquities of Athens, 1830, p. 33. It has also appeared in "the Library of Entertaining Knowledge," *Pompeii*, vol. i. p. 232, where the wood-cut preserves the engraver's error of ΟΡΚΗΣΤΡΑ for ΟΡΧΗΣΤΡΑ, by way of identification; for the author of the plan is not mentioned.

[9] "*Scene* properly means a tent or hut, and such was doubtless erected of wood by the earliest beginners of dramatic performances, to mark the dwelling of the principal person represented by the actor." Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 301.

[1] According to Mr. T. L. Donaldson's plan the *proscenium* is made to extend by lateral projections, until it reaches the spectators' seats (at *ee*). The tendency of all the authorities, together with the analogies furnished by the original ἰλεός, is to

The κοῖλον or *cavea* (A) was divided into two or more flights of steps by the διαζώματα or *præcinctiones* (*b b b*), which were broad belts, concentric with the upper terrace and with the boundary line of the orchestra, and served both as lobbies and landings. The steps of the κοῖλον were again subdivided transversely into masses called κέρκιδες, *cunei*, or "wedges" (*a a a*), by stairs, κλίμακες (*g g g*), running from one διάζωμα to another, and converging to the centre of the orchestra. Different parts of the theatre received different names from the class of spectators to whom they were appropriated. Thus, the lower seats, nearest to the orchestra, which were assigned to the members of the council (βουλή), and others who had a right to reserved seats (προεδρία), were called the βουλευτικὸς τόπος, and the young men sat together in the ἐφηβικὸς τόπος[3]. The spectators entered either from the hill above by doorways in the upper portico (*u u u*), or by staircases in the wings of the lower façade (*s s*).

The orchestra (B) was a levelled space twelve feet lower than the front seats of the κοῖλον, by which it was bounded. Six feet above this was a boarded stage (E), which did not cover the whole area of the orchestra, but terminated where the line of view from the central *cunei* was intercepted by the boundary line. It ran, however, to the right and left of the spectators'

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make us believe that the προσκήνιον did not go farther to the right or left than the σκηνή, and that it was a quadrangular elevation, standing as much above the *parodi* at the sides as above the orchestra in front.

[2] The angles of this square, and of two others inscribed in the orchestral circle as indicated in the accompanying plan, point out the divisions of the *cunei*, the commencements of the *iter* (at *hh*), and the width of the *eccyclema* (at *i*).

[3] κᾀθ' ὁρᾷ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν βουλευτικῷ. Aristoph. *Aves*, 794.—On which the Scholiast remarks, οὗτος τόπος τοῦ θεάτρου, ὁ ἀνειμένος τοῖς βουλευταῖς, ὡς καὶ ὁ τοῖς ἐφήβοις Ἐφηβικός.

Allusion is made to these reserved seats, in the *Equites*, 669.

Κλέων. Ἀπολῶ σε νὴ τὴν προεδρίαν τὴν ἐκ Πύλου.
Ἀλλαντοπώλης. Ἰδοὺ προεδρίαν· οἷον ὄψομαί σ' ἐγὼ
Ἐκ τῆς προεδρίας ἔσχατον θεώμενον.

From whence and elsewhere we may infer, that eminent public services were rewarded by this highly-prized προεδρία.—It is a great matter with the vain-glorious man in Theophrastus—τοῦ δὲ θεάτρου καθῆσθαι, ὅταν ᾖ θέα, πλησίον τῶν στρατηγῶν. Char. ii.

benches (*e m*, *e m*), till it reached the sides of the scene. The main part of this platform, as well as an altar of Bacchus in the centre of the orchestral circle (*d*), was called the θυμέλη[4]. The segment of the orchestra not covered by this platform was termed the κονίστρα, *arena*, or "place of sand." In front of the elevated scene, and six feet higher than the platform in the orchestra (i.e. on the same level with the lowest range of seats), was the προσκήνιον, mentioned above, (C), and called also the λογεῖον, or "speaking-stage." There was a double flight of steps (κλιμακτῆρες) from the *arena* (κονίστρα) to the platform in the orchestra (*p*), and another of a similar description from this orchestral platform to the προσκήνιον or real stage (*q*). There were also two other flights of steps leading to the orchestral platform from the chambers below the stage (*f h*, *f h*). These were called the χαρώνιοι κλίμακες, or "Charon's stairs," and were used for the entrance of spectres from the lower world, and for the ghostly apparitions of the departed. There was another entrance to the thymelic platform, which led to the outer portico of the theatre by passing under the seats of the spectators (*h b r*). This may have been used when there was no regular *parodus* of the chorus, (of which more presently,) and when the choreutæ made their exit in an unusual manner, as in the last scene of the *Eumenides*. The regular entrances of the chorus were by the πάροδοι (*n m*, *n m*), and along the δρόμος or *iter* (*m e*, *m e*).

It does not appear that the stage (προσκήνιον, λογεῖον) extended farther to the right or left than the scene or elevated centre of the façade, but terminated abruptly (at D D). Those parts of the façade on either side of this stage were called παρασκήνια, a name which was also given to the chambers behind the whole range of scene-buildings (*n n n*)[5]. The front and sides of the λογεῖον were called ὑποσκήνια, and this name was given also to the chambers below the stage. The walls of the παρασκήνια and ὑποσκήνια were not liable to change of decoration, but were constantly adorned with statues and other architectural adjuncts[6]. The scene itself was altered to meet the emergencies of the case. As a general rule, it represented a public building with three entrances (εἴσοδοι). That in the centre (*i*) belonged to the principal personage in the play; that on the right (*l*) introduced the second personage, while the inferior characters entered by the door on the left hand (*k*). Behind the centre εἴσοδος was a chamber (*o*), which might be opened to the spectators' view by a contrivance called the ἐκκύκλημα or ἐξώστρα. Thus the actions or spectacles which belonged to the interior of the house were sometimes openly exhibited. For example, in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, Clytæmnestra was seen standing over the body of her murdered husband, and in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, Euripides was discovered in his study. The right hand δρόμος, was supposed to lead to the country, and the left hand to the city. Before the πάροδος on either side stood a triangular prisma or side-scene (περίακτος), which moved on a pivot (*m*, *m*), and which not only indicated the different regions supposed to lie in the neighbourhood of the scene, but also was made use of as a machine for introducing suddenly sea and river-gods, and other incidental apparitions[7]. As the

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[4] The student should remark the successive extensions of meaning with which this word is used. At first it signified the *altar* of Bacchus, round which the cyclic chorus danced the Dithyramb. Then it signified the *platform*, on which this altar stood, and which served for the limited evolutions of the chorus. Lastly it denoted any platform for musical or dramatic performances, so that in the later writers the *thymele* is identified with the *proscenium*, which extended as far as the centre of the orchestral circle in the Roman theatres (see *Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Pädag.* li. 1, pp. 22–32). We believe that in the time of Euripides, at all events, the thymele signified the platform for the chorus, and not merely the altar which stood upon it: see Eurip. *Electr.* 712, seqq.

[5] On the *parascenia*, see Meineke, *Fragm. Com. Gr.* vol. iv. Epimetrum vii. pp. 722, seqq. Although all the buildings behind the scenes may have been ulti-

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mately called *parascenia*, it seems to us clear that the word in its original use referred to the range of buildings to the right and left of the scene and stage, and to the chambers behind these lower elevations. This may be inferred from the proper sense of the preposition παρά, which we also find in the word πάροδος, and with a like signification. For the actors were said εἰσιέναι, and their entrances were called εἴσοδοι; but the entrance of the chorus was a πάροδος (Jull. Poll. iv. 108: καὶ ἡ μὲν εἴσοδος τοῦ χοροῦ πάροδος καλεῖται, ἡ δὲ κατὰ χρείαν ἔξοδος, ὡς πάλιν εἰσιόντων μετάστασις· ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν εἴσοδος ἐπιπάροδος· ἡ δὲ τελεία ἔξοδος ἄφοδος), and Ulpian calls the παρασκήνια—τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς (not ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν) εἰσόδους, which indicates that they were not *on* the stage, but only *towards* the stage (Donalds. Gr. Gr. 483).

[6] Jul. Pollux. iv. 124.

[7] The following are authorities respecting the περίακτοι. Vitruv. v. 7: "secundum ea spatia ad ornatus comparata (quæ loca Græci περιάκτους dicunt) ab eo, quod machinæ sunt in iis locis, *versatiles trigonos* habentes." Jul. Pollux, iv. 126: παρ' ἑκάτερα δὲ τῶν δύο θυρῶν τῶν περὶ τὴν μέσην, ἄλλαι δύο εἶεν ἂν, μία ἑκατέρωθεν, πρὸς ἃς αἱ περίακτοι συμπεπήγασιν· ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ τὰ ἔξω πόλεως δηλοῦσα, ἡ δ' ἀριστερὰ τὰ ἐκ πόλεως· μάλιστα τὰ ἐκ λιμένος· καὶ θεούς τε θαλαττίους ἐπάγει καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπαχθέστερα ὄντα ἡ μηχανὴ φέρειν ἀδυνατεῖ· εἰ δὲ ἐπιστρέφοιεν αἱ περίακτοι ἡ δεξιὰ μὲν ἀμείβει τόπον· ἀμφότεραι δὲ χώραν ὑπαλλάττουσι· τῶν μέν τοι παρόδων ἡ μὲν δεξιὰ ἄγροθεν ἢ ἐκ λιμένος ἢ ἐκ πόλεως ἄγει· οἱ δὲ ἀλλάχοθεν πεζοὶ ἀφικνούμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰσίασιν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν,

right hand δρόμος represented the country road, and the left hand that which led to the city, the changes of scene effected by the revolutions of the right-hand περίακτος were distant views painted in perspective; while those on the left were pictures of single objects supposed to be close at hand. The scenery, which was occasionally placed before the main scene, was apparently painted on canvass, the framework being of solid wood. In the *Œdipus Coloneus*, the grove of the Eumenides was thus represented, and perhaps some evergreens were actually placed on the stage. If the scene had to be changed, which was rarely the case in Tragedy, the operation was concealed by a curtain (αὐλαία), which was drawn up through a slit between the stage and the scene, and not, like ours, allowed to drop from above. Scene-painting (σκηνογραφία, σκιαγραφία) in the days of Agatharchus became a distinct and highly-cultivated branch of art. When the scene was allowed to retain its original form, —that of a house,—the altar of Apollo Agyieus was invariably placed on the stage near the main entrance. There are many allusions to this both in Tragedy and Comedy[8].

The theatre at Athens was well supplied with machinery calculated to produce startling effects. Besides the *periakti*, which were used occasionally to introduce a sea-deity on his fish-tailed steed, or a river-god with his urn, there was the θεολογεῖον, a platform surrounded by clouds, and suspended from the top of the central scene, whence the deities conversed with the actors or chorus. Sometimes they were introduced near the left *parodus*, close to the *periaktus*, by means of a crane turning on a pivot, which was called the μηχανή[9]. The γέρανος was a contrivance for snatching up an actor from the stage and

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ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβαίνουσι. In Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, Art. "Theatrum," p. 956, the *periakti* are inserted in the main scene, close to the side-entrances for the actors, and are so fixed as to fill up the openings in which they are placed. It does not appear whence the writer has derived this idea; but it is clear that he is mistaken. For to say nothing of the use of the *periakti* as *side*-scenes and of the opposition of παρά to περί in the above quotation from Pollux, it is evident that the *periakti* were not let into the wall (for it is πρὸς ἅς, not πρὸς αἷς or ἐν αἷς), and from the analogy between the employments of the περίακτος and the μηχανή, which was placed in the left πάροδος, it is clear that these triangular prisms stood as represented in the plan, before the side-entrances to the orchestra, by which strangers entered, though they had afterwards to mount the stage.

[8] See e. g. Æschyl. *Agam.* 1051, 6.

[9] Jul. Poll. iv. 128: ἡ μηχανὴ δὲ θεοὺς δείκνυσι καὶ ῞Ηρωας τοὺς ἐν ἀέρι, Βελλεροφόντας, ἢ Περσεῖς· καὶ κεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἀριστέραν πάροδον ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν τὸ ὕψος. Hence the phrase *Deus ex Machina*.

raising him to the θεολογεῖον, and by the αἴωραι, an arrangement of ropes and pullies, Bellerophon or Trygæus could fly across the stage.

Then there was the βροντεῖον, a contrivance for imitating the sound of thunder. It seems to have consisted of bladders full of pebbles, which were rolled over sheets of copper laid out in the ὑποσκήνια. Again, the appearance of lightning was produced by means of a *periaktos* or triangular prism of mirrors placed in the θεολογεῖον. This was called the κεραυνοσκοπεῖον. It may be inferred too that the orchestra near the stage was occasionally supposed to represent water. Thus in the "Frogs," Bacchus rows in front of the λογεῖον to the melodious croakings of the chorus which swims around his boat.

From the enormous size of the theatre at Athens, which is said to have contained 30,000 spectators [1], it became necessary to employ the principles of acoustics to a considerable extent. All round the κοῖλον were placed bell-shaped vessels of bronze, called ἠχεῖα, placed in an inverted position, and resting on pedestals, which received and distributed the vibrations of sound.

The influence of the situation and peculiar construction of the Greek Theatre upon the imagination of the Dramatists has been fully shown by an accomplished scholar who visited Athens some years since [2].

Our conceptions of the *manner* of representation also depend upon the same twofold division of the Attic drama. We must recollect the military origin of the chorus [3], its employment in the worship of Bacchus [4], the successive adoption of the lyre and the flute as accompaniments [5], the nature of the cyclic chorus [6], and the improvements of Stesichorus [7], in order to understand fully the peculiar and otherwise unaccountable evolutions of the Dramatic chorus. We must remember also that the actor was originally a rhapsode who succeeded the Exarchus of the dithyramb [8], that he was the representative of the poet [9], who was the original Exarchus, that he acted in a huge theatre at a great distance from the spectators, and that he often had to sustain more than one part in the same piece; all this we must recollect, if we would not confound the functions of Polus with those of Macready.

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[1] Plato *Sympos.* 175, E. See, however, Wordsworth's "Athens and Attica," p. 92, seqq.

[2] See Wordsworth's "Athens and Attica," p. 94, foll.

[3] Above, p. 11, foll.

[4] Above, p. 24.

[5] Above, p. 18.

[6] Above, p. 25.

[7] Above, p. 27, note (8).

[8] Above, p. 48, and elsewhere.

[9] Above, p. 47.

The first remark with regard to the chorus, will explain to us the order and manner in which the choreutæ made their entry. The chorus was supposed to be a lochus of soldiers in battle-array[1]. In the dithyrambic or cyclic chorus of fifty, this military arrangement was not practicable; but when the original choral elements had become more deeply inrooted in the worship of Bacchus, and the three principal Apollonian dances were transferred to the worship of that god[2], the dramatic choruses became like them quadrangular, and were arranged in military rank and file[3]. The number of the tragic chorus for the whole trilogy appears to have been 50; the comic chorus consisted of 24. The chorus of the tetralogy was broken into four sub-choruses, two of 15, one of 12, and a satyric chorus of 8, as appears from the distribution in the remaining trilogy[4]. When the chorus of 15 entered in ranks three abreast, it was said to be divided *κατὰ ζυγά*: when it was distributed into three files of five, it was said to be *κατὰ στοίχους*. The same military origin explains the fact that the Anapæstic metre was generally, if not always, adopted for the opening choral song; for this metre was also used in the Greek marching songs[5]. The muster of the chorus round the Thymele, shows that the chorus was Bacchic as well as military; the mixture of lyric and flute music points to the same union of two worships[6]; and in the strophic and antistrophic form of most of the choral odes, we discern the traces of the choral improvements of Stesichorus.

Again, with regard to the actor, when we remember that he was but the successor of the Exarchus, who in the improvements of Thespis spoke a *πρόλογος* before the chorus came on the stage, and held a *ῥῆσις*, or dialogue, with them after they had sung their choral song[7], we shall see why there was always a soliloquy or a dialogue, in the first pieces of the more perfect tragedies, before the chorus came on[8]. His connexion with the rhapsode is also a reason for the narrative character of the speeches and dialogues, and for the general absence of the abrupt and vehement conversations which are so common in our own plays. The great size of the theatre[9] gave occasion to another remarkable difference between their exhibitions and ours. Every one of the actors wore the thick-soled hunting-boot (κόθορνος, ἀρβύλη[1]); this gave additional height to his person, while his body and limbs were also stuffed and padded to a corresponding size, and his head was surmounted by a colossal mask suited to the character which he bore.

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[1] Müller, Eumeniden, § 12.

[2] Above, p. 19.

[3] Müller, Eumeniden, § 5.

[4] Id. ibid. § 1, foll.

[5] Müller, Eumeniden, § 16.

[6] Id. ibid. § 18.

[7] See above, p. 48, and p. 77.

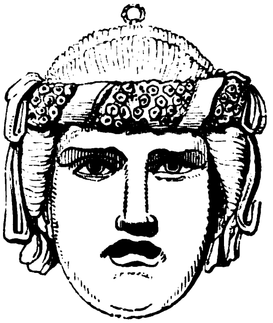

FIG. 2.

This mask, probably suggested by the *oscilla* or heads of Bacchus (fig. 2) suspended in the vineyards, was made of bronze or copper, and so constructed as to give greater power to the voice, and enable the actor to make himself heard by the most distant spectators. This was effected by connecting it with a tire or periwig (πηνίκη, φενάκη[2]), which covered the head, and left only one passage for the voice, which was generally circular (the *os rotundum*), so that the voice might be said to sound through it—hence the Latin name for a mask, *persona a personando*[3]. The greatest possible care was bestowed upon the manufacture of masks, and there was a different kind for almost every character. Julius Pollux divides the Tragic masks alone into twenty-six classes[4]; the Comic masks were much more numerous. He specifies only four or five kinds of Satyric masks. We subjoin some specimens from the British museum.

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[8] The Supplices and Persæ of Æschylus, which are the only two plays that begin with an anapæstic march, were not the first plays of the Trilogies to which they belonged.

[9] See Dr. Wordsworth's remarks, "Athens and Attica," p. 92.

[1] See Rich, Companion to the Dictionary and Lexicon, s. vv. *cothurnus*; *pero*. The thickness of the sole is shown in the choragic monument (above, fig. 1), and the ornamented upper leather in the Bacchanalian costume (below, fig. 7).

[2] Hence φενακίζειν "to deceive." See Hemsterhuis on Julius Pollux, x. § 170.

[3] Gabius Bassus, apud Aul. Gell. v. 7. Barth derives the word from περὶ σῶμα, Voss from πρόσωπον, Döderlein from παρασαίνω, Mr. Talbot from Persephone, and an English theologian from περιζώνιον!

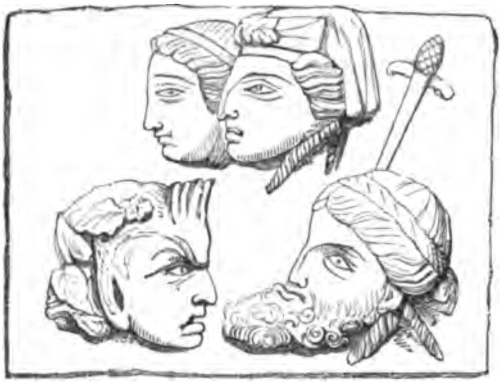

FIG. 3.

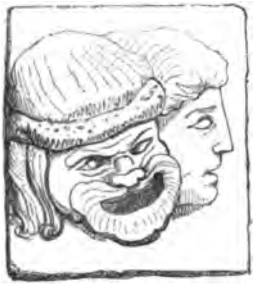

FIG. 4.

Most of the male wigs were collected into a foretop (ὄγκος), which was an angular projection above the forehead, shaped like a Λ[5], and was probably suggested by the κρωβύλον of the old Athenians[6]. The female masks, however, were often surmounted in a similar manner[7].

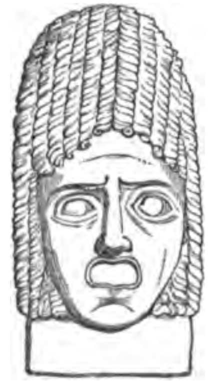

FIG. 5.

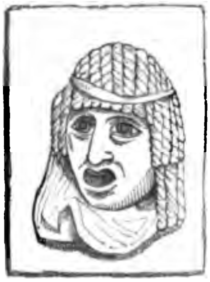

FIG. 6.

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[4] iv. § 133, seqq.

[5] ὄγκος δὲ ἐστι τὸ ὑπὲρ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνέχον εἰς ὕψος, λαβδοειδεῖ τῷ σχήματι. Jul. Poll. iv. § 133.

[6] Thucyd. i. c. 6.

[7] See the female mask in the British Museum, third room, No. 25* (Fig. 6).

The male mask in the British Museum (Fig. 5) has a foretop nearly as high as all the rest of the mask. It appears from Pollux that the masks were coloured[8]; and the art of enamelling or painting bronze seems to have been one of great esteem in the time of Æschylus[9]. It has been already remarked that the dress of the tragic actors was derived from the gay festal costume of the worshippers of Bacchus, of which an example is here given.

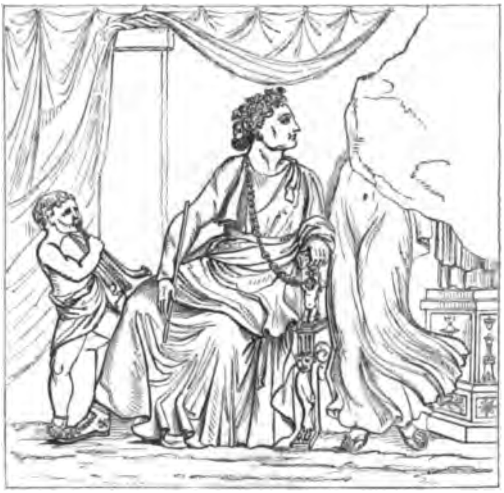

FIG. 7.

The performers wore "long striped garments reaching to the ground (χιτῶνες ποδήρεις, στολαί), over which were thrown upper robes (ἱμάτια, χλαμύδες) of purple or some other brilliant colour, with all sorts of gay trimmings and gold ornaments, the ordinary dress of Bacchic festal processions and choral dances. Nor was the Hercules of the stage represented as the sturdy athletic hero whose huge limbs were only concealed by a lion's hide; he appeared in the rich and gaudy dress we have described, to which his distinctive attributes, the club and the bow, were merely added[1]." The dress of the chorus was not different in kind from that of the actors, and the choragus took care that it was equally splendid. But as the actors represented heroic characters, whereas the chorus was merely a deputation from the people at large, and in fact stood much nearer to the audience, the mask was omitted, and while the actors wore the *cothurnus*, the chorus appeared in their usual sandals. The comic actors for the same reason were content with the *soccus* or thin-soled buskin (Fig. 8), and their mask had no ὄγκος.

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[8] J. Pollux, iv. § 141.

[9] See Æschyl. Agam. 623, and Welcker's admirable explanation, Nachtrag, p. 42, note.

[1] Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* I. p. 296. For the details and minutiæ of the Geeek theatrical costume, we must refer the reader to Müller's Eumeniden, § 32, to Schön

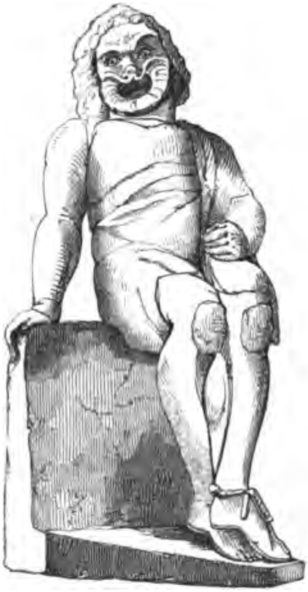

Fig. 8.

They often wore harlequinade dresses, with trowsers fitting close to the leg, and with protuberances and indecent appendages, indicating clearly enough the phallic origin of Greek Comedy[2]. The choruses of Aristophanes were arrayed in

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(De Personarum in Euripidis Bacchabus Habitu scenico Commentatio, Lips. 1831), and to Millin's Description of the Pio-Clementine Mosaic. The figure in the text (fig. 7), which is taken from Filippo Buonarroti, Osservazioni sopra alcuni Medaglioni antichi, p. 427, foll. represents the state-dress of a follower of Bacchus, which contained all the main elements of the tragic costume. On the different styles of dress adopted by the different characters, see Jul. Pollux, iv. 18, and for examples, compare the Introduction to the Antigone, p. xxxii. seqq.

[2] See Müller, *Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst*, II. i. 49. The most accessible specimen of the old comic costume is furnished by the puppet "Punch." It has not been

fantastic costumes more or less expressive of the allegorical caricature which they represented. Thus the "Birds" had masks with huge open beaks; and the "Wasps" flitted about the orchestra protruding enormous stings. A very beautiful mosaic found at Pompeii introduces us to one of the *parascenia* or green-rooms of an ancient theatre, at the moment when the comedian is giving the last instructions to his actors before the commencement of the piece. Seated on a chair, he is addressing an actor, who is about to appear as *Davus* or *Sosia* in a new Comedy, and is showing him how to manage his hands. This performer has raised his mask that he may the better observe his teacher. Another actor, who, from the mask on the pedestal near him, is destined to be the *Simo* or *Chremes* of the play, has received his last instructions, and is putting on a thick shaggy tunic, part of his dress as an old man. The third actor, who will probably receive one of the masks for *Pamphilus* or *Charinus*, which are lying on the stool at the author's feet,

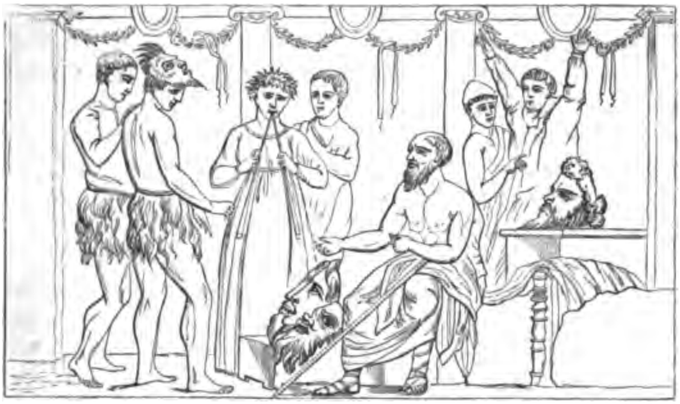

FIG. 9.

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noticed that his name, as well as his form may be traced to a classical origin. "Punch" and "Punchinello" are corruptions of the Italian *Pulcino* and *Pulcinello*, which are representatives of the contemptuous diminutive *pulchellus*. This epithet may be applied to little figures (Cic. Fam. vii. 23), and our own phrase "pretty Poll," addressed to the parrot, may show how easily such a ὑποκόρισμα may be suggested by the pleasure which results from petty imitations. In the same way, the Greeks called the ape καλός, or καλλίας (Böckh ad Pind. P. II. v. 72), and it is not improbable that the same or a similar epithet was given to the masked and padded actors in the pantomimic shows of ancient Greece and Italy.

has not commenced dressing, but like his neighbour has merely a goat-skin about his loins. Besides the author and his three actors, we have a female tuning a double flute, and two supernumeraries, who are probably intended to appear as κῶφα πρόσωπα, or mutes. One of them is assisting to dress the actor behind the pedestal.

Aristotle, or the grammarian by whom his treatise on Poetry has been interpolated, informs us[1] that every Greek tragedy admitted of the following subdivisions; the *prologue*, the *episodes*, the *exode*, which applied to the performances of the actors, and the *parodus* and *stasima*, which belonged to the chorus. The songs from the stage (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς) and the dirges (κομμοί) are peculiar to some tragedies only. Besides these, it seems that there was occasionally a dancing song or canzonet of a peculiar nature[2]. The proper entrance of the chorus was from the parascenia by one of the *parodi* (*n m e*). The *parodus* was the song which the choreutæ sang as they moved, probably in different parties, along these side-entrances of the orchestra[3]. It was generally either interspersed with anapæsts, as is the case in the *Antigone;* or preceded by a long anapæstic march, as in the case of the *Supplices* and *Agamemnon*. Sometimes this anapæstic march was followed by a system of the cognate[4] Ionics a minore. This we find in the *Persæ*. In some tragedies there was no *parodus*, but the opening of the play found the chorus already assembled on the Thymele, and prepared to sing the first *stasimon*. Such is the case in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*. It seems probable that they then entered by the passage under the seats (*r b h*). The *stasima* were always sung by the chorus when it was either stationary or moving on the same limited surface around the altar of Bacchus, and with its front to the stage. The places of the choreutæ were marked by lines on the stage (διαγράμματα). The two circles round the altar, indicated in the plan, give the maximum and minimum range of their evolutions. When those evolutions amounted to a dance[5], it was of the nature of the *emmeleia*, which, as we have seen, was a staid and solemn form of the

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[1] Chap. xii. below, Part II. pp. 16, 17.

[2] Introd. to Antigone, p. xxxi.

[3] Ibid. p. xxx.

[4] Donaldson's *Gr. Gr.* art. 650.

[5] Böckh, *Antigone*, p. 280, seqq.

gymnopædic gesticulations. The satyric chorus danced the rapid *pyrrhic*, or some form derived from it, and we may infer that it involved a great deal of tramping backwards and forwards, with high steps and lively movements of the hands, like the morris-dance in England, or the tarantella in Italy. Although the *cordax*, derived from the *hyporcheme*, was the original form of dance adopted by the phallic comus, it was so grossly indecent, that Aristophanes claims credit for its omission in "The Clouds[6]." The comic chorus sang its *parodus* and its *stasima* in the same manner as the tragic; but they were, as pieces of poetry, much less elaborate, and generally much shorter. The main performance of the chorus in comedy was the *parabasis*. It was an address to the audience in the middle of the play, and was the most immediate representative of the old trochaic or anapæstic address by the leader of the phallic song, for which the personal lampoons of Archilochus furnished the model, and to which the old comedy of Athens was mainly indebted for its origin. This *parabasis*, or "counter-march," was so called, because the chorus, which had previously stood facing the stage, and on the other side of the central altar, wheeled about, and made a movement towards the spectators, who were then addressed by the coryphæus in a short system of anapæsts or trochees, called the κομμάτιον, and this was followed by a long anapæstic system, termed πνῖγος ("suffocation"), or μακρόν ("long"), from the effort which its delivery imposed upon the reciter. In the extant remains of Greek lyric poetry, those parts of the *epinikia* of Pindar, which allude to the professional rivalries and literary pretensions of the poet, are the nearest approximations to this function of the choral comus. .The parabasis is often followed by a lyrical song in honour of some divinity, and this by a short system, properly of sixteen trochaic tetrameters, which is called the *epirrhema* or "supplement." The French would term it *l'envoi*. It contains some joking addition to the main purport of the *parabasis*. The lyric poem generally consisted of strophe and antistrophe; and the *epirrhema* had its *antepirrhema*. These divisions confirm the supposition that the lyric poem was derived from the mutual λοιδορίαι of the Phallic singers, and the *epirrhema* from the interchange of ribaldry in which the comus indulged.

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[6] See v. 537, seqq.

There were regularly never more than three actors (ὑποκριταί, ἀγωνισταί), who were designated as respectively the *first*, *second*, and *third* actor (πρωταγωνιστής, δευτεραγωνιστής, τριταγωνιστής[7]). The third actor in tragedy was first added by Sophocles[8]; and it is said that Cratinus was the first to make this addition in comedy[9]. Any number of mutes might appear on the stage. If children were introduced as speaking or singing on the stage, the part was undertaken by one of the chorus, who stood behind the scene, and it was therefore called a παρασκήνιον from his position, or παραχορήγημα, from its being something beyond the proper functions of the chorus. It has been concluded[1] that a fourth actor was indispensable to the proper performance of the *Œdipus Coloneus*. But we cannot admit that this innovation was necessary in the particular case[2], and in all others it is tolerably easy to see how all the parts might have been sustained without inconvenience by three actors. The protagonist regularly undertook the character in which the interest of the piece was thought to centre; and it was so arranged that he could also give those narratives of what was supposed to have taken place off the stage, which constituted to the last the most epic portion of the tragedy, and which probably, in the days of Thespis and Phrynichus, comprised all the chief efforts of the original rhapsode or exarchus[3]. By a great stroke of comic humour, Aristophanes makes Agoracritus, the hero of "the Knights," appear as the narrator of his own adventures[4], an office which a tragedian would have assigned to some messenger from the scene of action. The deuteragonist and tritagonist seem to have divided the other characters between them, less according to any fixed rule than in obedience to the directions of the poet, who was guided by the exigences of his play[5]. The actors took rank according to their merits, and the tritagonist was always considered as inferior to the other two.

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[7] Above, p. 42, note (2).

[8] Above, p. 88.

[9] *Anonym. de Comœdia*, p. xxxii.

[1] By Müller, *Hist. Lit. Gr.* i. p. 305.

[2] The difficulty raised by Müller, namely, that the part of Theseus must have been divided between two actors, if there were only three in all, does not seem to be a very formidable one. The mask and the uniformity of tragic declamation would make it as easy for two actors to represent one part, as for one actor to sustain several characters.

[3] Introduction to the Antig. p. xx.

[4] V. 624, seqq.

The narrowness and distance of the stage rendered any grouping unadvisable. The arrangement of the actors was that of a processional bas-relief. Their movements were slow, their gesticulations abrupt and angular, and their delivery a sort of loud and deep-drawn sing-song, which resounded throughout the immense theatre[6]. They probably neglected every thing like *by-play*, and *making points*, which are so effective on the English stage. The distance at which the spectators were placed would prevent them from seeing those little movements, and hearing those low tones which have made the fortune of many a modern actor. The mask too precluded all attempts at varied expression, and it is probable that nothing more was expected from the performer than was looked for from his predecessor the rhapsode,—namely, good recitation. The rhythmical systems of the tragic choruses were very simple, and we may conclude that the music to which they were set was equally so. The dochmiac metre, which is regularly found in the *κομμοί* and *τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς*, would admit of the most inartificial of plaintive melodies. The comic choral songs very frequently introduce the easy asynartete combinations[7], which were so much used by Archilochus; and we find in Aristophanes a very curious form of the antispastic metre, the invention of which is attributed to Eupolis[8].

We shall conclude with a few observations on the audience, and on the social position of the actors. For the first few years after the commencement of theatrical performances no money was paid for admission to them; but after a time (probably about the year 501 B. C.), it was found convenient to fix a price for admission, in order to prevent the crowds and disturbances occasioned by the gratuitous admission of every one who chose to come. The charge was two obols[9]; but lest the poorer classes should be excluded, the entrance money was given to any person who might choose to apply for it, provided his name was registered in the book of the citizens (ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον). The lowest and best seats were set apart for the magistrate, and for such persons as had acquired or inherited a right to front seats (προεδρία). It is probable that those who were entitled to reserved places at the theatre had also tickets of admission provided for them. The entrance money was paid to the lessee of the theatre (θεατρώνης, θεατροπώλης, ἀρχιτέκτων), who paid the rent and made the necessary repairs out of the proceeds. The distribution of the admission money, or θεωρικὸν, as it was called, out of the public funds, was set on foot by Pericles, at the suggestion of Demonides of Œa; its application was soon extended till it became a regular largess from the demagogues to the mob at all the great festivals; and well might the patriot Demosthenes lift up his voice against a practice which was in the end nothing but an instrument in the hands of the profligate orators, who pandered to the worst passions of the people. The lessee sometimes gave a gratis exhibition, in which cases tickets of admission were distributed[1]. Any citizen might buy tickets for a stranger residing at Athens[2]. We have no doubt that women were admitted to the dramatic exhibitions[3]. The conduct of the audience was much the same as that of the spectators at our own theatres, and they seem to have had little scruple in expressing their approbation or disapprobation, as well to the poet[4], as to the actors[5]. Their mode of doing this was sometimes very violent, and even in the time of Machon it was customary to pelt a bad performer with stones[6].

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[5] Introd. to the Antig. p. xx. seqq.

[6] This is pretty evident from the epithets, which, as Pollux tells us, might be applied to the actor, iv. 114 : *εἴποις δ' ἂν βαρύστονος ὑποκριτής, βομβῶν, περιβομβῶν, ληκυθίζων, λαρυγγίζων, φαρυγγίζων, κ. τ. λ.*

[7] Donaldson's Gr. Gr. 666.

[8] Id. ibid. 677.

[9] This account of the Theoricon is taken from Böckh's Publ. Econ. i. p. 289, foll. Engl. Tr.

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[1] Καὶ ἐπὶ θέαν ἡνίκα ἂν δέῃ πορεύεσθαι, οὐκ ἐᾷν τοὺς υἵεις, [ἀλλ'] ἡνίκα προῖκα ἀφιᾶσι οἱ θεατρῶναι.—Theophrast. Charact. xi.

"Theophrastus mentions this as one of the marks of ἀπόνοια in a person, Καὶ ἐν θεάμασι δὲ τοὺς χαλκοὺς ἐκλέγειν, καθ' ἕκαστον παριών· καὶ μάχεσθαι τοῖς τὸ σύμβολον φέρουσι, καὶ προῖκα θεωρεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. Charact. vi. Among the relicts from Pompeii and Herculaneum preserved in the Studii at Naples, is an oblong piece of metal about three inches in length, and one in breadth, inscribed Αἰσχύλος. This was perhaps the σύμβολον of Theophrastus."—Former Editor.

[2] Καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσας, μὴ δοὺς τὸ μέρος, θεωρεῖν.—Theophrast. Charact. ix.

[3] Pollux uses the same term θεατρία (ii. § 56. iv. § 121), which is alone some evidence of the fact. It is stated, however, expressly by Plato, Gorgias, 502, D. Legg. ii. 658, D. vii. 817, C. and by Aristoph. Eccles. 21—23.

[4] Athenæus, xiii. p. 583, F.

[5] Demosth. De Coronâ (p. 345 and 346, Bekker). Comp. Milton's imitation of the passage. (Prose Works, p. 80, in the Apology for Smectymnuus.)

The Athenian performers were much esteemed all over Greece; they took great pains about their bodily exercises[7], and dieted themselves in order to keep their voices clear and strong[8]. We believe they were generally paid by the state; in the country exhibitions, however, two actors would occasionally pay the wages of their τριταγωνιστής[9]. The salary was often very high, and Polus, who generally acted with Tlepolemus in the plays of Sophocles[1], sometimes earned a talent by two days' performances[2]. The histrionic profession was not thought to confer any degradation. The actor was the representative of the dramatist, and often the dramatist himself. Sophocles, who sometimes performed in his own plays, was a person of the highest consideration; the actor Aristodemus went on an embassy[3], and many actors took a lead in the public assembly[4]. In some cases, the actors were not only recognized by the state, but controlled and directed by special enactments. Thus, according to the law brought forward by the orator Lycurgus, the actors were obliged to compare the acting copies of the plays of the three great tragedians, with the authentic manuscripts of their works, preserved in the state archives; and it was the duty of the public secretary to see that the texts were accurately collated[5].

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[6] Athen, vi. p. 245.

[7] Cicero, Orat. c. iv.

[8] Plato, Legg. ii.

[9] Demosth. de Coronâ, p. 345, Bekker.

[1] Comp. Aul. Gell. vii. 5, with Schol. Ar. Nub. 1269.

[2] Plutarch, Rhet. Vitæ.

[3] Æsch. περὶ παραπρ. p. 347, Bekker.

[4] Demosth. περὶ παραπρ. p. 377. Bekker, De Coronâ, p. 281.

[5] *Vitæ X. Oratorum*, p. 841, D. p. 377. Wyttenb.: ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν, καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· οὐκ ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὰς [ἄλλως] ὑποκρίνεσθαι.

A LIST of some of the Works, relating, in part at least, to the Greek Drama, which have been referred to in the preceding pages.

R. Bentley. Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris . . . . *London,* 1699
A. Böckh. Stattshaushaltung der Athener, *Berlin,* 1817
——— translated by G. C. Lewis . . *London,* 1828, and 1842
——— Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum . . . . *Berolini,* 1828
——— De Græcæ Tragœdiæ Principibus . . . . *Heidelberg,* 1817
H. F. Clinton. Fasti Hellenici . . . . *Oxford,* 1827—34
O. F. Gruppe. Ariadne . . . . *Berlin,* 1834
K. O. Müller. Eumeniden . . . . . . *Göttingen,* 1833-6
Museum Criticum . . . . *Cambridge,* 1826
Philological Museum . . . . *Ibid.* 1832—3
Schneider. De Originibus Tragœdiæ et Comœdiæ . . . . *Vratislaviæ,* 1817
Rötscher. Aristophanes und sein Zeitalter *Berlin,* 1827
J. W. Süvern. Über Aristophanes Wolken *Ibid.* 1826
——— Über Aristophanes Alter . *Ibid.* 1827
——— On the Birds of Aristophanes, translated by W. R. Hamilton . *London,* 1835
F. G. Welcker. Die Æschylische Trilogie. *Darmstadt* 1824
——— Nachtrag zu demselben . *Frankfurt am Main,* 1826

F. G. Welcker. Der Epische Cyclus . . *Bonn,* 1835

A. Meineke. Historia Critica Comicorum Græcorum, cum Fragmentis . . . . . *Berolini,* 1839-41

K. O. Müller. History of the Literature of Ancient Greece, translated by G. C. Lewis and J. W. Donaldson . . . . *London,* 1840—2

G. Bernhardy, Grundriss der Griechischen Litteratur, zweiter Theil . . . . . . *Halle,* 1845

PART II.

EXTRACTS FROM

ARISTOTLE AND BENTLEY.

(I.)

ARISTOTLE'S TREATISE ON POETRY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

ARISTOTLE'S

TREATISE ON POETRY.

(TWINING'S TRANSLATION; WITH OCCASIONAL CORRECTIONS.)

Cap. I. Bekker.

MY design is to treat of Poetry in general, and of its several species; to inquire what is the proper *effect* of each; what construction of a *fable*, or *plan*, is essential to a good poem; of *what*, and *how many* parts, each species consists; with whatever else belongs to the same subject; which I shall consider in the order that most naturally presents itself (*ἀρξάμενοι κατὰ φύσιν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων*).

Epic poetry, tragedy, comedy, dithyrambics, as also, for the most part, the music of the flute and of the lyre; all these are, in the most general view of them, *Imitations* (*οὖσαι μιμήσεις τὸ σύνολον*): differing, however, from each other in *three* respects, according to the different *means*, the different *objects*, or the different *manner*, of their imitation.

For as men, some through art, and some through habit, imitate various objects, by means of *colour* and *figure* [and others again by *voice*[1]]; so with respect to the arts above-mentioned, *rhythm*, *words*, and *melody* (*ῥυθμὸς, λόγος, ἀρμονία*), are the different *means* by which, either single or variously combined, they all produce their imitation.

For example: in the imitations of the flute and the lyre, and of any other instruments capable of producing a similar effect, as the *syrinx* or pipe, *melody* and *rhythm* only are employed. In those of dance, *rhythm* alone, without *melody*, for there are dancers who, by rhythm applied to gesture, express manners, passions, and actions.

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[1] Passages inclosed within brackets are supposed to be interpolations.—J. W. D.

The Epopœia imitates by *words alone*, or by *verse*, and that verse may be either composed of various metres, or confined, according to the practice hitherto established, to a single species. For we should otherwise have no *general* name, which would comprehend the *Mimes* of Sophron and Xenarchus, and the *Socratic dialogues*; or poems in iambic, elegiac, or other metres, in which the *epic* species of imitation may be conveyed. Custom, indeed, connecting the word ποιεῖν, "to make," with the *name* of the *metre* employed, has denominated some *elegiac poets*, i. e. *makers of elegiac verse*; others, *epic poets*, i. e. *makers* of *hexameter verse*: thus distinguishing poets, not according to the nature of their *imitation*, but according to that of their *metre* only. For even they who compose treatises of medicine, or natural philosophy, in *verse*, are denominated *Poets*: yet Homer and Empedocles have nothing in common, except their metre; the former, therefore, justly merits the name of *Poet*; while the other should rather be called a *Physiologist* than a *Poet*.

So also, though any one should choose to convey his imitation in every kind of metre, promiscuously, as Chærêmon has done in his *Centaur*, which is a medley of all sorts of verse, it would not immediately follow, that on *that* account merely he was entitled to the name of Poet.—But of this enough.

There are, again, other species of poetry, which make use of *all* the *means* of imitation, *rhythm*, *melody*, and *verse*. Such are the *dithyrambic*, that of *nomes*, *tragedy*, and *comedy*: with this difference, however, that in some of these they are employed *all together*, in others, *separately*. And such are the differences of these arts with respect to the *means* by which they imitate.

Cap. II. But, as the *objects* of imitation are the actions of *men* (ἐπεὶ δὲ μιμοῦνται οἱ μιμούμενοι πράττοντας), and these men must of necessity be either good or bad (for on this does *character* principally depend; the *manners* being in *all* men most strongly marked by virtue and vice), it follows that we can only represent men either as *better* than they actually are, or *worse*, or exactly *as* they are: just as, in *painting*, the pictures of *Polygnotus* were above the common level of nature; those of *Pauson*, below it; those of *Dionysius*, faithful *likenesses*.

Now it is evident that each of the imitations above-mentioned will admit of these differences, and become a different kind of imitation, as it imitates *objects* that differ in this respect. This may be the case with *dancing;* with the music of the flute, and of the lyre; and, also, with the poetry which employs *words,* or *verse,* only, without *melody* or *rhythm:* thus, *Homer* has drawn men *superior* to what they are; *Cleophon, as* they are; *Hegemon* the Thasian, the inventor of parodies, and *Nicochares,* the author of the *Deliad, worse* than they are.

So, again, with respect to *dithyrambics* and *nomes:* in these, too, the imitation may be as different as that of the Persians by *Timotheus,* and the Cyclops by *Philoxenus.*

Tragedy also, and *Comedy,* are distinguished in the same manner; the aim of Comedy being to exhibit men *worse* than we find them, that of Tragedy, *better.*

Cap. III.

There remains the *third* difference, that of the *manner* in which each of these objects may be imitated. For the poet, imitating the *same object,* and by the *same means,* may do it either in *narration;* and that, again, either personating other characters [as Homer does], or in his own person throughout, without change: or he may imitate by representing all his characters as real, and employed in the very *action* itself.

These, then, are the three differences by which all imitation is distinguished; those of the *means,* the *object,* and the *manner* (ἐν οἷς τε, καὶ ἃ, καὶ ὥς): so that *Sophocles* is, in one respect, an imitator of the same kind with *Homer,* as elevated characters are the *objects* of both; in another respect, of the same kind with *Aristophanes,* as both imitate in the *way* of action. [Whence, according to some, the application of the term *drama,* i. e. *action,* to such poems. Upon this it is that the *Dorians* ground their claim to the invention both of Tragedy and Comedy. For Comedy is claimed by the Megarians, both by those of Greece, who contend that it took its rise in their popular government; and by those of Sicily, among whom the poet *Epicharmus* flourished long before *Chionides* and *Magnes;* and Tragedy, also, is claimed by some of the Dorians of the Peloponnese.—In support of these claims, they argue from the *words* themselves. They allege that the Doric word for *a village* is Κώμη, the Attic Δῆμος; and that *Comedians* were so called, not from κωμάζειν, *to revel,* but from their strolling about the κῶμαι, or *villages,* before they were tolerated in the city. They say, further, that *to do*, or *act*, they express by the word *δρᾶν*: the Athenians, by *πράττειν*.]

And thus much as to the differences of imitation (*μίμησις*), how *many*, and *what* they are.

Cap. IV. Poetry, in general, seems to have derived its origin from two *causes*, each of them *natural*.

1. To *Imitate* is instinctive in man from his infancy. By this he is distinguished from other animals, that he is, of all, the most imitative, and through this instinct receives his earliest education. All men, likewise, naturally receive pleasure from imitation. This is evident from what we experience in viewing the works of imitative art; for in them we contemplate with pleasure, and with the more pleasure the more exactly they are imitated, such objects as, if real, we could not see without pain, as the figures of the meanest and most disgusting animals, dead bodies, and the like. And the reason of this is, that to *learn* is a very great pleasure, not confined to philosophers, but common to all men; with this difference only, that the multitude partake of it in a more transient and compendious manner. Hence the pleasure they receive from a picture; in viewing it, they *learn*, they *infer*, they *discover*, what every object is; that *this*, for instance, is such a particular man, &c. For if we suppose the object represented to be something which the spectator had never seen, in that case his pleasure will not arise from the *imitation*, as such [2], but from the workmanship, the colours, or some such cause.

2. Imitation, then, being thus natural to us; and, secondly, *Harmony* and *Rhythm* being also natural (for as to *metres*, they are plainly comprised in rhythm), those persons, in whom originally these propensities were the strongest, were naturally led to rude and extemporaneous attempts, which, gradually improved, gave birth to Poetry.

But this Poetry, following the different *characters* of its authors, naturally divided itself into *two* different *kinds*. They who were of a grave and lofty spirit, chose for their imitation the actions and adventures of *elevated* characters; while Poets of a *lighter* turn represented those of the *vicious* and *contemptible*.

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[2] Ritter proposes to read *οὐχὶ μίμημα ᾗ μίμημα*.—J. W. D.

And these composed, originally, *Satires*, as the former did *Hymns* and *Encomia*.

Of the *lighter* kind, we have no poem anterior to the time of Homer, though many such, in all probability, there were; but *from* his time, we have: as, his *Margites*, and others of the same species, in which the Iambic was introduced as the most proper measure; and hence, indeed, the name of *Iambic*, because it was the measure in which they used to *satirize* each other (ἰαμβίζειν).

And thus these old poets were divided into two classes—those who used the *heroic*, and those who used the *iambic* verse.

And as, in the *serious* kind, Homer alone may be said to deserve the name of *poet*, not only on account of his other excellencies, but also of the *dramatic* spirit of his imitations; so was he likewise the first who suggested the idea of *Comedy*, by substituting *ridicule* for *invective*, and giving that ridicule a *dramatic* cast; for his Margites bears the same analogy to Comedy, as his Iliad and Odyssey to Tragedy. But when Tragedy and Comedy had once made their appearance, succeeding Poets, according to the turn of their genius, attached themselves to the one or the other of these new species. The *lighter* sort, instead of *Iambic*, became *Comic* poets; the *graver*, *Tragic*, instead of *Heroic*: and that on account of the superior dignity and higher estimation of these latter *forms* (σχήματα) of Poetry.

Whether Tragedy has now, with respect to its constituent parts, received the utmost improvement of which it is capable, considered both in itself, and relatively to the theatre, is a question that belongs not to this place.

Both Tragedy, however, and Comedy, having originated in a rude and unpremeditated manner—the first from the leaders in the *Dithyrambic* hymns, the other from those who led off the *Phallic* songs, which, in many cities, remain still in use—each advanced gradually towards perfection by successive improvements, as it successively manifested itself (κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη, προαγόντων ὅσον ἐγίγνετο φανερὸν αὐτῆς).

Tragedy, after various changes (πολλὰς μεταβολὰς μεταβαλοῦσα ἡ τραγῳδία), reposed at length in the completion of its proper form. *Æschylus* first added a second actor: he also abridged the chorus, and made the dialogue the principal part of tragedy. *Sophocles* increased the number of actors to three, and added the decoration of painted scenery. It was also late before Tragedy threw aside the short and simple *fable*, and ludicrous *language* of its satyric origin, and attained its proper magnitude and dignity. The *Iambic* measure was then first adopted: for, originally, the *Trochaic tetrameter* was made use of, on account of the satyric and saltatorial genius of the poem at that time (*διὰ τὸ σατυρικὴν καὶ ὀρχηστικωτέραν εἶναι τὴν ποίησιν*): but when the dialogue was formed, nature itself pointed out the proper metre. For the *iambic* is, of all metres, the most colloquial (*μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικόν ἐστι*): as appears evidently from this fact, that our common conversation frequently falls into *iambic* verse; seldom into *hexameter*, and only when we depart from the usual *harmony* of speech. *Episodes* were also multiplied, and every other part of the drama successively improved and polished.

But of this enough: to enter into a minute detail would perhaps be a task of some length.

Cap. v. Comedy, as was said before, is an imitation of bad characters: bad, not with respect to every sort of vice, but to the *ridiculous* only, as being a *species* of turpitude or deformity; since it may be defined to be—a *fault* or *deformity* of such sort as is neither *painful* nor *destructive* (*τὸ γὰρ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἁμάρτημά τι— καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν*). A ridiculous face, for example, is something ugly and distorted, but not so as to cause *pain*.

The successive improvements of Tragedy, and the respective authors of them, have not escaped our knowledge; but those of Comedy, from the little attention that was paid to it in its origin, remain in obscurity. For it was not till late that Comedy was authorized by the magistrate, and carried on at the public expense: it was, at first, a private and voluntary exhibition. From the time, indeed, when it began to acquire some degree of form, its poets have been recorded; but who first introduced masks or dialogues[3], or augmented the number of actors—these, and other particulars of the same kind, are unknown.

Epicharmus and *Phormis* were the first who *invented* comic fables. This improvement, therefore, is of *Sicilian* origin. But, of *Athenian* poets, *Crates* was the first, who abandoned the *Iambic* type[4], and introduced dialogues and plots of a general

[3] We should read λόγους with Hermann.—J. W. D.

[4] i. e. personal and particular satire: below, c. ix.—J. W. D.

character (*ἧρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους*).

Epic poetry agrees so far with *Tragic*[5], as it is an imitation of *serious actions;* but in this it differs, that it makes use of a single metre, and is confined to narration. It also differs in *length:* for Tragedy endeavours, as far as possible, to confine its action within the limits of a single revolution of the sun, or nearly so; but the time of *Epic* action is indefinite. This, however, at first was equally the case with Tragedy itself.

Of their constituent *parts*, some are common to both, some peculiar to Tragedy. He, therefore, who is a judge of the beauties and defects of Tragedy, is, of course, equally a judge with respect to those of Epic poetry: for all the parts of the Epic poem are to be found in Tragedy; *not* all those of Tragedy in the Epic poem.

Of the species of poetry which imitates in *hexameters*, and of *Comedy*, we shall speak hereafter. Let us now consider *Tragedy;* collecting, first, from what has been already said, its true and essential definition. Tragedy, then, is an imitation of an *action* that is *important*, *entire*, and of a proper *magnitude*—by *language* embellished and rendered *pleasurable*, but by different *means*, in different parts—in the *way*, not of *narration*, but of *action*—effecting, through *pity* and *terror*, the *correction* and *refinement* of such passions. (*Ἔστιν οὖν τραγῳδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας, μέγεθος ἐχούσης· ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ, χωρὶς ἑκάστου τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων, καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν*). Cap. vi.

By *pleasurable language*, I mean a language that has the embellishments of rhythm, harmony, and melody; and I add, by *different means* in *different parts*, because in some parts metre alone is employed, in others, melody.

Now as Tragedy imitates by *acting*, the *decoration*, in the first place, must necessarily be *one* of its parts: then the *melopœia* (or *music*), and the *diction;* for these last include the *means* of tragic imitation. By *diction* I mean the metrical composition. The meaning of *melopœia* is obvious to every one.

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[5] After *τραγῳδίᾳ* in the text we have the interpolation: *μέχρι μόνου μέτρου μεγάλου*, or *μετὰ λόγου*.—J. W. D.

Again: Tragedy being an imitation of an action, and the persons employed in that action being necessarily characterized by their *manners* and their *sentiments*, since it is from *these* that actions themselves derive their character, it follows, that there must also be *manners* and *sentiments*, as the two *causes* of actions, and, consequently, of the happiness or unhappiness of all men. The *imitation of the action* is the *plot*: for by *plot* (*μῦθον*) I now mean the *contexture of incidents*. By *manners* (*ἤθη*), I mean, whatever marks the *characters* of the persons. By *sentiments* (*διάνοια*), whatever they *say*, whether proving any thing, or delivering a general opinion, &c.

Hence, all Tragedy must necessarily contain *six* parts, which, together, constitute its peculiar character or *quality*: plot, manners, diction, sentiments, decoration, and music (*μῦθος, καὶ ἤθη, καὶ λέξις, καὶ διάνοια, καὶ ὄψις, καὶ μελοποιΐα*). Of these parts, two relate to the *means*, one to the *manner*, and three to the *object* of imitation. And these are all. [These *specific parts* have been employed by most poets, and are to be found in almost every tragedy.]

But of all these parts the most important is the *combination* of *incidents*, or the *plot*: because Tragedy is an imitation, not of *men*, but of *actions* [of life and of happiness: even unhappiness consists in action, and the supreme good itself, the very *end* of life, is action of a certain kind,—not a *quality*]. Now the *manners* of men constitute only their *quality* or *characters*; but it is by their *actions* that they are *happy*, or the contrary. Tragedy, therefore, does not imitate action, *for the sake* of imitating manners; but in the imitation of action, that of manners is of course involved. So that the *action* and the *plot* are the end of Tragedy; and in every thing the *end* is of principal importance.

Again—Tragedy cannot subsist without *action*; without *manners* it may: the tragedies of most modern poets have this defect; a defect common, indeed, among poets in general. As among painters, also, this is the case with Zeuxis, compared with Polygnotus: the latter excels in the expression of the *manners*; there is no such expression in the pictures of Zeuxis.

Further; suppose any one to string together a number of speeches, in which the manners are strongly marked, the language and the sentiments well turned; this will not be sufficient to produce the proper effect of Tragedy: that end will much rather be answered by a piece, defective in each of those particulars, but furnished with a proper plot and combination of incidents.

Add to this, that those parts of Tragedy, by means of which it becomes most interesting and affecting, are parts of the *plot;* I mean *revolutions* and *discoveries.*

As a further proof, beginners in tragic writing are sooner able to arrive at excellence in the language, and the manners, than in the construction of a plot; as appears from almost all our earlier poets. The *plot,* then, is the principal part, the *soul,* as it were, of Tragedy; and the *manners* are next in rank.

[6] Just as in painting, the most brilliant colours spread at random, and without design, will give far less pleasure than the simplest outline of a *figure.* And the imitation is of an *action* and *an account of that,* principally, of the *agents.*

In the *third* place stand the *sentiments.* To this part it belongs to *say* such things as are *true* and *proper;* which, in the dialogue, depends on the *political* and *rhetorical* arts; for the ancients made their characters speak in the style of political and popular eloquence; but now the rhetorical manner prevails.

The *manners* are whatever manifests the *disposition* of the speaker. There are speeches, therefore, which are without manners, or character; as not containing any thing by which the *propensities* or *aversions* of the person who delivers them can be known. The *sentiments* comprehend *whatever is said;* whether *proving* any thing, affirmatively, or negatively, or expressing some *general reflection,* &c.

Fourth, in order, is the *diction*—the *expression* of the *sentiments* by *words;* the power and effect of which is the same, whether in verse or prose.

Of the remaining two parts, the *music* stands next; of all the pleasurable accompaniments and embellishments of Tragedy, the most delightful.

The *decoration* has also a great effect, but, of all the parts, is most foreign to the art. For the power of Tragedy is felt without representation, and actors; and the beauty of the decorations depends more on the art of the mechanic, than on that of the poet.

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[6] It may be doubted whether the rest of this chapter ought not to be considered as an interpolation.—J. W. D.

Cap. VII. These things being thus adjusted, let us go on to examine in what manner the *Plot* should be constructed, since this is the first, and most important part of Tragedy.

Now we have defined Tragedy to be an imitation of an action that is *complete,* and *entire;* and that has also a certain *magnitude;* for a thing may be *entire* and a *whole,* and yet not be of any *magnitude.*

1. By *entire,* I mean that which has a *beginning,* a *middle,* and an *end.* A *beginning* is that which does not, necessarily, suppose any thing before it, but which requires something to follow it. An *end,* on the contrary, is that which supposes something to precede it, either necessarily or probably; but which nothing is required to follow. A *middle* is that which both supposes something to precede, and requires something to follow. The poet, therefore, who would construct his fable properly, is not at liberty to begin, or end, where he pleases, but must conform to these definitions.

2. Again: whatever is beautiful, whether it be an animal, or any other thing composed of different parts, must not only have those parts arranged in a certain manner, but must also be of a certain *magnitude;* for beauty consists in *magnitude* and *order.* Hence it is that no very minute animal can be beautiful; the eye comprehends the whole too instantaneously to distinguish and compare the parts:—neither, on the contrary, can one of a prodigious size be beautiful; because, as all its parts cannot be seen at once, the *whole,* the *unity* of object, is lost to the spectator; as it would be, for example, if he were surveying an animal of very many miles in length. As, therefore, in animals and other objects, a certain *magnitude* is requisite, but that magnitude must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the eye;* so, in the fable, a certain *length* is requisite, but that length must be such as to present a whole *easily comprehended by the memory.*

With respect to the measure of this length—if referred to actual representation in the dramatic contests, it is a matter foreign to the art itself: for if a hundred tragedies had to be exhibited in concurrence, the length of each performance must be regulated by the hour-glass [7]. But, if we determine this measure by the nature of the thing itself, the more extensive the fable, consistently with the clear and easy comprehension of the whole, the more beautiful will it be, with respect to *magnitude.*—In general, we may say, that an action is sufficiently extended, when it is long enough to admit of a change of fortune from happy to unhappy, or the reverse, brought about by a succession, necessary or probable, of *well-connected* incidents.

A *plot* is not *one,* as some conceive, merely because the *hero* Cap. VIII. of it is *one.* For numberless events happen to one man, many of which are such as cannot be connected into *one event;* and so likewise, there are many actions of one man which cannot be connected into any *one action.* Hence appears the mistake of all those poets who have composed *Herculeids*, *Theseids,* and other poems of that kind. They conclude, that because *Hercules* was one, so also must be the fable of which he is the subject. But Homer, among his many other excellencies, seems also to have been perfectly aware of this mistake, either from art or genius; for when he composed his *Odyssey,* he did not introduce all the events of his hero's life, such, for instance, as the wound he received upon Parnassus; his feigned madness when the Grecian army was assembling, &c.; events not connected, either by necessary or probable *consequence,* with each other; but he comprehended those only which have relation to *one action,* for such we call that of the *Odyssey.* And in the same manner he composed his *Iliad.*

As, therefore, in other mimetic arts, *one* imitation is an imitation of *one thing,* so here the fable, being an imitation of an action, should be an imitation of an action that is *one* and *entire;* the parts of it being so connected, that if any one of them be either transposed or taken away, the *whole* will be destroyed or changed; for whatever may be *either* retained or omitted, without making any sensible difference, is not properly a *part.*

It appears further, from what has been said, that it is not Cap. IX. the poet's province to relate such things as have actually happened, but such as *might* have happened; such as are *possible* according either to probable or necessary consequence. For it is not by writing in *verse* or *prose* that the historian and the poet are distinguished: the work of *Herodotus* might be versified, but it would still be a species of history, no less with metre, than without. They are distinguished by this, that the one relates what *has* been, the other what *might* be. On this account, poetry is a more philosophical and a more excellent thing than history; for poetry is chiefly conversant about *general* truth, history about *particular*. In what manner, for example, any person of a certain character would speak or act, probably or necessarily—this is *general:* and this is the object of poetry, even while it makes use of *particular names*. But, what *Alcibiades* did, or what happened to *him*—this is *particular* truth.

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[7] We have here in the original the unmeaning addition, *ὥσπερ ποτὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε φασίν.*—J. W. D.

With respect to Comedy, this is now become obvious; for here, the poet, when he has formed his plot of *probable* incidents, gives to his characters whatever names he pleases; and is not, like the iambic poets, particular and personal.

Tragedy, indeed, retains the use of real names; and the reason is, that, what we are disposed to believe, we must think *possible:* now, what has never actually happened, we are not apt to regard as possible; but what *has* been is unquestionably so, or it could not have been at all. There are, however, some tragedies, in which one or two of the names are historical, and the rest feigned: there are even some in which none of the names are historical; such is Agatho's tragedy called *The Flower*, for in that all is invention, both incidents and names; and yet it pleases. It is by no means, therefore, essential that a poet should confine himself to the known and established subjects of tragedy. Such a restraint would, indeed, be ridiculous; since even those subjects that are known, are known, comparatively, but to few, and yet are interesting to all.

From all this it is manifest, that a poet should be a *poet*, or "maker," of *plots*, rather than of *verses;* since it is *imitation* that constitutes the poet, and of this imitation *actions* are the object: nor is he the less a poet, though the incidents of his fable should chance to be such as have actually happened; for nothing hinders but that some *true* events may possess that *probability*, the invention of which entitles him to the name of *poet*.

Of *simple* plots or actions, the *episodic* are the worst. I call that an *episodic plot* (ἐπεισοδιώδη μῦθον), the *episodes* of which follow each other without any *probable* or *necessary* connexion; a fault into which bad poets are betrayed by their want of skill, and good poets by the players; for, in order to accommodate their pieces to the purposes of rival performers in the dramatic contests, they spin out the action beyond their powers, and are thus frequently forced to break the connexion and continuity of its parts.

But since Tragedy is an imitation, not only of a *complete* action, but also of an action exciting *pity* and *terror*, and since these effects are reciprocal, that which excites our surprise ought to be connected with some appearance of *causation*[a]; for by this means it will have more of the *wonderful* than if it appeared to be the effect of chance; since we find that, among events merely casual, those are the most wonderful and striking which *seem* to imply design; as when, for instance, the statue of *Mitys* at Argos killed the very man who had murdered *Mitys*, by falling down upon him as he was surveying it; events of this kind not having the appearance of *accident*. It follows, then, that such plots as are formed on these principles must be the best.

Plots are of two sorts, *simple* and *complicated* (Εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν Cap. x.
μύθων οἱ μὲν ἁπλοῖ, οἱ δὲ πεπλεγμένοι): for so also are the *actions* themselves of which they are imitations. An action (having the *continuity* and *unity* prescribed) I call *simple*, when its catastrophe is produced *without* either *revolution* or *discovery*; *complicated*, when *with* one or both. And these should arise from the structure of the plot itself, so as to be the natural consequences, necessary or probable, of what has preceded in the action; for there is a wide difference between incidents that follow *from* (διά), and incidents that follow only *after* (μετά), each other.

A *revolution* (περιπέτεια) is a change into the reverse of Cap. xi.
what is expected from the circumstances of the action; and that produced, as we have said, by *probable* or *necessary consequence*.

Thus in the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, the messenger, meaning to make Œdipus happy, and to relieve him from the dread he was under with respect to his mother, by making known to him his real birth, produces an effect directly contrary to his intention. Thus also, in the tragedy of *Lynceus*, the hero is led to suffer death, Danaus follows to inflict it; but the event resulting from the course of the incidents is, that Danaus is killed, and Lynceus saved.

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[a] The apodosis is here lost, but it must have been to the effect given above. The words, *καὶ μάλιστα καὶ μᾶλλον ὅταν γίνηται παρὰ τὴν δόξαν*, are an interpolation. See Ritter.—J. W. D.

A *discovery* (ἀναγνώρισις), as indeed the word implies, is a *change from unknown to known*, happening between those characters whose happiness or unhappiness forms the catastrophe of the drama, and terminating in friendship or enmity.

The best sort of discovery is that which is accompanied by a *revolution*, as in the *Œdipus*.

There are also other discoveries; for inanimate things of any kind may be recognized in the same manner; and we may discover whether such a particular thing was, or was not, done by such a person: but the discovery most appropriated to the *plot* and the *action* is that above defined, because such discoveries and revolutions must excite either *pity* or *terror;* and Tragedy we have defined to be an imitation of *pitiable* and *terrible* actions; and because, also, by them the event, *happy* or *unhappy*, is produced.

Now discoveries being *relative* things, are sometimes of *one* of the persons only, the *other* being already known; and sometimes they are *reciprocal:* thus, *Iphigenia* is discovered to *Orestes* by the letter which she charges him to deliver, and *Orestes* is obliged, by other means, to make himself known to her. [These then are *two* parts of the plot, *revolution* and *discovery.* There is yet a third, which we denominate *disasters* (πάθος). The two former have been explained. *Disasters* comprehend all *painful* or *destructive* actions; the exhibition of death, bodily anguish, wounds, and every thing of that kind.]

Cap. XII. [The parts of Tragedy which are necessary to constitute its *quality* have been already enumerated. Its *parts* of *quantity*—the *distinct* parts into which it is *divided*—are these: *prologue, episode, exode*, and *chorus;* which last is also divided into the *parode* and the *stasimon.* These are common to all tragedies. The songs from the stage, and the *commoi*, or dirges, are found in *some* only (τὰ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ κομμοί).

The *prologue* is all that part of a Tragedy which precedes the *parode* of the chorus.

The *episode*, all that part which is included between *entire choral odes*. The *exode*, that part which has *no choral ode after it*.

Of the *choral* part, the *parode* is the first *speech* of the *whole chorus*: the *stasimon* includes all those *choral odes* that are without *anapæsts* and *trochees* (ἄνευ ἀναπαίστου καὶ τροχαίου).

The *commos* is a general lamentation of the *chorus and the actors together* (Κόμμος δέ, θρῆνος κοινὸς χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς). Such are the separate parts into which Tragedy is *divided*. Its parts of quality were before explained.]

The order of the subject leads us to consider, in the next Cap. XIII.
place, what the poet should *aim* at, and what *avoid*, in the construction of his plot; and by what means the *purpose* of Tragedy may be best effected.

Now, since it is requisite to the perfection of tragedy that its plot should be of the *complicated*, not of the *simple* kind, and that it should imitate such actions as excite *terror* and *pity*, (this being the peculiar property of the tragic imitation,) it follows evidently, in the first place, that the change from prosperity to adversity should not be represented as happening to a *virtuous* character; for this raises disgust, rather than terror or compassion. Neither should the contrary change from adversity to prosperity be exhibited in a *vicious* character: this, of all plans, is the most opposite to the genius of Tragedy, having no one property that it ought to have; for it is neither gratifying, in a moral view, nor *affecting* nor *terrible*. Nor, again, should the fall of a *very bad* man from prosperous to adverse fortune be represented; because, though such a subject may be pleasing from its moral tendency, it will produce neither pity nor terror [for our *pity* is excited by misfortunes *undeservedly* suffered, and our *terror* by some *rcsemblance* between the sufferer and ourselves]. Neither of these effects will, therefore, be produced by such an event.

There remains, then, for our choice, the character *between* these extremes; that of a person neither eminently virtuous or just, nor yet involved in misfortune by reason of deliberate vice or villany, but from some error of human frailty; and this person should also be some one of high fame and flourishing prosperity; for example, *Œdipus*, *Thyestes*, or other illustrious men of such families.

Hence it appears, that, to be well constructed, a plot, contrary to the opinion of some, should be *single*, rather than *double;* that the change of fortune should not be from adverse to prosperous, but the reverse; and that it should be the consequence not of vice, but of some great frailty, in a character such as has been described, or *better* rather than *worse.*

These principles are confirmed by experience; for poets formerly admitted almost any story into the number of tragic subjects; but now, the subjects of the best tragedies are confined to a few families—to *Alcmæon*, *Œdipus*, *Orestes*, *Meleager*, *Thyestes*, *Telephus*, and others, the sufferers, or the authors, of some terrible calamity.

The most perfect tragedy, then, according to the principles of the art, is of this construction. Whence appears the mistake of those critics who censure Euripides for this practice in his tragedies, many of which terminate unhappily; for this, as we have shown, is right; and, as the strongest proof of it, we find that, upon the stage, and in the dramatic contests, such tragedies, if they succeed, have always the most tragic *effect:* and Euripides, though in other respects faulty in the conduct of his subjects, seems clearly to be the most *tragic* of all poets.

I place in the *second* rank that kind of fable to which some assign the *first;* that which is of a *double* construction, like the *Odyssey*, and also ends in two opposite events, to the *good*, and to the *bad* characters. That this passes for the best, is owing to the weakness of the spectators, to whose wishes the poets accommodate their productions. This kind of pleasure, however, is not the *proper* pleasure of Tragedy, but belongs rather to Comedy; for there, even if the bitterest enemies, like *Orestes* and *Ægisthus*, are introduced, they quit the scene at last in perfect friendship, and no blood is shed on either side.

Cap. xiv. Terror and pity may be raised by the *decoration*, the mere *spectacle;* but they may also arise from the circumstances of the *action* itself; which is far preferable, and shows a superior poet. For the fable should be so constructed, that, without the assistance of the sight, its incidents may excite horror and commiseration in those who *hear* them only; an effect which every one, who hears the story of the *Œdipus,* must experience. But, to produce this effect by means of the decoration, discovers want of art in the poet, who must also be supplied by the public with an expensive apparatus (χορηγία).

As to those poets who make use of the decoration in order to produce, not the *terrible,* but the *marvellous* only, *their* purpose has nothing in common with that of tragedy; for we are not to seek for every sort of pleasure from tragedy, but for that only which is *proper* to the species.

Since, therefore, it is the business of the tragic poet to give that pleasure which arises from pity and terror, through *imitation,* it is evident that he ought to produce that effect by the circumstances of the *action itself.*

Let us, then, see of what *kind* those incidents are which appear most terrible or piteous.

Now such actions must, of necessity, happen between persons who are either friends or enemies, or indifferent to each other. If an enemy kills, or purposes to kill, an enemy, in neither case is any commiseration raised in us, beyond what necessarily arises from the nature of the action itself.

The case is the same, when the persons are neither friends nor enemies. But when such disasters happen between friends —when, for instance, the brother kills, or is going to kill, his brother, the son his father, the mother her son, or the reverse —these, and others of a similar kind, are the proper incidents for the poet's choice. The received tragic subjects, therefore, he is not at liberty *essentially* to alter; *Clytæmnestra* must die by the hand of *Orestes,* and *Eriphyle* by that of *Alcmæon:* but it is his province to invent other subjects, and to make a skilful use of those which he finds already established. What I mean by a skilful use, I proceed to explain.

The atrocious action may be perpetrated knowingly and intentionally, as was usual with the earlier poets; and as Euripides, also, has represented *Medea* destroying her children.

It may, likewise, be perpetrated by those who are ignorant, at the time, of the connexion between them and the injured person, which they afterwards discover; like *Œdipus,* in Sophocles. There, indeed, the action itself does not make a part of the drama: the *Alcmæon* of *Astydamas,* and *Telegonus* in the

Ulysses Wounded, furnish instances *within* the tragedy. There is yet a *third* way, where a person upon the point of perpetrating, through ignorance, some dreadful deed, is prevented by a sudden discovery.

Besides these, there is no other proper way. For the action must of necessity be either *done* or *not done*, and that either *with knowledge*, or *without*: but of all these ways, that of being ready to execute, knowingly, and yet *not* executing, is the worst; for this is, at the same time, shocking, and yet not tragic, because it exhibits no disastrous event. [It is, therefore, never, or very rarely, made use of. The attempt of *Hæmon* to kill *Creon*, in the Antigone, is an example[9].]

Next to this, is the actual execution of the purpose.

To execute, through ignorance, and afterwards to discover, is better: for thus the shocking atrociousness is avoided, and, at the same time, the discovery is striking.

But the best of all these ways is the last. Thus, in the Tragedy of *Cresphontes*, *Merope*, in the very act of putting her son to death, discovers him, and is prevented. In the *Iphigenia*, the sister, in the same manner, discovers her brother; and in the *Helle*, the son discovers his mother, at the instant when he was going to betray her.

On this account it is, that the subjects of Tragedy, as before remarked, are confined to a small number of families. For it was not to *art*, but to *fortune*, that poets applied themselves to find incidents of this nature. Hence the necessity of having recourse to those families in which such calamities have happened. Of the plot, or story, and its requisites, enough has now been said.

Cap. xv. With respect to the *Manners*, *four* things are to be attended to by the poet.

First, and principally, they should be *good* (χρηστά). Now *manners*, or *character*, belong, as we have said before, to any speech or action that manifests a certain *disposition*; and they are bad, or good, as the disposition manifested is bad (φαύλη), or good (χρηστή). This goodness of manners may be found in persons of every description: the manners of a woman, or of a slave, may be good; though, in general, women are, perhaps, rather bad than good, and slaves altogether bad.

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[9] As this view of the passage in the *Antigone*, 1200, is clearly erroneous, (*Introduction to the Antigone*, p. xl.) it is well to have the reasons adduced by Ritter for believing that Aristotle is interpolated here.—J. W. D.

The *second* requisite is *propriety* (τὰ ἁρμόττοντα). There is a manly character of bravery and fierceness, which cannot, with propriety, be given to a woman.

The *third* requisite is *resemblance* (τὸ ὅμοιον): for this is a different thing from their being *good* and *proper*, as above described.

The *fourth* is *uniformity* (τὸ ὁμαλόν): for even though the model of the poet's imitation be some person of ununiform manners, still that person must be represented as *uniformly ununiform* (ὁμαλῶς ἀνώμαλον δεῖ εἶναι).

We have an example of manners *unnecessarily bad*, in the character of *Menelaus* in the tragedy of *Orestes;* of *improper* and *unbecoming* manners, in the lamentation of *Ulysses* in *Scylla*, and in the speech of *Melanippe:* of *ununiform* manners, in the *Iphigenia* at *Aulis;* for there the *Iphigenia*, who supplicates for life, has no resemblance to the *Iphigenia* of the conclusion.

In the manners, as in the fable, the poet should always aim, either at what is *necessary* or what is *probable;* so that *such* a character shall appear to speak or act necessarily, or probably, in *such* a manner, and *this* event to be the necessary or probable consequence of *that.*—Hence it is evident, that the *development* also of a plot should arise out of the plot itself, and not depend upon *machinery*, as in the *Medea*, or in the incidents relative to the sailing away from Troy, in the *Iliad.* The proper application of machinery is to such circumstances as are extraneous to the Drama; such as either happened *before* the time of the action, and could not, by human means, be known; or are to happen *after*, and require to be foretold: for to the gods we attribute the knowledge of all things. But nothing *improbable* should be admitted in the incidents of the fable; or, if it cannot be avoided, it should, at least, be confined to such as are *without* the tragedy itself; as in the *Œdipus* of Sophocles.

Since Tragedy is an imitation of *what is best*, we should follow the example of skilful portrait-painters; who, while they express the peculiar lineaments, and produce a likeness, at the same time improve upon the original. And thus, too, the poet, when he imitates the manners of *passionate* or *indolent* men, or any others of a similar kind, should represent them under a favourable aspect; as *Achilles* is drawn by Agatho, and by Homer. These things the poet should keep in view: and, besides these, whatever relates to those senses which have a necessary connexion with poetry: for here, also, he may often err. But of this enough has been said in the treatises already published.

Cap. xvi. [What is meant by a *Discovery* has already been explained. Its *kinds* are the following.

First, the most inartificial of all, and to which, from poverty of invention, the generality of poets have recourse—The discovery by *visible signs* (ἡ διὰ σημείων). Of these signs, some are *natural;* as the lance with which the family of the *earth-born Thebans* were marked: others are *adventitious* (ἐπίκτητα): and of these, some are corporal, as scars; some external, as necklaces, bracelets, &c., or the little boat by which the discovery is made in the tragedy of *Tyro.* Even these, however, may be employed with more or less skill. The discovery of *Ulysses,* for example, to his nurse, by means of his scar, is very different from his discovery, by the same means, to the herdsmen. For all those discoveries, in which the sign is produced by way of proof, are inartificial. Those which, like that in the *Washing of Ulysses,* happen by a revolution (ἐκ περιπετείας), are better.

Secondly,—Discoveries *invented,* at pleasure, by the poet, and on that account, still inartificial. For example; in the *Iphigenia, Orestes,* after having discovered his sister, discovers himself to her. She, indeed, is discovered by means of the letter; but Orestes himself speaks such things as the poet chooses, not such as arise from the fictitious *circumstances.* This kind of discovery, therefore, borders upon the fault of that first mentioned: for some of the things from which those proofs are drawn are even such as might have been actually produced as visible signs.

Another instance, is the discovery by the sound of the shuttle in the *Tereus* of Sophocles.

Thirdly,—The discovery occasioned by *memory* (ἡ διὰ μνήμης): as, when some recollection is excited by the view of a particular object. Thus, in the *Cyprians* of *Dicæogenes,* a discovery is produced by tears shed at the sight of a picture: and thus, in the *Tale of Alcinous,* Ulysses, listening to the bard, recollects, weeps, and is discovered.

Fourthly,—The discovery occasioned by *reasoning* or *inference* (ἡ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ): such as that in the Choëphoræ: "The person, who is arrived, resembles me—no one resembles me but Orestes—it must be he!" And that of *Polyeidus* the sophist, in his *Iphigenia;* for the conclusion of Orestes was natural—"It had been his *sister's* lot to be sacrificed, and it was now his *own!*" That, also, in the *Tydeus of Theodectes*—"He came to find his son, and he himself must perish!" And thus the daughters of *Phineus,* in the tragedy denominated from them, viewing the place to which they were led, infer their fate—"there they were to die, for there they were exposed!" There is also a compound sort of discovery, arising from *false inference* in the audience, as in *Ulysses the False Messenger:* he asserts, that he shall know the bow, which he had not seen; the audience falsely infer, that a discovery by that means will follow.

But, of all discoveries, the *best* is that which arises from the *action itself,* and in which a *striking* effect is produced by *probable* incidents. Such is that in the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, and that in the *Iphigenia;* for nothing is more natural than her desire of conveying the letter. Such discoveries are the best, because they alone are effected without the help of *invented proofs,* or necklaces, &c. Next to these, are the discoveries by *inference.*]

The poet, both when he plans, and when he writes, his tragedy, should put himself, as much as possible, in the place of a spectator; for, by this means *seeing* every thing distinctly, as if present at the action, he will discern what is proper, and no inconsistencies will escape him. The fault objected to *Carcinus* is a proof of this. Amphiaraus had left the temple: this the spectator, from not seeing the action pass before his eyes, overlooked; but in the representation the audience were disgusted, and the piece condemned. Cap. XVII.

In composing, the poet should even, as much as possible, be an *actor:* for, by natural sympathy, *they* are most persuasive and affecting, who are under the influence of actual passion.

We share the agitation of those who appear to be truly agitated—the anger of those who appear to be truly angry.

Hence it is, that poetry demands either great natural quickness of parts, or an enthusiasm allied to madness. By the first of these, we mould ourselves with facility to the imitation of every form; by the other, transported out of ourselves, we *become* what we *imagine.*

When the poet invents a subject, he should first draw a *general* sketch of it, and afterwards give it the detail of its episodes, and extend it. The general argument, for instance, of the *Iphigenia* should be considered in this way:—" A virgin, on the point of being sacrificed, is imperceptibly conveyed away from the altar, and transported to another country, where it was the custom to sacrifice all strangers to Diana. Of these rites she is appointed priestess. It happens, some time after, that her brother arrives there." [But *why?*—because an oracle had commanded him, for some reason exterior to the general plan. *For what purpose?* This also is exterior to the plan.] " He arrives, is seized, and, at the instant that he is going to be sacrificed, the discovery is made." And this may be either in the way of *Euripides* or like that of *Polyeidus,* by the natural reflection of *Orestes,* that " it was his fate also, as it had been his sister's, to be sacrificed:" by which exclamation he is saved.

After this, the poet, when he has given names to his characters, should proceed to the episodes of his action; and he must take care that these belong *properly* to the subject; like that of the madness of *Orestes,* which occasions his being taken, and his escape by means of the ablution. (*Iph. T.* 260—339, 1158 sqq.) In dramatic poetry the episodes are short; but in the epic, they are the means of drawing out the poem to its proper length. The *general* story of the Odyssey, for example, lies in a small compass: " A certain man is supposed to be absent from his own country for many years—he is persecuted by *Neptune,* deprived of all his companions, and left alone. At home his affairs are in disorder—the suitors of his wife dissipating his wealth, and plotting the destruction of his son. Tossed by many tempests, he at length arrives, and, making himself known to some of his family, attacks his enemies, destroys them, and remains himself in safety." This is the *essential;* the rest is *episode.*

[Every tragedy consists of two parts—the *complication* (δέσις), and the *development* (λύσις). The complication is often formed by incidents supposed *prior* to the action, and by a part, also, of those that are *within* the action; the rest form the development. I call *complication*, all that is between the beginning of the piece and the last part, where the change of fortune commences: *development*, all between the beginning of that change and the conclusion. Thus, in the *Lynceus* of *Theodectes*, the events antecedent to the action, and the seizure of the child, constitute the *complication:* the *development* is from the accusation of murder to the end.] Cap. xviii.

[There are four *kinds* of Tragedy, deducible from so many *parts*, which have been mentioned. One kind is the *complicated* (πεπλεγμένη), where all depends on *revolution* and *discovery:* another is the *disastrous* (παθητική), such as those on the subject of *Ajax* or *Ixion:* another, the *moral* (ἠθική), as the *Phthiotides* and the *Peleus:* and, fourthly, the *simple* (ἁπλῆ), such as the *Phorcides*, the *Prometheus*, and all those tragedies, the scene of which is laid in the infernal regions.]

[It should be the poet's aim to make himself master of all these manners; of as many of them, at least, as possible, and those the best; especially, considering the captious criticism to which, in these days, he is exposed. For the public, having now seen different poets excel in each of these different kinds, expect every *single* poet to unite in himself, and to surpass, the peculiar excellences of them *all.*]

[One tragedy may justly be considered as the same with another or different, not according as the subjects, but rather according as the complication and development are the same or different. Many poets, when they have *complicated* well, *develope* badly. They should endeavour to deserve equal applause in both.]

We must also be attentive to what has been often mentioned, and not construct a *tragedy* upon an *epic* plan. By an epic plan, I mean a story composed of *many stories;* as if any one, for instance, should take the entire fable of the Iliad for the subject of a tragedy. In the epic poem, the length of the whole admits of a proper magnitude in the parts; but in the Drama the effect of such a plan is far different from what is expected. As a proof of this, those poets who have formed the *whole* of the destruction of Troy into a tragedy, instead of confining themselves [as *Euripides,* but not *Æschylus,* has done, in the story of *Niobe*] to a *part,* have either been condemned in the representation, or have contended without success. Even *Agatho* has failed on this account, and on this only; for in *revolutions,* and in actions, also, of the *simple* kind, these poets succeed wonderfully in what they aim at; and that is, the union of *tragic effect* with *moral tendency:* as when, for example, a character of great wisdom, but without integrity, is deceived, like *Sisyphus;* or a brave, but unjust man, conquered. Such events, as *Agatho* says, are probable, "as it is probable, in general, that many things should happen contrary to probability."

(The chorus should be considered as one of the persons in the Drama; should be a *part* of the *whole,* and a sharer in the action; not as in *Euripides,* but as in *Sophocles.*) As for other poets, their choral songs have no more connexion with their subject than with that of any other tragedy; and hence they are now become detached pieces, inserted at pleasure; a practice introduced by *Agatho.* Yet where is the difference between this arbitrary insertion of an *ode,* and the transposition of a *speech,* or even of a whole *episode,* from one tragedy to another?

Cap. XIX. Of the other parts of Tragedy enough has now been said. We are next to consider the *diction* and the *sentiments* (διανοίας).

For what concerns the *sentiments,* we refer to the principles laid down in the books on *Rhetoric;* for to *that* subject they more properly belong. The *sentiments* include *whatever is the object of speech;* as, for instance, to prove, to refute, to move the passions—pity, terror, anger, and the like; to amplify, or to diminish. But it is evident, that, with respect to the things themselves also, when the poet would make them appear pitiable, or terrible, or great, or probable, he must draw from the same sources; with this difference only, that in the *drama* these things must appear to be such, without being *shown* to be such; whereas, in *oratory,* they must be *made* to appear so by the speaker, and *in consequence* of what he *says;* otherwise, what need of an orator, if they already appear so, in *themselves,* and not by reason of his eloquence?

With respect to *diction,* one mode of considering the subject is that which treats of the *figures of speech*; such as *commanding, entreating, relating, menacing, interrogating, answering*, and the like. But this belongs properly to the art of *acting*, and to the professed masters of that kind. The *poet's* knowledge or ignorance of these things cannot any way materially affect the credit of his art. For who will suppose there is any justice in the cavil of *Protagoras*, that in the words, "The wrath, O goddess, sing," the poet, where he intended a *prayer*, had expressed a *command?* for he insists, that to say, *do this*, or *do it not*, is to *command*. This subject, therefore, we pass over as belonging to an art distinct from that of poetry.

[* * * * *[1]] Cap. xx.

Cap. xxi. Of words some are *single*, by which I mean composed of parts not significant, and some *double*; of which last some have one part significant, and the other not significant; and some, both parts significant. A word may also be *triple, quadruple*, &c.; such are most of the bombastic expressions, like Hermocaïco-xanthus[2]. Every word is either *strictly appropriate* (κύριον), or *foreign* (γλῶττα), or *metaphorical*, or *ornamental*, or *invented*, or *extended*, or *contracted*, or *altered*.

By *appropriate* words I mean such as are in general and established *use*. By *foreign*, such as belong to a different language: so that the same word may evidently be both *appropriate* and *foreign*, though not to the same people. The word σίγυννον, "a spear," to the Cyprians is *appropriate*, to us *foreign*.

A *metaphorical* word is a word transferred from its *proper* sense; either from *genus* to *species*, or from *species* to *genus*, or from *one species* to *another*, or in the way of *analogy*.

1. From *genus* to *species*: as,

νηῦς δέ μοι ἥδ' ἕστηκε (*Od.* I. 185.)
Secure in yonder port my vessel *stands*.

For *to be at anchor* is one *species* of *standing* or being *fixed*.

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[1] The whole of this chapter, which consists of clumsy, grammatical definitions, is a scholium which has got into the text. As it is by no means a good specimen of the kind, it may safely be neglected by any student of Aristotle, and is therefore omitted here.—J. W. D.

[2] I have not hesitated to adopt Tyrwhitt's emendation μεγαλείων ὡς for Μεγαλιωτῶν. It is sufficiently confirmed by Xen. *Mem.* II. 1. § 34. which he quotes, and the instance given of a compound containing the names of three rivers deserved some such description. Aristophanes abounds in similar compounds. Ritter proposes πολλαπλομεγάλωπος.—J. W. D.

2. From *species* to *genus:* as,

ἠ δὴ μυρί' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργεν (*Il.* II. 272.)
.... To *Ulysses*
A *thousand* generous deeds we owe....

For *a thousand* is a certain *definite many,* which is here used for *many* in *general.*

3. From *one species* to *another:* as,

Χαλκῷ ἀπὸ ψυχὴν ἀρύσας.

And,

Τεμὼν ἀτειρέϊ χαλκῷ.

For here the poet uses *ταμεῖν, to cut off,* instead of *ἀρύσαι, to draw forth;* and ἀρύσαι, instead of *ταμεῖν;* each being a *species* of *taking away.*

4. In the way of *analogy*—when, of four terms, the *second* bears the same relation to the *first,* as the *fourth* to the *third;* in which case the *fourth* may be substituted for the *second,* and the *second* for the *fourth.* [And sometimes the *proper* term is also introduced, besides its *relative* term.]

Thus a *cup* bears the same relation to *Bacchus* as a *shield* to *Mars.* A shield, therefore, may be called *the cup of Mars,* (Athen. x. p. 433. c.) and a cup *the shield of Bacchus.* Again —evening being to day what old age is to life, the evening may be called *the old age of the day,* and old age, *the evening of life;* or, as *Empedocles* has expressed it, "Life's setting sun." It sometimes happens that there is no *proper* analogous term answering to the term *borrowed,* which yet may be used in the same manner as if there were. For instance—to *sow* is the term appropriated to the action of dispersing seed upon the earth; but the dispersion of rays from the sun is expressed by no appropriated term; it is, however, with respect to the *sun's light* what *sowing* is with respect to *seed.* Hence the poet's expression of the sun—

σπείρων θεοκτίσταν φλόγα.
....*Sowing* abroad
His heaven-created flame.

There is, also, *another* way of using this kind of metaphor, by adding to the borrowed word a negation of some of those qualities which belong to it in its *proper* sense: as if, instead of calling a shield *the cup of Mars,* we should call it *the wineless cup.*

An *invented* word is a word never before used by any one, but coined by the poet himself, for such it appears there are; as, ἔρνυγες, *boughs*, for κέρατα, *horns*; or ἀρητήρ, *an utterer of prayer*, for ἱερεύς, *a priest*.

A word is *extended* when for the proper vowel a longer is substituted, or a syllable is inserted. A word is *contracted* when some part of it is retrenched. Thus πόληος for πόλεως, and Πηληϊάδεω for Πηλείδου, are extended words: contracted, such as κρῖ, and δῶ, and ὄψ: e. g.

> ....μία γίνεται ἀμφοτέρων ὄψ.

An *altered* word is a word of which part remains in its usual state, and *part* is of the poet's making: as in

> Δεξιτερὸν κατὰ μαζόν,

δεξιτερὸς is for δεξιός [3].

Cap. XXII. The excellence of diction consists in being *perspicuous*, without being *mean*. The most perspicuous is that which is composed of *strictly appropriate* words, but at the same time it is mean. Such is the poetry of *Cleophon*, and that of *Sthenelus*. That language, on the contrary, is elevated, and remote from the vulgar idiom, which employs *unusual* words: by *unusual* I mean *foreign*, *metaphorical*, *extended*—all, in short, that are not *strictly appropriate* words. Yet, if a poet composes his diction entirely of such words, the result will be either an enigma, or a barbarous jargon: an enigma, if composed of *metaphors*; a barbarous jargon, if composed of *foreign* words. For the essence of an enigma consists in *putting together things apparently inconsistent and impossible, and at the same time saying nothing but what is true*. Now this cannot be effected by the mere *arrangement* of the words; by the *metaphorical use* of them it may, as in this enigma—

> A man I once beheld, (and wondering view'd,)
> Who, on another, brass with fire had *glew'd*.

With respect to *barbarism*, it arises from the use of *foreign* words. A judicious intermixture is therefore requisite.

Thus the *foreign* word, the *metaphorical*, and the *ornamental*, and the other species before-mentioned, will raise the language above the vulgar idiom, and *appropriate* words will give it perspicuity. But nothing contributes more considerably to produce clearness, without vulgarity of diction, than *extensions*, *contractions*, and *alterations* of words; for here the variation from the proper form, being *unusual*, will give *elevation* to the expression; and at the same time, what is retained of *usual* speech will give it *clearness*. It is without reason, therefore, that some critics have censured these modes of speech, and ridiculed the poet for the use of them; as old *Euclid* did, objecting, that "versification would be an easy business, if it were permitted to lengthen words at pleasure:" and he used to make lines out of mere prose, as,

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[3] Here again follows a grammatical scholium inserted in the text, which for our present purpose it is better to omit.—J. W. D.

'Επι|χάρην | εἶδον | Μαρα‖θῶνά|δε βα|δίζον|τα‖

and,

Οὐκ ἂν | γενοί|μην τού|κείνου | ἐλλε|βόρου ‖[4]

Undoubtedly, when these licenses appear to be thus *purposely* used, the thing becomes ridiculous; in the employment of *all* the species of *unusual* words, moderation is necessary: for metaphors, foreign words, or any of the others, improperly used, and with a *design* to be ridiculous, would produce the same effect. But how great a difference is made by a *proper* and temperate use of such words, may be seen in *heroic* verse. Let any one only substitute strictly appropriate words in the place of the metaphorical, the foreign, and others of the same kind, and he will be convinced of the truth of what I say. For example: the same iambic verse occurs in *Æschylus* and in *Euripides;* but by means of a single alteration—the substitution of a *foreign* for an *appropriate* and *usual* word, one of these verses appears beautiful, the other ordinary. For *Æschylus*, in his *Philoctetes*, says

Φαγέδαινα, ἥ μου σάρκας ἐσθίει ποδός—
The cank'rous wound that *eats* my flesh.

But Euripides, instead of ἐσθίει, "*eats*," uses θοινᾶται, "*feasts on*."

The same difference will appear, if in this verse,

Νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν ὀλίγος τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυς,

we substitute *common* words, and say,—

Νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν μικρός τε καὶ ἀσθενικὸς καὶ ἀειδής.

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[4] As it is clear that Euclid wished to give examples of lines, scanned by making short syllables long, and as it is certain from *Rhet.* III. 17. § 16, that ἰαμβοποιέω may refer to a Trochaic as well as to an Iambic line, I have merely introduced such slight alterations into the false Trochaic and Iambic lines in the text, as were required to make sense of them.—J. W. D.

So, again, should we for the following—

Δίφρον ἀεικέλιον καταθεὶς, ὀλίγην τε τράπεζαν—

substitute this,—

Δίφρον μοχθηρὸν καταθεὶς, μικράν τε τράπεζαν.

Or change Ἠϊόνες βοόωσιν—"The shores *rebellow,*"—to Ἠϊόνες κράζουσιν—"The shores *cry out.*"

[*Ariphrades,* also, endeavoured to throw ridicule upon the tragic poets, for making use of such expressions as no one would think of using in common speech: as, δωμάτων ἄπο, instead of ἀπὸ δωμάτων: and σέθεν, and ἐγὼ δέ νιν, (Soph. Œd. C. 986.) and Ἀχιλλέως πέρι, instead of περὶ Ἀχιλλέως, &c. Now it is precisely owing to their being *not* strictly regular, that such expressions have the effect of giving elevation to the diction. But this he did not know.]

To employ with propriety any of these modes of speech—the double words, the foreign, &c. is a great excellence; but the greatest of all is to be happy in the use of *metaphor;* for it is this alone which cannot be acquired, and which, consisting in a quick discernment of *resemblances,* is a certain mark of genius.

Of the different kinds of words the *double* are best suited to dithyrambic poetry, the *foreign* to heroic, the *metaphorical* to iambic. In heroic poetry, indeed, they have *all* their place; but to iambic verse, which is, as much as may be, an imitation of common speech, those words which are used in common speech are best adapted; and such are the *strictly appropriate,* the *metaphorical,* and the *ornamental.*

Concerning Tragedy, and the imitation by action, enough has now been said.

With respect to that species of poetry which imitates by *narration,* and in *hexameter* verse, it is obvious that the *story* ought to be dramatically constructed, like that of Tragedy: and that it should have for its subject *one entire* and *perfect action,* having a *beginning,* and *middle,* and an *end;* so that, forming, like an animal, a *complete whole,* it may afford its *proper* pleasure: widely differing, in its construction, from history, which necessarily treats, not of *one action,* but of *one time,* and of *all* the events that happened to one person, or to many, during that time; events, the *relation* of which to each Cap. xxiii.

other is merely casual. For, as the naval action at Salamis, and the battle with the Carthaginians in Sicily, were events of *the same time,* unconnected by any relation to a *common end* or *purpose;* so also, in *successive* events, we sometimes see one thing *follow* another, without resulting in a common end. And this is the practice of the generality of *poets.* Even in this, therefore, as we have before observed, Homer, as compared with all others, would seem to be a divine poet (θεσπέσιος); for he did not attempt to bring the *whole* war, though an *entire* action with *beginning* and *end,* into his poem. It would have been too vast an object, and not *easily comprehended in one view;* or, had he forced it into a moderate compass, it would have been perplexed by its variety. Instead of this, selecting one *part* only of the war, he has, from the rest, introduced many episodes—such as the *catalogue of the ships,* and others, with which he has interspersed his poem. Other poets take for their subject the actions of *one person* or of *one* period of *time,* or an action which, though *one,* is composed of too many parts. Thus the author of the *Cypria,* and of the *Little Iliad.* [Hence it is, that the Iliad and the Odyssey each of them furnish matter for one tragedy, or two, at most; but from the *Cypria* many may be taken, and from the *Little Iliad* more than eight; as, *The Contest for the Armour, Philoctetes, Neoptolemus, Eurypylus, The Vagrant, The Spartan Women, The Fall of Troy, The Return of the Fleet, Sinon,* and *The Trojan Women.*]

Cap. xxiv. Again—the *epic* poem must also agree with the *tragic,* as to its *kinds:* it must be *simple* or *complicated, moral* or *disastrous.* Its *parts,* also, setting aside music and decoration, are the same; for it requires *revolutions, discoveries,* and *disasters;* and it must be furnished with proper *sentiments* and *diction:* of *all* which Homer gave both the first, and the most perfect example. Thus, of his two poems, the *Iliad* is of the *simple* and *disastrous* kind; the *Odyssey, complicated* (for it abounds throughout in discoveries) and *moral.* Add to this, that in *language* and *sentiments* he has surpassed all poets.

The epic poem *differs* from tragedy, in the *length* of its plan, and in its *metre.*

With respect to *length,* a sufficient measure has already been assigned. It should be such as to admit of our *comprehending at one view the beginning and the end:* and this would be the case, if the epic poem were reduced from its ancient length, so as not to exceed that of such a number of tragedies, as are performed successively at one hearing. But there is a circumstance in the nature of epic poetry which affords it peculiar latitude in the extension of its plan. It is not in the power of tragedy to imitate several different actions performed at the *same time;* it can imitate only that *one* which occupies the stage, and in which the actors are employed. But the epic imitation, being *narrative,* admits of many such simultaneous incidents, properly related to the subject, which swell the poem to a considerable size. And this gives it a great advantage, both in point of *magnificence,* and also as it enables the poet to relieve his hearer, and *diversify* his work, by a variety of *dissimilar* episodes: for it is to the satiety naturally arising from similarity that tragedies frequently owe their ill success.

With respect to *metre,* the heroic is established by experience as the most proper, so that, should any one compose a *narrative* poem in any other, or in a variety of metres, he would be thought guilty of a great impropriety. For the heroic is the gravest and most majestic of all measures: [and hence it is, that it peculiarly admits the use of *foreign* and *metaphorical* expressions; for in this respect also, the *narrative* imitation is abundant and various beyond the rest:] but the Iambic and Trochaic have more *motion;* the latter being adapted to *dance,* the other to *action* and *business.* To *mix* these different metres as *Chærêmon* has done, would be still more absurd. No one, therefore, has ever attempted to compose a poem of an extended plan in any other than heroic verse; nature itself, as we before observed, pointing out the proper choice.

Among the many just claims of Homer to our praise, this is one—that he is the only poet who seems to have understood what part in his poem it was proper for him to take *himself.* The poet, in his own person, should speak as little as possible; for he is not then the *imitator.* But other poets, ambitious to figure throughout themselves, *imitate* but little, and seldom. Homer, after a few preparatory lines, immediately introduces a man, a woman, or some other character; for all have their *character*—no where are the *manners* neglected.

The *surprising* is necessary in *Tragedy;* but the epic poem goes further, and admits even the *improbable* and *incredible,* from which the highest degree of the surprising results, because, there, the action is not *seen.* The circumstances, for example, of the pursuit of Hector by Achilles, are such, as upon the stage would appear ridiculous;—the Grecian army standing still, and taking no part in the pursuit, and Achilles making signs to them, by the motion of his head, not to interfere. But in the epic poem this escapes our notice. Now the *wonderful* always pleases; as is evident from the additions which men always make in relating any thing, in order to gratify the hearers.

It is from Homer principally that other poets have learned the art of properly narrating fictions. This consists in a sort of *sophism.* When *one thing* is observed to be constantly followed by *another,* men are apt to conclude, that if the latter *is,* or *happens,* the former must also *be* or must *happen.* But this is a fallacy[5].

The poet should prefer *impossibilities* which *appear probable,* to such things as, though *possible,* appear *improbable.* He should not produce a plan made up of improbable incidents, [but he should, if possible, admit no one circumstance of that kind; or, if he does, it should be *exterior* to the *action* itself, like the ignorance of *Œdipus* concerning the manner in which *Laius* died; not *within* the drama, like the narrative of what happened at the Pythian games, in the *Electra;* or, in *The Mysians,* the man who travels from Tegea to Mysia without speaking.] To say, that *without* these circumstances the fable would have been destroyed, is a ridiculous excuse: the poet should take care, from the first, not to construct his fable in that manner. If, however, any thing of this kind has been admitted, and yet is made to pass under some colour of probability, it may be allowed, though even in itself *absurd.* Thus, in the *Odyssey,* the improbable account of the manner in which *Ulysses* was landed upon the shore of Ithaca is such as, in the hands of an ordinary poet, would evidently have been intolerable: but here the absurdity is concealed under the various beauties, of other kinds, with which the poet has embellished it.

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[5] The editions here insert the following corrupt Scholium : *διὸ δή, ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος, ἄλλου δὲ τούτου ὄντος, ἀνάγκη ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι προσθεῖναι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο εἰδέναι ἀληθὲς ὄν, παραλογίζεται ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ὄν. παράδειγμα δὲ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν* Νίπτρων.—J. W. D.

The diction should be most laboured in the *idle* parts of the poem—those in which neither *manners* nor *sentiments* prevail; for the manners and the sentiments are only obscured by too splendid a diction.

With respect to *critical objections*, and the *answers* to them, the *number* and *nature* of the different *sources* from which they may be drawn will be clearly understood, if we consider them in the following manner. Cap. xxv.

1. The poet, being an *imitator*, like the painter or any other artist of that kind, must necessarily, when he imitates, have in view one of these *three* objects: he must represent things, *such as* they *were*, or *are*; or *such as* they are *said to be*, and *believed to be*; or *such as* they *should be*.

2. Again—all this he is to express in *words*, either *common*, or *foreign* and *metaphorical*—or varied by some of those many *modifications* and peculiarities of language which are the privilege of poets.

3. To this we must add, that *what is right* in the *poetic* art is a distinct consideration from *what is right* in the *political*, or any *other* art. The faults of *poetry* are of two kinds, *essential* and *accidental*. If the poet has undertaken to *imitate* without talents for imitation, his poetry will be *essentially* faulty. But if he is right in applying himself to poetic imitation, yet in imitating is occasionally wrong—as if a horse, for example, were represented as advancing both his right legs at once; or, if he has committed *mistakes*, or described things *impossible*, with respect to *other arts*, that of physic, for instance, or any other—all *such* faults, whatever they may be, are not *essential*, but *accidental* faults, in the poetry.

To the foregoing considerations, then, we must have recourse, in order to obviate the doubts and objections of the critics.

For, in the *first* place, suppose the poet to have represented things *impossible* with respect to some *other* art; this is certainly a fault. Yet it may be an *excusable* fault, provided the *end* of the *poet's* art be more effectually obtained by it; that is, according to what has already been said of that *end*, if, by this means, that or any other part of the poem is made to produce a more *striking effect*. The pursuit of Hector is an instance. If, indeed, this end might as well, or nearly as well, have been attained, without departing from the principles of the particular art in question, the fault in that case could not be justified, since faults of *every* kind should, if possible, be avoided.

Still we are to consider, further, whether a fault be in things *essential* to the poetic art, or foreign and *incidental* to it; for it is a far more pardonable fault to be ignorant, for instance, that a hind has no horns, than to *paint* one *badly*.

Further—If it be objected to the poet, that he has not represented things conformably to *truth*, he may answer, that he has represented them as they *should* be. This was the answer of *Sophocles*—that "he drew mankind such as they *should* be; *Euripides*, such as they *are*." And this is the proper answer.

But if the poet has represented things in neither of these ways, he may answer, that he has represented them as they are *said* and *believed* to be. Of this kind are the poetical descriptions of the gods. It cannot, perhaps, be said, that they are either what is *best*, or what is *true;* but they happened, as *Xenophanes* expresses it: "at any rate, they tell us such things[6]."

Again—What the poet has exhibited is, perhaps, not what is *best*, but it is the *fact;* as in the passage about the arms of the sleeping soldiers:

Ἔγχεα δέ σφιν ὄρθ' ἐπὶ σαυρωτῆρος,
. . . .*fixed upright in the earth*
Their spears stood by. . . . . .

For such was the custom at that time, as it is now among the Illyrians.

In order to judge whether what is *said*, or *done*, by any character, be *well* or *ill*, we are not to consider that speech or action *alone*, whether *in itself* it be *good* or *bad*, but also *by* whom it is spoken or done, *to* whom, at what *time*, in what *manner*, or for what *end*—whether, for instance, in order to obtain some greater good, or to avoid some greater evil.

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[6] Tyrwhitt's reading *ἀλλ' οὖν φασὶν τάδε* seems to be the best of those which have been proposed.—J. W. D.

[1. For the solution of *some* objections, we must have recourse to the *diction.*—For example:

> Οὐρῆας μὲν πρῶτον . . .
> " On *mules* and dogs th' infection first began."—*Pope.*

This may be defended by saying, that the poet has, perhaps, used the word οὐρῆας in its *foreign* acceptation of *sentinels,* not in its *proper* sense, of *mules.*

So also in the passage where it is said of *Dolon*—

> . . . . . Εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός . . . .
> . . . Of *form* unhappy . . . .

the meaning is, not, that his *person* was *deformed,* but, that his *face* was *ugly*; for the Cretans use the word εὐειδές—"*well-formed*"—to express a beautiful *face.*

Again—

> Ζωρότερον δὲ κέραιε . . . . .

Here, the meaning is not, "mix it *strong,*" as for intemperate drinkers; but, "mix it *quickly.*"

2. The following passages may be defended by *metaphor*—

> Ἄλλοι μέν ῥα θεοί τε
> Εὗδον παννύχιοι καὶ ἀνέρες ἱπποκορυσταί.

At the same time he says:—

> Ἤτοι ὅτ' ἐς πέδιον τὸ Τρωικὸν ἀθρήσειεν
> Αὐλῶν συρίγγων θ' ὁμαδόν[7] . .

For *all* is put *metaphorically,* instead of *many*; *all* being a *species* of *many.* Here also—

> οἴη δ' ἄμμορος.
> . . . . . . " The Bear *alone*
> Still shines exalted in th' ethereal plain,
> Nor bathes his flaming forehead in the main."—*Pope.*

Alone, is metaphorical: the most *remarkable* thing in any kind, we speak of as the *only* one.

We may have recourse also,

3. To *accent*: as the following passage—

> Δίδομεν δέ οἱ εὖχος ἀρέσθαι (Hom. *Il.* xxi. 297).

and this—τὸ μὲν οὐ καταπύθεται ὄμβρῳ (*Il.* xxiii. 328)—were defended by *Hippias* of Thasos.

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[7] Either the writer's memory has deceived him here, or he has intentionally substituted the first line of *Il.* ii. for the first line of *Il.* x.; for these two lines are from the tenth Book, vv. 11, 13.—J. W. D.

4. To *punctuation*; as in the passage of *Empedocles*:—

> *Αἶψα δὲ θνήτ' ἐφύοντο τὰ πρὶν μάθον ἀθάνατ' εἶναι,*
> *Ζωρά τε τὰ πρὶν ἄκρητα . . . .*
> . . . . . things before *immortal,*
> *Mortal* became, and *mix'd before unmix'd.*

5. To *ambiguity*; as in—παρῴχηκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ—where the word πλέων is ambiguous.

6. To *customary speech*: thus, wine mixed with water, or whatever is *poured out* to drink *as* wine, is called οἶνος—*wine*: hence, *Ganymede* is said—Διῒ οἰνοχοεύειν—to "pour the *wine* to Jove:" though wine is not the liquor of the gods. This, however, may also be defended by metaphor.

Thus, again, artificers in *iron* are called χαλκεῖς, literally, *braziers*. Of this *kind* is the expression of the poet—Κνημὶς νεοτεύκτου κασσιτέροιο.

7. When a word, in any passage, appears to express a *contradiction*, we must consider, in how many *different senses* it may there be taken. Here, for instance—

> . . . τῇ ῥ' ἔσχετο χάλκεον ἔγχος—
> "There *stuck* the lance."—*Pope.*

the meaning is, was *stopped* only, or *repelled.*

Of *how many different senses* a word is capable, may best be discovered by considering the different senses that are *opposed* to it.

We may also say, with *Glauco*, that some critics first take things for granted without foundation, and then argue from these previous decisions of their own; and, having once pronounced their judgment, condemn, as an *inconsistence*, whatever is contrary to their preconceived *opinion.* Of this kind is the cavil of the critics concerning *Icarius.* Taking it for granted that he was a Lacedæmonian, they thence infer the absurdity of supposing *Telemachus* not to have seen him when he went to Lacedæmon. But, perhaps, what the Cephallenians say may be the truth. They assert that the wife of *Ulysses* was of their country, and that the name of her father was not *Icarius*, but *Icadius*. The objection itself, therefore, is probably founded on a mistake.

The *impossible*, in general, is to be justified by referring either to the end of *poetry* itself, or to what is *best*, or to *opinion.*

For, with respect to *poetry*, impossibilities, rendered *probable*, are preferable to things *improbable*, though *possible*.

With respect also to what is *best*, the imitations of poetry should resemble the paintings of Zeuxis: the example should be more perfect than nature.

To *opinion*, or what is commonly *said to be*, may be referred even such things as are *improbable* and *absurd;* and it may also be said, that events of that kind are sometimes not really improbable; since, "it is probable, that many things should happen contrary to probability."

When things are said, which appear to be *contradictory*, we must examine them as we do in logical confutation: whether the *same thing* be spoken of; whether in the *same respect*, and in the *same sense*. So that we must consider the man himself, the intentions with which he speaks, and the sense which an intelligent man could attach to his words.

Improbability, and *vicious manners*, when excused by no necessity, are just objects of critical censure. Such is the improbability in the *Ægeus* of *Euripides*, and the vicious character of Menelaus in his *Orestes*.

Thus the sources from which the critics draw their *objections* are five: they object to things as *impossible*, or *improbable*, or *of immoral tendency*, or *contradictory*, or *contrary to technical accuracy*. The *answers*, which are *twelve* in number, may be deduced from what has been said.]

It may be inquired, further, which of the two imitations, the *epic*, or the *tragic*, deserves the preference. Cap. XXVI.

If that, which is the least *vulgar*, or *popular*, of the two, be the best, and that be such, which is calculated for the better sort of spectators—the imitation, which extends to every circumstance, must evidently be the most vulgar or popular; for there the imitators have recourse to every kind of motion and gesticulation, as if the audience, without the aid of action, were incapable of understanding them: like bad flute-players, who whirl themselves round, when they would imitate the motion of the discus, and pull the Coryphæus, when *Scylla* is the subject. Such is Tragedy. It may also be compared to what the modern *actors* are in the estimation of their predecessors; for *Myniscus* used to call *Callippides*, on account of his intemperate action, the *ape:* and *Tyndarus* was censured on the same account. What these performers are with respect to their predecessors, the tragic imitation, when entire, is to the epic. The latter, then, it is urged, addresses itself to hearers of the better sort, to whom the addition of gesture is superfluous: but Tragedy is for *the people;* and being, therefore, the most vulgar kind of imitation, is evidently the inferior.

But now, in the *first* place, this censure falls, not upon the *poet's* art, but upon that of the *actor;* for the gesticulation may be equally laboured in the recitation of an epic poem, as it was by *Sosistratus;* and in singing, as by *Mnasitheus* the *Opuntian.*

Again—All gesticulation is not to be condemned, since even all *dancing* is not; but such only as is unbecoming—such as was objected to *Callippides,* and is now objected to others, whose gestures resemble those of immodest women.

Further—Tragedy, as well as the epic, is capable of producing its effect, even without action; we can judge of it perfectly by *reading.* If, then, in *other* respects, Tragedy be superior, it is sufficient that the fault here objected is not *essential* to it.

Tragedy has the *advantage* in the following respects. It possesses all that is possessed by the epic; it *might* even adopt its metre; and to this it makes no inconsiderable addition in the music and the decoration; by the latter of which the illusion is heightened, and the pleasure, arising from the action, is rendered more sensible and striking.

It has the advantage of greater clearness and distinctness of impression, as well *in reading* as in representation.

It has also that of attaining the end of its imitation in a shorter compass: for the effect is more pleasurable, when produced by a short and close series of impressions, than when weakened by diffusion through a long extent of time; as the *Œdipus* of Sophocles, for example, would be, if it were drawn out to the length of the *Iliad.* Further: there is less *unity* in all epic imitation; as appears from this—that any epic poem will furnish matter for *several* tragedies. For, supposing the poet to choose a fable *strictly* one, the consequence must be, either, that his poem, if proportionably contracted, will appear curtailed and defective, or, if extended to the usual length, will become weak, and, as it were, *diluted.* If, on the other hand, we suppose him to employ *several* fables—that is, a fable composed of *several actions*—his imitation is no longer *strictly one.* The *Iliad,* for example, and the *Odyssey,* contain many such subordinate parts, each of which has a certain magnitude and unity of its own; yet is the construction of those poems as perfect, and as nearly approaching to the imitation of a single action as possible.

If, then, *Tragedy* be superior to the Epic in all these respects, and also in the peculiar *end* at which it aims (for each species ought to afford, not *any* sort of pleasure indiscriminately, but such only as has been pointed out), it evidently follows, that Tragedy, as it attains more effectually the end of the *art itself,* must deserve the preference.

[And thus much concerning tragic and epic poetry in *general,* and their several *species*—the *number* and the *differences* of their *parts*—the causes of their *beauties* and their *defects*—the *censures* of critics, and the principles on which they are to be *answered.*]

(II.)

EXTRACTS FROM

R. BENTLEY'S DISSERTATION

ON THE

EPISTLES OF PHALARIS.

Of the work from which the following extracts are made, I have elsewhere said (*Rose's Biographical Dictionary*, Art. BENTLEY, vol. iv. pp. 99, 102): "As a combination of profound learning and great originality, with lively wit and sound logic, it has never been paralleled. Although it came forth as an occasional and controversial work, such is the fulness with which every subject in it is discussed, that it is still used as a text-book in our Universities, and will always continue to be read, even by those who have no interest in, or acquaintance with the work to which it professes to be an answer. The name of Bentley constitutes an epoch in the history of philology. He united in one person the copious erudition of the older scholars and that peculiar felicity in verbal emendation, which is so remarkable in our modern critics, and especially in Porson. We may fairly consider him as the literary progenitor of the great and enlightened philologers of modern Germany; indeed, it would not be too much to say, that the Dissertations on Phalaris paved the way for Niebuhr's History of Rome." To these remarks, I may add that *Bentley on Phalaris* is still doing more than any other book, to keep up a taste for criticism in this country; and I am one of those who think that this is a great and unqualified advantage. It may be right to take this opportunity of saying a few words on the contrary opinion expressed by an Author, who has not only obtained an unmerited reputation by a series of flimsy and immoral romances, but has also undertaken to write on the history and literature of ancient Athens. This writer makes one of his heroes express the extreme of disgust, on finding a young candidate for university honours engaged in the study of *Bentley's Phalaris*, and seems to connect this with his general tirade against classical scholarship. I will fully admit, that if classical learning produced no better effects than the tasteless pedantry with which this novelist delights to exhibit his less than little knowledge of the dead languages, it would be well, if all philological treatises were at once committed to the oblivion, which is the certain and speedy fate of his own coarse delineations of puppies, pickpockets, and poisoners. But if it be true that philology has the highest of all vocations—that of maintaining the cause of science against fanatical delusions on the one hand, and mystical traditions on the other,—we can have no fear respecting it except this,—lest it should be occasionally degraded by falling into the hands of some smatterer, who is admired as a philosophical genius by shallow politicians and moralists, and respected as a scholar by those who have never served their apprenticeship to Lexicography or Grammar.—J. W. D.

AGE OF COMEDY.

[Pp. 195—216, Ed. London, 1699.]

IN the fifty-first Epistle to Eteonicus, there is another moral sentence: Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει· "Mortal man ought not to entertain immortal anger (*a*)." But, I am afraid, he will have no better success with this than the former: for Aristotle, in his Rhetoric[1], among some other sententious verses, cites this Iambic, as commonly known:

Ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὤν.

This, though the author of it be not named, was probably, like most of those proverbial *gnomæ*, borrowed from the stage; and, consequently, must be later than Phalaris, let it belong to what Poet you please, Tragic or Comic.

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[1] Lib. ii. cap. 21. [§ 6].

(*a*) Bentleius in immortali ista de Phalaridis epistolis dissertatione hæc verba, θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει, ex Euripide mutua sumta existimat, cui sane hactenus assentior. Verum, quod non vidit Vir summus, non sunt ista ex Euripide imitando expressa, sed sunt ipsa Tragici verba, ita legenda :—

Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν
Οὔ τοι προσήκει.

Duo erant, quæ, ne Viri docti hoc perviderent, faciebant. Primum, quod nesciebant ἀθάνατον primam producere, quod apud omnes antiquos et genuinos Græciæ Poëtas semper fieri præstabo, alias forsitan Brunckii et aliorum errores castigaturus. Deinde paulo minus grati sunt numeri, quam in plerisque Tragicorum senariis, non tamen omnino inusitati.—*Porson, ad Eurip. Med.* 139.

But, because it may be suspected that the Poet himself might take the thought from common usage, and only give it the turn and measure of a verse, let us see if we can discover some plainer footsteps of imitation, and detect the lurking sophist, under the mask of the tyrant. Stobæus[2] gives us these verses, out of Euripides' Philoctetes:—

p. 196. Ὥσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφυ,
Οὕτω προσήκει μηδὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν
'Αθάνατον, ὅστις σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.

Now to him that compares these with the words of this epistle, it will be evident that the author had this very passage before his pen: there is ἔχειν, and προσήκει· not only a sameness of sense, but even of words, and those not necessary to the sentence; which could not fall out by accident. And where has he now a friend at a pinch to support his sinking credit? For Euripides was not born in Phalaris's time. Nay, to come nearer to our mark; from Aristophanes[3] the famous grammarian (who, after Aristotle, Callimachus, and others, wrote the Διδασκαλίαι, A "Catalogue and Chronology of all the Plays of the Poets:" a work, were it now extant, most useful to ancient History), we know that this very Fable, Philoctetes, was written Olymp. LXXXVII.; which is CXX. years after the Tyrant's destruction (*a*).

[2] Tit. xx. Περὶ 'Οργῆς.

[3] Argument. Medeæ Eur.

(*a*) The paragraphs here printed in a larger type were originally part of Bentley's first Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris; which, with his remarks on the Fables of Æsop, was written as an appendage to Dr. Wotton's "Discourse about Ancient and Modern Learning;" a work first printed A.D. 1694. It was not, however, given to the world until the publication of Boyle's Edition of Phalaris (January A.D. 1695), in the reprint of Wotton's Discourse. Boyle, jealous for the authenticity of his author, and suspecting Bentley's Dissertation to have been aimed purposely at his edition, attacked this treatise in his "Dr. Bentley's Dissertations Examined." It was in answer to this *Examination* that Bentley wrote the work from which our extracts are made.

I had said that the Iambic verse quoted by Aristotle,

ʼΑθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὢν,

"was probably borrowed from the stage." This does not please the Examiner; for he comes upon me with this groveling question, "Why more *probably* borrowed from the stage than from Archilochus' Iambics, the fragments of which are full of those proverbial sentences?" I will tell you, sir, why more *probably* p. 107. from the stage than from Archilochus (*a*). First, because in Aristotle's time there were a thousand Iambics of the Stage for one of Archilochus. The plays of the old Comedy were CCCLXV.[4]; of the middle Comedy, DCXVII.: nay, Athenæus says[5], that he himself had read above DCCC. plays of the middle Comedy. Add to these all the Tragedies, which in all probability were more than the others, and it will be reasonable to suppose, that there were as many whole plays in Aristotle's days, as there were single Iambic verses in all Archilochus' poems. And, secondly, because Aristotle, in the very same place where he cites this sentence, brings several others; all of which, except one, we are sure are fetched from the stage, out of Euripides and Epicharmus: and even that *one* is very likely to be taken from the same place. And now, I would beg leave, in my turn, to ask the Examiner a question: What he means when he says, "The fragments of Archilochus' Iambics are full of those proverbial sentences?" for I believe there are not ten Iambics of Archilochus now extant; and but two of them are proverbial sentences. He tells me, in another place, "that collecting Greek fragments is a fit employment for me, and I have succeeded well in it." But when he pleases to produce those Iambics of Archilochus, *full* of such sententious sayings, I will acknowledge his talent at that employment to be better than *mine.*

My inference was, that if this Iambic came from the stage, p. 108. "it must be later than Phalaris, let it belong to what poet soever, Tragic or Comic."

"This consequence," says Mr. B., "I can never allow, because I am very well satisfied that there were both Tragic and Comic

[4] Prolog. ad Arist.

[5] Athen. p. 366.

(*a*) The invention of Iambics is ascribed to Archilochus by Horace:

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo. *Art. Poet.* 7.

poets before the days of Phalaris." The age of Tragedy he reserves for another section; but for Comedy, he produces Susarion, who is said to have invented it before the tyranny of Pisistratus.

It is the Examiner's good fortune to be never more in the wrong than when he talks most superciliously, and with the greatest assurance. He *can never allow* my inference; and he is *very well satisfied.* But I must tell him, to his further *satisfaction,* that, though we suppose plays were acted a little before, or in Phalaris's time, yet it does not presently follow as a consequence that Phalaris could cite that verse out of a poet, whether Tragic or Comic.

First, because it is an Iambic verse; and it was a good while after the invention of Comedy and Tragedy before that measure was used in them. Aristotle assures us of this, as far as it concerns Tragedy: "The measure," says he, "in Tragedy was changed from Tetrametres to Iambics: for at first they used Tetrametres, because the Trochaic foot is more proper for dancing[6]." And the same reason will hold for Comedy too, because that, as well as Tragedy, was at first "nothing but a song, performed by a chorus dancing to a pipe[7]." It stands to reason, therefore, that there also the Tetrametre was used, rather than the Iambic; which, as the same Aristotle observes[8], was fit for *business* rather than dancing, and for *discourse* rather than singing.

p. 199. And secondly, because both Comedy and Tragedy, in their first beginnings at Athens, were nothing but *extemporal* diversions, not just and regular poems: they were neither published, nor preserved, nor written; but, like the entertainments of our Merry Andrews on the stages of mountebanks, were bestowed only upon the present assembly, and so forgotten. Aristotle declares it expressly:—"Both Tragedy and Comedy," says he, "were at first made EX TEMPORE[9];" and another very good writer, Maximus Tyrius, tells us, "that the ancient plays at Athens were nothing but choruses of boys and men; the husbandmen in their several parishes, after the labours of seed-time and harvest, singing EXTEMPORAL songs [1]." Donatus, or whoever is the author of that discourse about Comedy, says, "Thespis was the first that *wrote* his Plays, and by that means made them public [2]." But he was younger than the Tyrant's time, as it will appear more manifestly anon; so that Phalaris, as I conceive, could not meet with this verse in those days, when the Plays were not *written*, unless Mr. B. will bring him over the sea *incognito* to the merriments in the Attic villages.

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[6] Poet. c. iv. Τὸ *μὲν πρῶτον τετραμέτρῳ ἐχρῶντο.* So also in Rhet. iii. 1.

[7] Donatus, "Comœdia fere vetus, ut ipsa quoque olim Tragœdia, simplex carmen fuit, quod Chorus cum Tibicine concinebat."

[8] Poet. c. xxiv. et iv.

[9] Poet. c. iv. *Γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕΔΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ, *καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ Κωμῳδία.*

And this perhaps may be the true reason why the most of those that have spoken of the origin of Comedy, make no mention of Susarion or his contemporaries, but ascribe the invention of it to Epicharmus; for, as it seems, nothing of that kind was *written* and transmitted to posterity before the time of that Sicilian. Theocritus therefore is express and positive "that Epicharmus INVENTED Comedy." p. 200.

"Ατε φωνὰ Δώριος, χ' ὡ 'νὴρ ὁ τὰν Κωμῳδίαν
Εὑρὼν 'Επίχαρμος [3].

"Comedy," says Themistius, "began of old in Sicily; for Epicharmus and Phormus were of that country [4]."—"Epicharmus," says Suidas, "together with Phormus, INVENTED Comedy at Syracuse [5]." And Solinus, in his description of Sicily: "Here," says he, "was Comedy FIRST INVENTED [6]." "Some are of opinion," says Diomedes, "that Epicharmus *first* made Comedy [7]." Aristotle makes some small intimation of Susarion's pretences; but he expresses himself so, that he does as good as declare in favour of Epicharmus. I will give the reader his own words:—"The pretenders," says he, "to the invention of Comedy are the Megarenses; both those here (he means the Megarenses near Attica) and those in Sicily: for Epicharmus was of that place, who is much older than Chionides and Magnes [8]." When he says "The Megarenses that are here," he may hint perhaps at Susarion, who was born at that Megara; but he plainly signifies that his claim was of no great weight, by passing him over without a name. He might allow him to be the author of some *extempore* Farces, that may be called the first rudiments of Comedy; and that is all that with justice can be granted him. And with this opinion all those fall in who assert that Comedy is more recent than Tragedy; for the same persons suppose Thespis to be the inventor of Tragedy, who lived about Olymp. LXI. Horace, after he had given an account of the rise of Tragedy and Satire: "After these," says he, "came the old Comedy:" *Successit vetus his Comœdia*[1]. "His," says the ancient Scholiast, "scil. Satyris et Tragœdiæ." And Donatus is very "positive that Tragedy is senior to Comedy, both in the subject of it, and the time of its invention[2]."

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[1] Dissert. xxi. *"Αισματα ᾄδοντες* ΑΥΤΟΣΧΕΔΙΑ.

[2] "Thespis autem primus hæc scripta in omnium notitiam protulit."

[3] Theoc. Epig. 17. [4] Them. Orat. xix. [5] Suid. 'Επίχ.

[6] Solin. "Hic primum inventa Comœdia." [7] Diom. p. 486.

[8] Arist. Poët. c. 3.

p. 201. Well then,—If Epicharmus was the first writer of Comedy, it will soon appear that the true Phalaris could not borrow an Iambic from the stage; for it is well known that Epicharmus lived with Hiero of Syracuse[3]; and the author of the Arundel Marble places them both at Olymp. LXXVII. 1, when Chares was Archon at Athens, which is LXXVIII. years after Phalaris' death. It is true, Epicharmus lived to a very great age: to XC. years, as Laërtius says[4]; or to XCVII. as Lucian[5]. Now allow the greater of these for the true term of his life; and suppose too that he died that very year when he is mentioned in the Marble (though it cannot fairly be presumed so), yet he would be but XVIII. years old in the last year of Phalaris' reign, which perhaps will be thought too young an age to set up for an inventor; for all great wits are not so very early and forward as "a young writer[6]" that I have heard of.

Or again, if Phormus, who is joined with Epicharmus, be supposed the first poet of the stage, the matter will not be at all mended; for even he too is too young to do the Epistles any service. His name is written different ways: Athenæus and Suidas call him Phormus, but Aristotle, Phormis[7]. In Themistius it is written Amorphus[8], which is an evident depravation. Some learned men would write it Phormus, too, in Aristotle; but if that be true which Suidas relates of him, that he was "an acquaintance of Gelo the Syracusian's and tutor to his children[9]," the true reading must be Phormis; for he is the same Phormis that, as Pausanias tells at large[1], came to great honour in the service of Gelo, and of Hiero after him; and that I think is a proof sufficient that he did not invent Comedy as p. 202. early as the time of Phalaris.

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[1] Ars Poët. v. 281.
[2] De Com.
[3] Plut. Schol. Pind. &c.
[4] Laërt. Epich.
[5] Luc. in Macrob.
[6] Pref. p. 3.
[7] Φόρμις, Poët. c. v.
[8] Ἄμορφος.
[9] Suid. in Φόρμ.

Upon the whole matter, I suppose, from what has been said, these four things will be allowed: That the authorities for Epicharmus are more and greater than those for Susarion;—That, if Epicharmus was the first Comedian, Phalaris could not cite a passage out of Comedy;—That allowing Susarion to have contributed something towards the invention of Comedy, yet his Plays were extemporal, and never published in writing, and consequently unknown to Phalaris;—and lastly, That, if they were published, it is more likely they were in Tetrametres and other chorical measures, fit for dances and songs, than in Iambics. So far is it from being a just consequence, "If Comedy was but heard of at Athens, Phalaris might quote Iambics out of it," though it gave such *great satisfaction* to the learned Examiner.

It is true, there are five Iambics extant that are fathered upon Susarion, and perhaps may really be his:

'Ακούετε, λεώς· Σουσαρίων λέγει τάδε,
Υἱὸς Φιλίνου Μεγαρόθεν Τριποδίσκιος·
Κακὸν γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ὅμως, ὦ δημόται,
Οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκεῖν οἰκίαν ἄνευ κακοῦ.
Καὶ γὰρ τὸ γῆμαι, καὶ τὸ μὴ γῆμαι κακόν.

The first four of these are produced by Diomedes Scholasticus, in his Commentary on Dionysius Thrax, a MS. now in the Royal Library[2]; the last, with three others, by Stobæus[3]; the first, third, and fourth by Diomedes the Latin Grammarian[4]; and the third and fourth by Suidas. The emendation of the second verse is owing to the excellent Bishop Pearson[5], for it is very faulty in the MS.; but the first verse, as he has published it, p. 203.

'Ακούετε λέξεως, Σουσαρίων τάδε λέγει,

has two errors in it against the measures of Iambics; so that, to heal that flaw in the verse, for λέξεως, it is written λέξιν, in the Latin Diomedes; but the true reading is 'Ακούετε, λεώς[6], as it is extant in Stobæus; that is, "Hear, O people." It is the form that criers used; and means the same thing with our "O yes [7]." Plutarch tell us, "that in the parish of the Pallenians of Attica, it was unlawful for the crier to use that common form ('Ακούετε, λεώς), because a certain crier, called Leos, had formerly betrayed their ancestors [8]." Stratonicus the musician made a quibble about it; for as he once was in Mylasa, a city that had few inhabitants, but a great many temples, he comes into the market-place, as if he would proclaim something; but instead of 'Ακούετε, λαοί, as the form used to be, he said 'Ακούετε, ναοί [9]. In Lucian's "Sale of Philosophers," the form that Mercury the crier uses, is ῎Ακουε, σίγα. And so much by way of digression, to supply the emendation of the incomparable Pearson.

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[1] Eliac. i.

[2] This commentary is now published in Bekker's *Anecdota*, pp. 647, sqq.—J.W.D.

[3] Stob. tit. lxvii.

[4] Lib. iii. p. 486.

[5] Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.

[6] Meineke reads λεῴ. (*Fragm. Com. Ant.* p. 4).—J. W. D.

If I would imitate somebody's artifice, in suppressing and smothering what he thinks makes against him, I might easily conceal a passage of this yet unpublished MS. which carries in it a specious objection against something I have said. Diomedes introduces those verses of Susarion with these words:—"One Susarion," says he, "was the beginner of Comedy in verse, whose Plays were all lost in oblivion; but there are two or three Iambics p. 204. of a PLAY of his still remembered [1]." Here is an express testimony that Susarion used Iambics in his plays, though I have newly endeavoured to make it probable that, in the first infancy of Comedy, the Iambic was not used there; as we are certain from Aristotle, that it was not in Tragedy. But I have one or two exceptions against Diomedes' evidence: first, he stands alone in it; he is a man of no great esteem; he lived many hundreds of years after the thing that he speaks of; so that it ought to pass for no more than a conjecture of his own. And again, I would have it observed, that these five Iambics are spoken in the person of Susarion, which will go a great way towards a proof that they are no part of a Play; for, when the poet in his own name would

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[7] Or *Oyez.* The Attic idiom has it 'Ακυύετε, λεώ. Aristoph.*

'Ακούετε, λεώ· Κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰς χοὰς, &c.

And again †,

'Ακούετε, λεώ. Τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἀπιέναι, &c.

[8] Plut. in Thes.

[9] Athen. p. 348.

[1] Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν Σουσαρίων τις τῆς ἐμμέτρου Κωμῳδίας ἀρχηγὸς ἐγένετο, οὗ τὰ μὲν δράματα λήθῃ κατενεμήθησαν· δύο δὲ ἢ τρεῖς ἴαμβοι τοῦ δράματος ἐπὶ μνήμῃ φέρονται. [*Bekker. Anecd.* p. 748, where we find the reading Σουδαρίων.—J. W. D.]

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* Acharn. p. 300.

† Iren. p. 454.

speak to the spectators, he makes use of the Chorus to that purpose; and it is called a Παράβασις[1]: of which sort there are several now extant in Aristophanes. But the measures that the Chorus used at that time are never Iambics, but always Anapæsts or Tetrametres; and I believe there is not one instance that the Chorus speaks at all to the Pit in Iambics; to the Actor it sometimes does. And lastly, if these verses of Susarion's had been known to have been borrowed from a Play, it could not have been such a secret to Aristotle; for it is plain, I think, that he had met with no certain tradition of any Play of Susarion's; if he had, he would never attribute the invention of Comedy to the Sicilians, so long after him. This argument will not seem inconsiderable, if we remember what an universal Scholar that Philosopher was, and that he had particularly applied himself to know the history of the Stage; having written a Treatise of the Διδασκαλίαι, "an p. 205. account of the names, and times, and the authors of all the plays that were ever acted." If the verses therefore are truly Susarion's, it is probable they were made upon some other occasion, and not for the stage.

To return now to our Examiner: let us see a little how he manages his Susarion; for it is a wonder if, besides a general fault in producing a weak argument, he do not add several incidental ones, which a more skilful manager might have avoided; and to justify my suspicion of him, his very first sentence has two or three errors in it:—"The Chronicon Marmoreum," says he, "informs us that Comedy was brought INTO ATHENS by Susarion, or rather, that a STAGE was by him first erected at Athens." And from the word STAGE, he would draw an inference, "That Susarion was not the inventor, but an improver only, of Comedy." Now I affirm that the Marble Chronicon says nothing here about ATHENS or a STAGE. I will set down the whole paragraph as it was published from the original by Mr. Selden and Mr. Young:

Ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Ἀθ . . . αις κωμω . . . ρ . . . εθη . . . σανι . . . των
Ἰκαριέων εὑρόντος Σουσαρίωνος καὶ δολον . . . τεθ . . . ππω τον
ισχά . . . δ . . . αρσιχο . . . . . . νοινου . . . ερ . . . ος . . . . . .

In this worn and broken condition the passage was printed by Mr. Selden; and the Supplements that have been made to it since, are only learned men's conjectures, and may lawfully be laid aside if we have better to put in their places. The first words of it (ἐν αθ . . . αις) Mr. Selden guessed to be ἐν Ἀθήναις, *in Athens*; wherein he is followed by Palmerius, Pearson, Marsham, and every body since. But, with humble submission to those great names, I am persuaded it should not be so corrected; for p. 206. the author of the Marble, when he would say in Athens, always uses Ἀθήνησιν, and never ἐν Ἀθήναις. So in line the 5th, Ἀφ' οὗ δίκη Ἀθήνησι, and 33, Ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθήνησι· and 61, . . . ἐν Ἀθήνησι· and 70, Ἐνίκησεν Ἀθήνησι διδάσκων· so in 79, 81, 83, 85, besides what comes in almost every epoch of it, Ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνησιν· It is not credible, therefore, that in this single passage he should say, ἐν Ἀθήναις: besides, that it is not true in fact that Susarion found Comedy at Athens; for it was at Icarius, a country parish in Attica, as Athenæus informs us[3], which is the reason that Clem. Alex. calls Susarion an Icarian[4]: and the Marble itself, in this very place, names the Icarians: Τῶν Ἰκαριέων. But surely the same person could not act *first* both at Icarius and Athens; in country and city at once. It is observable, therefore, that in another epoch, where the Marble says, "That Tragedy was first acted by Thespis[5]," who was an *Icarian* too, there is nothing said of *Athens*. Our Examiner, therefore, is quite out when he quotes it as the words of the Marble, "That Susarion brought Comedy into Athens."

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[1] Schol. Aristoph. Hephæst. Pollux.

His next mistake is when he tells us, as out of the Marble, "That Susarion set up his *Stage* at Athens." The whole foundation of this imaginary Stage is that fragment of a word . . . σανι . . . which the very ingenious and learned Palmerius fancied to be ἐπὶ σανίσι, *acted upon boards*[6]; and his conjecture is approved by the great Pearson[7]. This, in the Edition of the Marmora Oxoniensia, was, I know not why, changed into ἐν σανίσι, *in boards*. And the Examiner, who, without question, p. 207. understands how Comedies may be put *into boards* (though the groaning board of famous memory might rather belong to some Tragedy), judiciously follows this casual oversight in that elegant Edition[8].

I desired my worthy friend Dr. Mill to examine with his own eyes this passage in the Marble, which is now at Oxford, and makes part of the glory of that noble University; and he informs me, that those Letters which Mr. Selden and Mr. Young took to be ΣΑΝΙ, are now wholly invisible, not the least footstep being left of them; and as for ΕΝΑΘ . . the two last letters are so defaced that one cannot be certain they were ΑΘ, but only something like them. I am of opinion, therefore, that the entire writing in the Marble was not ἐν 'Αθήναις, but ἐν ἀπήναις, *in plaustris*; and that ΣΑΝΙ has no relation to Σανίδες, *boards*, but is the last syllable of a verb. So that I would fill up the whole passage thus: ΑΦ Ου ΕΝ ΑΠηνΑΙΣ ΚΩΜΩιδιαι εφορΕΘΗΣΑΝ Υπο ΤΩΝ ΙΚΑΡΙΕΩΝ ΗΥΡΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΟΥΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ· that is, "Since Comedies were carried in carts by the Icarians, Susarion being the inventor[9]." That in the beginning the Plays were *carried* about the villages *in carts*, we have a witness beyond exception:

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[3] P. 40.
[4] Σουσαρίων Ἰκαριεύς. Strom. i.
[5] Suid. Θεσ.
[6] Exercit. p. 702.
[7] Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.
[8] See the notes there, pp. 203, 204.

> "Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
> Dicitur, et PLAUSTRIS VEXISSE poemata Thespis[1]."

And so the old Scholiast upon the place: "Thespis primus Tragœdias invenit; ad quas recitandas circa vicos PLAUSTRO quoque vehebatur ante inventionem scenæ." And I suppose it is sufficiently known that 'Απήνη is the same with PLAUSTRUM. Hesychius and Suidas, 'Απήνη, ἅμαξα. Eustathius twice, Ἅμαξαν μὲν καὶ 'Απήνην εἰπεῖν ταὐτόν ἐστιν. Glossarium Philoxeni, Plaustrum, ἅμαξα· Plostrum, ἀπήνη.

If this conjecture of mine may seem probable, the next, I dare p. 208. pass my word, will amount even to certainty. The words in the Marble, as Mr. Selden published them, are these: Καὶ δολον . τεθ . ππωτονισχα . . . δ . . . αρσιχο . . . δ . . νοινου . . . ερ . . . ος . . . . . Out of which broken pieces the ingenious Palmerius[2] endeavoured to make this sentence: καὶ Δόλωνος τεθρίππω, τὸν ἰσχάδων, ἄρσιχον, πίθον οἴνου· that is, "Dolon (together with Susarion) was inventor of Comedy, the prize of which was a basket of figs and a hogshead of wine, which were carried home by the victor in a chariot with four horses." But he ingenuously confesses, that he never read any thing of this Dolon, a comic poet; nor of such prizes as a basket of figs and a hogshead of wine; nor that they were conveyed home in a chariot. However, this emendation of his is approved and followed by the learned publisher of Marmora Oxoniensia.

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[9] Böckh (*Corp. Inscr.* II. p. 301, who is followed by C. Müller, (*Fragm. Hist. Gr* p. 548), reads: ἀφ' οὗ ἐν 'Αθ[ήν]αις κωμῳ[δῶν χο]ρ[ὸς ηὑρ]έθη, [στη]σάν[των αὐτὸν] τῶν 'Ικαριέων εὑρόντος Σουσαρίωνος.—J. W. D.

[1] Horat. in Art. Poet.

[2] Palmer, ibid.

I was led, by the very sense of the place, to suspect that Mr. Selden or Mr. Young had copied the inscription wrong; and that, instead of ΔΟΛΟΝ .. ΤΕΘ .. ΠΠΩΤΟΝ, they ought to have read it—ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ· for the difference in these letters is very small, and such as might escape even a curious eye in so dim an inscription. I communicated by letter this suspicion of mine to the Rev. Dr. Mill, who will bear me witness that I sent this correction to him before he had looked upon the stone; and I asked the favour of him that he would consult the marble itself, and he returned me this answer, that p. 209. the writing in the Marble is fair and legible enough in this very manner: ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΟΝ ΕΤΕΘΗ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΙΣΧΑΔΩ .. ΑΡΣΙΧΟ .. ΚΑΙ ΟΙΝΟΥ. I conceive, therefore, that this whole passage should thus be restored—*Καὶ ἄθλον ἐτέθη πρῶτον, ἰσχάδων ἄρσιχος, καὶ οἴνου ἀμφορεύς*· that is, "And the prize was first proposed, a basket of figs, and a small vessel of wine." Dolon, we see, and his *coach and four*, are vanished already; and as for the prizes for the victory, which Palmerius owns he knew nothing of, I think I can fairly account for them out of a passage in Plutarch[3]: "Anciently," says he, "the Feast of Bacchus was transacted country-like and merrily: first there was carried (Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου) A VESSEL OF WINE and a branch of a vine; then followed one that led a GOAT (τράγον) after him; another carried (ἰσχάδων ἄῤῥιχον) A BASKET OF FIGS; and last of all came the Phallus (ὁ Φάλλος.)" Now, as both Tragedy and Comedy had their first rise from this feast of Bacchus, the one being invented by those that sung the Dithyramb[4], and the latter by those that sung the Phallic, so the prizes and rewards for those that performed best were ready upon the spot, and made part of the procession. "The vessel of wine and the basket of figs" were the premium for Comedy, and "the goat" for Tragedy. Both the one and the other are expressed in these verses of Dioscorides', never yet published, which shall further be considered in the XI. Section, "about the Age of Tragedy:"

Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορόν, ᾧ ΤΡΑΓΟΣ ἄθλον,
Χ' ὡ 'ττικὸς ἦν ΣΥΚΩΝ ῎ΑΡΡΙΧΟΣ, ὗθλος ἔτι.

Now, I would ask the Examiner one question: If he can really think Susarion made regular and finished Comedies with the solemnity of a stage, when the prize, we see, that he contended for, was the cheap purchase of a cask of wine, and a parcel of dried figs? These sorry prizes were laid aside when Comedy p. 210. grew up to maturity; and to carry the day from the rival poets was an honour not much inferior to a victory at Olympia.

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[3] Plut. Περὶ φιλοπλουτ.

[4] Arist. Poet. c. iv.

I will forgive Mr. B. his double mistake of xxx years, when he says, "Susarion must fall in between the 610th and 589th year before Christ;" for I find some other person has already reprehended him for it. And I am well pleased with his judgment of Bishop Pearson's performance[5], "That he has proved, BEYOND ALL CONTROVERSY, that Susarion is a distinct Poet from Sannyrion." I see the Gentleman, if he be free and disinterested, can pass a true censure. Casaubon and Selden, as famous men in their generations as Mr. B. is in this, thought both those names belonged to the same person; but Bishop Pearson, by one single chronological argument, has refuted them, says Mr. B., "beyond all controversy." I may say, without breach of modesty, I have refuted Phalaris' Epistles by a dozen chronological proofs; each of them as certain as that one of the Bishop's, besides my arguments from other topics: and yet (to see what it is to be out of favour with Mr. B.) "I have proved nothing at all." Mr. B., no doubt, has good motives for his giving such different characters; but I would ask him why he says "Mr. Selden's opinion would bring Susarion *down* to Aristophanes' time?" It would just do the contrary, and carry Sannyrion up above Pisistratus' time; for the Epoch in the Marble was not doubted by Mr. Selden.

"The Bishop," says Mr. B., "has proved that Sannyrio must live in Aristophanes' time." This is true; but it still leaves his p. 211. age undetermined within the wideness of xxxx years; for so long Aristophanes was an author. If Mr. B. had been cut out for improving any thing, he might easily have brought Sannyrio's time to a narrow compass; for Sannyrio, in his play called Danaë, burlesqued a verse of Euripides' Orestes[6]. But Orestes was acted at Olymp. XCII. 4, when Diocles was Archon at Athens[7]. Danaë, therefore, must have come soon after it, or else the jest would have been too cold. The Frogs of Aristophanes, where the same verse is ridiculed, was acted the third year after, Ol. xciii. 3; so that we may fairly place the date of Sannyrio's Danaë between Olymp. xcii. 4, and Ol. xcv[a].

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[5] Vind. Ignat. ii. 11.

[6] Schol. ad Aristoph. Ranas, p. 142. Schol. Orest. v. 279.

[7] Id. ver. 371, 770.

We are now come to the Second part of my argument from this passage in Phalaris' Epistle—Θνητοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν, ὥς φασί τινες, οὐ προσήκει· "Mortal men, as some say, ought not to bear immortal anger." The thought, as I observed, was to be met with in two several places: in a Poet cited by Aristotle, and in Euripides' Philoctetes. Allow, then, first, that the Writer of the Epistle borrowed it from the former of these; then, as I have hitherto endeavoured to prove, and as I think with success, he could not be as ancient as the true Phalaris of Sicily. But the Reader, I hope, will take notice that all this was *ex abundanti;* for there are plain and visible footsteps that he has stolen it, not from Aristotle's Poet, but out of Philoctetes, which was not made till six score years after Phalaris' death; so that, let the dispute about Comedy and Susarion fall as it will (though I think that to be no hazard), yet he will still be convicted of a cheat upon this second indictment.

p. 212. The words of the pretended Phalaris are Θνητοὺς ὄντας ἀθάνατον ὀργὴν ἔχειν οὐ προσήκει. The words of Euripides are—

> Ὥσπερ δὲ θνητὸν καὶ τὸ σῶμ' ἡμῶν ἔφυ,
> Οὕτω προσήκει μηδὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν
> Ἀθάνατον—

In the comparing of which, I remarked, that, besides the words θνητὸς and ἀθάνατος ὀργή, there are other words also that are found in both passages: ὀργὴν ἔχειν and προσήκει. As for θνητὸς and ἀθάνατος ὀργή, they are necessary to this sentence, and the thought cannot be expressed without them; for one cannot express this opposition of mortal and immortal, upon which the whole thought turns, in other Greek words than θνητὸς and ἀθάνατος. It might be said, therefore, in Phalaris' behalf, that, if two or more persons should hit upon this thought (which is far from impossible) there is no avoiding but they must needs fall into the very same expressions of θνητὸς and ἀθάνατος ὀργή· and yet none of them might steal them from any of the rest, as we see all the three words are found in that other verse quoted by Aristotle—

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[a] Argum. Ranar.

'Αθάνατον ὀργὴν μὴ φύλαττε, θνητὸς ὤν.

To occur, then, to this plausible pretence, I observed there were other words in both passages alike (ὀργὴν ἔχειν and προσήκει), and that here there was no room for this specious objection; for ἔχειν and προσήκει are not necessary to the thought as θνητὸς and ἀθάνατος are, because there are several other words that signify the same things; so that the sentence, as to this part of it, might be varied several ways; as one may say ὀργὴν φυλάττειν, as well as ἔχειν· (and so the Poet in Aristotle has it), or ὀργὴν τηρεῖν, or ὀργὴν τρέφειν, &c.; and so, instead of p. 213.
προσήκει, one may say οὐ δεῖ, οὐ πρέπει, οὐ πρέπον ἐστίν, οὐ προσῆκόν ἐστιν, or οὐ τηρητέον, οὐ φυλακτέον, and many other ways; which, by being intermixed, would produce a great number of changes; so that, upon the whole, since the Writer of the Epistle has the very numerical words of Euripides in a case where it is so much odds that he would not have lit upon them by chance, I looked upon it, as I still do, to be a plain instance of imitation, and consequently a plain proof of an imposture.

Well, what says our severe Examiner to this? Why, truly, with a pretended jest, but at the bottom in sober earnest, "He lets Phalaris shift for himself, and is resolved not to answer this argument." I will not say how ungenerous a design this is, to leave his Sicilian Prince in the lurch; but I fear it is too late now to shake him off with honour: his Phalaris will stick close to him longer than he will wish him. However, instead of an answer to Me, he desires me to answer Him, "whether it was prudent in me to accuse Phalaris of a theft, by a pair of quotations pillaged from his poor Notes on this Epistle?" Poor Notes! he may be *free with them,* because he claims them as *his own;* and yet, as poor as he calls them, if common fame may be believed, somebody run in debt for them. But he *desires my answer,* and I will give it him, for the accusation is a very high one. "To pillage his poor Notes" would be as barbarous as to rob the naked; and I dare add, to as little purpose. My defence is, that these two passages which I have quoted are in Aristotle and Stobæus; and I believe I may truly say that I had read them in those two authors before Mr. B. knew the

p. 214. names of them. In other places he confesses, and makes it part of my character that I have applied myself with success to the "collection of Greek fragments." Why might I not then have these two out of the original authors? Are these sentences vanished out of Aristotle and Stobæus since the memorable date of Mr. B.'s edition of Phalaris? If ever they were used since, or shall be used hereafter, must they needs be *pillaged* from him? Alas! one may safely predict, without setting up for a prophet, that these sentences will still be quoted, when his *poor Notes*, and his poor Examination too, will have the happiness to be forgotten. If Mr. B. had made the same inference that I do from these sentences, there had been some colour for his accusation of theft; but he barely cites them in his Notes; and it is another great instance of the sagacity of our Examiner, that even when he stumbled upon arguments, yet he could not *make use of them*.

I had taken notice, from the Scholiast on Euripides, "that Philoctetes was acted Olymp. LXXXVII." But an unknown author[9], that has mixed himself in this controversy, has been pleased to object, "That some others say the Phœnissæ was acted then: so Scaliger's Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή, and Aristophanes' Scholiast." But here are several mistakes committed in this short objection. First, the author seems not to have known that there were four Plays of Euripides acted in one year: there is no consequence, therefore, in this argument, for Phœnissæ and Philoctetes might both of them be acted at Olymp. LXXXVII. Then, both here and in other places, he argues from the Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή, as if it was an ancient piece. But Scaliger confesses it's his own work; and in this passage that great man mistook himself, either by haste, or by
p. 215. trusting to his memory, for, instead of *Φοίνισσαι*, he designed to have written *Μήδεια*, out of the Scholiast on Euripides; and such oversights are not unfrequent in that collection of his. Again, the author is very much out in quoting the Scholiast on Aristophanes, which I suppose he might copy from the learned Mr. Barnes's Life of Euripides[1]. But so far is that Scholiast from affirming that the Phœnissæ was acted Olymp. LXXXVII.

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[9] View of Dissert. [by the Rev. John Milner, B.D., late vicar of Leeds in Yorkshire,] p. 19.

[1] Sect. xxvi.

that I will prove to him that it was acted after Olymp. XCI. 2. For he twice declares[2] that the Phœnissæ was not then acted when Aristophanes brought his Aves upon the stage, which was at Olymp. XCI. 2[3], when Chabrias was Archon. And again[4], he gives an account why Aristophanes, in his Ranæ, rather chose to ridicule the Andromeda of Euripides, which was "then VIII years old," than "Hypsipyle or PHŒNISSÆ, or Antiope;" all which had been acted a little while before[5]; but the Ranæ was acted Olymp. XCIII. 3, when Callias was Archon[6]. It is plain, therefore, that the Phœnissæ must have been acted between Olymp. XCI. 2, and XCIII. 3. I dare so far rely upon this unknown author's candour as to believe he will be satisfied with this reply; and I think there are no more of his animadversions that concern Me or these Dissertations, that require a particular answer.

I have nothing more to say at present upon this article of Comedy; but, that I may not break it off abruptly without taking leave of the Examiner, I would desire one piece of justice at his hands; that the next time he burlesques some *knotty* paragraph of mine, or any of his future antagonists, he would not add to it, of his own, four marks of parentheses ( ) ( ), p. 216. like knots upon a string, to make it look the more *knottily*.— It would be a very dear bargain to purchase a much better jest than that, at the expense of truth and integrity.

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[2] P. 382, 585, ed. Basil.

[3] Ibid. 366.

[4] Ibid. 132.

[5] Πρὸ ὀλίγου διδαχθέντων.

[6] Ibid. p. 128.

AGE OF TRAGEDY.

[Pp. 224—309. Ed. London, 1699.]

IN the LXIII Epistle, he is in great wrath with one Aristolochus, a Tragic Poet that nobody ever heard of, "for writing Tragedies against him;" κατ' ἐμοῦ γράφειν τραγῳδίας· and in the XCVII, he threatens Lysinus, another Poet of the same stamp with the former, "for writing
p. 225. against him both Tragedies and Hexametres:" ἀλλ' ἔπη καὶ τραγῳδίας εἰς ἐμὲ γράφεις. Now, to forgive him that silly expression of writing Tragedies *against him* (for he could not be the argument of Tragedy while he was living) I must take the boldness to tell him, who am out of his reach, that he lays a false crime to their charge; for there was no such thing nor word as Tragedy while he tyrannized at Agrigentum. That we may slight that obscure story about Epigenes the Sicyonian, Thespis, we know, was the first inventor of it, according to Horace. Neither was the name of Tragedy more ancient than the thing, as sometimes it happens when an old word is borrowed and applied to a new notion; but both were born together, the name being taken from Τράγος, the goat, that was the prize to the best Poet and Actor; but the first performance of Thespis was about the LXI Olymp.[1], which is more than twelve years after Phalaris' death.

I had made this short reflection upon the Epistles, "That Aristolochus and Lysinus, two Tragic Poets mentioned there, were never heard of any where else." This is arraigned by Mr. B. with great form and solemnity; but, before he begins, he is inclined "to guess, from Aristolochus' name, that he was a Giant Tragedian, rather than a Fairy one;" but his consequences are all of a piece, both when he jests and when he is serious; for if he argue from the etymology of his name, *Aristolochus* denotes a person that was good at "lurking and ambuscade [1]," which surely is not the proper character of a giant. If he argue from the bigness of his name, he might have remembered that Borborocœtes and Meridarpax, the names of two heroes in Batrachomyomachia, make a more terrible sound than Achilles and Hector. And we have instances in our own time that a man may be called by a great name, and yet be no giant in any thing. p. 226.

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[1] Marm. Arund. Suidas in Θέσπις.

Well, now he begins his remarks, and he finds the footsteps of this Aristolochus in a nameless piece usually printed with Censorinus: "For there is Numerus Aristolochius, which must come from Aristolochus, a Poet, as Aristophanius there comes from Aristophanes;" upon which he further enlarges; and it is a difficult problem, whether he shows more learning here in the margin, or more judgment in the text. The passage which he cites is thus [2]:—

> "Numerus Saturnius:
> Magnum numerum triumphat | hostibus devictis."

"Sunt qui hunc Archebolion vocant;" that is, "Some call the Saturnian verse Archebolion." Ludovicus Carrio makes this note upon it:—"That the common editions, before his, had it Aristolochium, but the MSS. Aristodolium." Now, to which reading of the three must we stand?—to Archebolion, or Aristolochium, or Aristodolium? Mr. B., who will never be guilty of improving any place, leaves his reader here at large to take which of them he pleases; only he puts in for his thirds, because Aristolochium has a chance to be the right as well as either of the others; but what if I shall prove that all three are wrong, and the true lection is ARCHILOCHIUM? Then his Aristolochus must vanish into fairyland again. p. 227.

The first that used the Saturnian verse among the Latins was Nævius, an old Poet before Ennius's time; the measures of the verse will be best known by examples. The two first are out of Nævius[3]:—

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[1] Λόχος.

[2] [*Script. Lat. rei metricæ*, ed. Gaisford, p. 407.—J. W. D.]

> "Novem Jovis concordes | filiæ sorores.
> Ferunt pulchras pateras | aureas lepidas."

The latter of which has two false measures in it, and ought to be corrected thus out of Plotius[4] and Nonius Marcellus[5]:

> "Ferunt pulchras creterras | aureas lepistas."

The following was made by the Metelli, Nævius's enemies:

> "Dabunt malum Metelli | Nævio Poetæ[6]."

Now, it is observed by Terentianus Maurus[7], a most elegant writer, that the Latins were much mistaken in supposing the Saturnian verse to be an invention of their countrymen; for the original of it was from the Greeks. Fortunatianus says the same, and he adds that it was to be met with in Euripides, and Callimachus, and ARCHILOCHUS. The instance that he brings is this, and he calls it ARCHILOCHIUM:—

> "Quem non rationis egentem | vicit Archimedes."

And so Servius[8] brings another ARCHILOCHIUM:—

> "Remeavit ab arce tyrannus | hostibus devictis."

These two verses, indeed, are not really Archilochus's, but made by those grammarians conformably to his measures; but I can give you some that are truly his own[9]:—

> Ἐρασμονίδη Χαρίλαε | χρῆμά τοι γελοῖον.
> Ἀστῶν δ' οἱ μὲν κατόπισθεν | ἦσαν οἱ δὲ πολλοί.
> Ἐρέω πολὺ φίλταθ' ἑταίρων | τέρψεαι δ' ἀκούων.
> Φιλέειν στυγνόν περ ἐόντα | μηδὲ διαλέγεσθαι.

p. 228. And Hephæstion assures us, "That Archilochus was the first that used this sort of verse[1]." Now, I suppose, I scarce need to observe, that these ARCHILOCHIAN verses are the same with the SATURNIAN[4]: the measures themselves sufficiently show that, for there is no difference at all, but only a Dactyl for a Spondee or Trochee, which was a common variation even in the

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[3] Atilius Fortun. p. 2679.
[4] Plot. p. 2650.
[5] C. de Vasis.
[6] Atilius, ibid.
[7] Terent. p. 2349.
[8] Centim. p. 1825.
[9] Hephæst. p. 48, 50.
[1] Πρῶτος τούτοις Ἀρχίλοχος κέχρηται.

[4] [This Archilochian asynartete verse ought not, I think, to be considered identical with the Saturnius, which consists of two trochaic tripudiations *cum anacrasi*.—J. W. D.]

Latin Saturnians; as in these two that follow, out of the Tabulæ Triumphales:—

"Fundit, fugat, prŏsternit | maximas legiones.
Duello magno dirimendo | regibus subigendis[2]."

I have distinguished the middle pause of every verse by this mark | , that the reader, though perhaps unacquainted with this part of learning, may have a perception of the measure: and I suppose he may be pretty well satisfied that the true reading in Mr. B.'s author is not *Aristolochium*, but *Archilochium*. As for the two other names, Aristodolium and Archebolion, the former is a manifest corruption; the latter (as it seems) was in no MS. nor Print, but a bare conjecture of Carrio's, and a very erroneous one; for the Archebulion (as he ought to have called it) had quite different measures, as will appear by these instances:

'Αγέτω θεὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δίχα τῶνδ' ἀείδειν[3].
"Tibi nascitur omne pecus, tibi crescit herba[4]."

The reader will excuse this digression, because I have given a clear emendation, where the great Mr. B. attempted it in vain; which would be an honour much more valuable, if I had it not so very often.

"But suppose," says Mr. B., "that nobody heard of these Tragedians but in Phalaris. What then? Will the Doctor discard all Poets that are but once mentioned in old authors? p. 229.
What, at this rate, will become of Xenocles and Pythangelus, whom (at least the *first* of them) the Doctor will be hard put to it to find mentioned by anybody, but once by Aristophanes?" Very *hard put to it* indeed! to find an author that is mentioned in so common a book as Ælian's Various History[5], where we have both the name of this Xenocles, and his age too, and the titles of four of his plays, Œdipus, Lycaon, Bacchæ, and Athamas, with which he got the prize from his antagonist Euripides, Olymp. XCI. 1. It is true, Ælian is in indignation at it; and "It is ridiculous," says he, "that this little Xenocles should carry the prize from Euripides, especially when those plays of Euripides were some of the best that he ever made. The judges were either senseless and unlearned, or else they were bribed." This is the just verdict and censure of impartial posterity; and Euripides, could he have foreseen it, would not

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[2] Atilius Fort. ibid.

[3] Hephæst. p. 27.

[4] Atil. p. 1673.

[5] Ælian. ii. 8.

have changed this posthumous honour for the applauses that Xenocles won from him. "And by the way, therefore, I would advise Mr. B. (if I may return him his own words), not to be too vain upon his performance," when he hears it cried up by those that are not competent judges. Bavius and Mævius (whom Mr. B. mentions here) had many admirers while they lived, or else they had been below the notice of Virgil and Horace; but posterity gave them their due, for that will flatter no man's quality, nor follow the clamour of a party. But to return to Xenocles. There is a fifth play of his, Licymnius, mentioned by the Scholiast on Aristophanes[6], and two fragments of it are produced by Aristophanes himself. Mr. B. says p. 230. he is but *once* mentioned by that poet; but, besides the passage of Ranæ[7], which Mr. B. meant, there are three others[8] where he is spoken of under the title of "the son of Carcinus." He is mentioned, too, in a fragment of Plato the Comedian:—

——— Ξενοκλῆς ὁ δωδεκαμήχανος
'Ο Καρκίνου παῖς τοῦ θυλαττίου[9].

He was ridiculed also by Pherecrates[1], another Comic poet; and we may hear of him in Suidas, in more places than one. What does the Examiner mean, then, by his *putting me hard to it?* I will do much harder matters than this to do him any service. But I am persuaded he was encouraged to write thus *at a venture*, because Vossius says nothing of Xenocles in his book De Poetis Græcis.

If the Examiner had not had the ambitious vanity to show, as he thought, his great reading and critic, he might fairly have escaped these two blunders about Aristolochus and Xenocles; for what is it he is driving at? or who is it he disputes with? Did I make that my argument against Phalaris, "That his two pretended Tragedians were nowhere else to be heard of?" No, surely; but "because he names two Tragedians in an age of the world when Tragedy itself was not yet heard of."

This, therefore, is the main point which Mr. B. and I must now contend for, "The first date and origin of Tragedy." In my Dissertation I espoused the opinion of those authors that make Thespis the inventor of it, professing in express words, "That I

[6] Schol. Arist. p. 120.

[7] P. 133.

[8] Schol. Arist. pp. 120, 364, 464.

[9] Ibid. 465.

[1] Ibid. 364.

slighted the obscure story of Epigenes the Sicyonian." This, I think, is a sufficient proof that I knew there were some weak p. 231. pretences made to Tragedy before Thespis' time; but I believed them overbalanced by better authorities. And yet what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B.'s, from p. 165 to 180, but the bringing, with ostentation and grimace, those very obscure pretences which I had declared I had slighted; and every bit of it (except his own faults as usual) scraped together at second-hand from the commonest authors? In opposition to which tedious declamation, I shall first vindicate Thespis' title to the *invention* of Tragedy, and, in the next place, inquire into his *age;* and in the last, examine Mr. B.'s performance in the same order as he has presented it.

The famous chronological inscription in the Arundel Marble, which was made Olymp. CXXIX, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, above CCLX years before Christ, declares that Thespis was the FIRST that gave being to Tragedy[2]:—'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς . . . . ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕ . . . . The word πρῶτος is not in the printed edition; but my learned friend Dr. Mill, whom I consulted on this occasion, assures me it is plainly so in the Marble itself, which is now at Oxford. I shall give a farther account of this by and by; but allowing even the common reading, as it is published by Mr. Selden, yet it is evident, and agreed by all, that the Author of this Inscription delivers this as the first æra of Tragedy. Besides him, the Epigrammatist Dioscorides gives the invention of it to Thespis:

Θέσπιδος εὕρεμα τοῦτο· τάδ' ἀγροιῶτιν ἀν' ὕλαν (a)
  Παίγνια, καὶ κώμους τούσδε τελειοτέρους
Αἰσχύλος ἐψύχωσε, νοήσιμα * ετα χαράξας
  Γράμματα, χειμάῤῥῳ δ' οἷα καταρδόμενα·
Καὶ τὰ κατὰ σκηνὴν μετεκαίνισεν· ὦ στόμα πάντων p. 232.
  Δεξιὸν ἀρχαίων, ἦσθά τις ἡμιθέων.

Thus the Epigram is published by the very learned Mr. Stanley, before his noble edition of Æschylus; and I have not now leisure to seek if it was printed anywhere before. In the third verse, which is manifestly corrupted, Mr. Stanley corrected it ὀνήσιμα for νοήσιμα, as appears by his translation, UTILE; the other word he leaves untouched. The Epigram itself is extant in the MS.

[2] Lin. 58.

(a) This Epigram, and the following, are now inserted in the Anthologia Græca, i. 497, xvi. xvii. [*Antholog. Palatina*, i. p. 428, where Jacobs reads in v. 3, ὁ μὴ σμιλευτά.—J. W. D.]

Anthologia Epigram. Græc. a copy of which I have by me, by the kindness of my excellent friend the late Dr. Edward Bernard; and there the third verse is thus:

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε νονήσμια ευτα χαράξας.

Out of which disjointed words I have extracted, as I humbly conceive, this genuine lection:—

Αἰσχύλος ἐξύψωσε, νεοσμίλευτα χαράξας
  Γράμματα ———

A, the last letter of *νονήσμια*, was mistaken for Λ. Ἐξύψωσεν, he *raised and exalted* the style of Tragedy by *νεοσμίλευτα γράμματα*, his new-made and *new-carved* words; which is the very thing that Aristophanes ascribes to him[3]:—

Ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά·

and the Writer of his Life[4], Ζηλοῖ τὸ ἁδρὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον ΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΠΟΙΙΑΙΣ καὶ ἐπιθέτοις χρώμενος. But our Epigrammatist, though he gives Æschylus the honour of improving Tragedy, is as positive that (εὕρεμα) *the invention* of it belongs to Thespis; which will farther appear from another Epigram by
p. 233. the same hand, made upon Thespis himself, and never yet published; but it is extant in the same Manuscript Anthology[5]:

Διοσκορίδου εἰς Θέσπιν τραγῳδόν.

Θέσπις ὅδε, Τραγικὴν ὃς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος ἀοιδήν,
  Κωμήταις νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας,
Βάκχος ὅτε τρίτον κατάγοι χορόν, ᾧ τράγος ἆθλον.
  Χ' ὠτικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄῤῥιχος ἄθλος ἔτι.
Οἱ δέ με πλάσσουσι νεοί, τὰ δὲ μυρίος αἰὼν
  Πολλὰ πρό σευ, φήσει, χἄτερα· τἆλλα δ' ἐμά.

The second distich, which in the MS. is faulty and unintelligible, is thus perhaps to be corrected:—

Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορόν, ᾧ τράγος ἆθλον,
  Χ' ὠ 'ττικὸς ἦν σύκων ἄῤῥιχος, ὕθλος ἔτι.

"Cum Bacchus ducat triplicem chorum; cui Hircus,
  Et cui Attica ficuum cista præmium erat, ut adhuc fabula est."

By the three choruses of Bacchus, he means the Trina Dionysia, the three festivals of Bacchus:—the *Διονύσια τὰ ἐν Λίμναις*, the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ*, and the *Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς*; at which times, that answer to March, April, and January, both Tragedies and Comedies were acted. Afterwards indeed they added these diversions to the *Παναθήναια*, which fell out in the month of August: but, because this last was an innovation after Thespis' time, the poet here takes no notice of it. But to dismiss this, the substance of the Epigram imports "That Thespis was the FIRST contriver of Tragedy; which was then a NEW entertainment." After Dioscorides, we have Horace's testimony in Thespis' favour:—

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[3] Arist. Ran. p. 169.

[4] Anon. in vita Æsch.

[5] *Anthol. Palat.* i. p. 427, where the following emendations are suggested: v. 3, for *τρίτον* l. *τριθὺν*: for *ἆθλον* or *ἄθλων* l. *αἴθων*: v. 4, for *ἆθλος* l. *ἆθλον*: v. 5, for *με πλάσσουσι* l. *μεταπλάσσουσι*: v. 6, for *πρὸ σεῦ φήσει* l. *προσευρήσει*. —J. W. D.

> "Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camœnæ
> Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis,
> Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora (*a*)."

And I think, this poet's opinion is not only well explained, but p. 234. confirmed too by the old Scholiast, who tells us "Thespis was the FIRST INVENTOR of Tragedy[5]." To all these we may add Plutarch, whose expression implies something farther: "That Thespis gave the rise and beginning to the very rudiments of Tragedy[6];" and Clemens of Alexandria, who makes Thespis "The contriver of Tragedy, as Susarion was of Comedy[7]." And, without doubt, Athenæus was of the same judgment, when he said that "both Comedy and Tragedy were found out at Icarius, a place in Attica[8];" for our Thespis was born there. And in another place, he says, "The ancient poets, Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinus, and Phrynichus, were called 'Ορχηστικοί, *dancers*, because they used dancing so much in their choruses[9]." Now if we compare this with what Aristotle says, "That Tragedy in its infancy was (ὀρχηστικωτέρα) more taken up with dances than afterwards[1]," it will be plain that Athenæus knew no ancienter Tragedian than Thespis; for, if he had, it had been to his purpose to name him. But there is a fault in that passage,

[5] Schol. in edit. Cruquii.

[6] Plut. Solon. 'Αρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν.

[7] Clem. Strom. i. ἐπενόησε τραγῳδίαν.

[8] Athen. p. 40.

[9] Id. p. 22.

[1] Arist. Poet. v.

(*a*) These lines were afterwards corrected by Bentley, thus:—

> "Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
> Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis
> Qui canerent agerentque, peruncti fæcibus ora:"

"ubi ordo est, *Vexisse plaustris* [*eos*] *qui canerent agerentque poëmata, peruncti fæcibus ora*. Histriones igitur in plaustris vehebat, non ut stulte vulgo creditum, poëmata." —Art. Poet. 276.

which by the way I will correct: for Κρατῖνος (Cratinus) who is named there, was a Comedian; and does not suit with the rest. The true reading I take to be Καρκίνος, Carcinus; who was an ancient Tragic Poet, and is burlesqued once or twice by Aristophanes, for this very *dancing* humour that Athenæus speaks of[2]. He had three sons, that he brought up to dance in his choruses; who, upon that account, are called there, among many other nicknames, ὀρχησταί, *dancers*. To go on now about Thespis. Suidas acquaints us that "Phrynichus was scholar to Thespis, who FIRST introduced tragedy;" and Donatus passes
p. 235. his word, "That if we search into antiquity, we shall find that Thespis was the FIRST that invented it[3]." But what need we any particular witnesses, when we have Plato telling us at once "That it was the universal opinion in his time that Tragedy began with Thespis or Phrynichus[4]?" and though he himself was of a different sentiment, yet he proposes it as a paradox[5]: and we may see what little credit his paradox had, when every one of those I have cited came after him, and yet for that matter begged his pardon.

The pretences that are made *against* Thespis, besides some general talk (which shall be considered when I examine Mr. B.'s advances upon this topic) are for one Epigenes, a Sicyonian. This is the only person mentioned by name that can contest the matter with Thespis. And who is there that appears in behalf of this Epigenes but one single witness? and he too does but tell us a hearsay, which himself seems not to believe. "Thespis," says Suidas[6], "is reckoned the 16th tragic poet after Epigenes, a

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[2] Arist. p. 264, 464. Suid in Καρκ.

[3] "Retro prisca volventibus reperietur Thespis Tragœdiæ primus inventor."

[4] Plat. in Min. Ὡς οἴονται, ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος.

[5] ["Ἡ δὲ τραγῳδία ἐστὶ παλαιὸν ἐνθάδε, οὐχ ὡς οἴονται ἀπὸ Θέσπιδος ἀρξαμένη, οὐδ' ἀπὸ Φρυνίχου· ἀλλ' εἰ θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι, πάνυ παλαιὸν αὐτὸ εὑρήσεις ὂν τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εὕρημα· ἔστι δὲ τῆς ποιήσεως δημοτερπέστατόν τε καὶ ψυχαγωγικώτατον ἡ τραγῳδία. ΤΡΑΓΩιΔΙΑ is here to be taken in its larger extent. There were no *Stage Plays* till the time of Thespis; and in this sense no *Tragedies.* But yet there were stories of a dramatic kind; formed into Dialogue; and Characters drawn, as of Minos, a cruel King. This manner of writing was not the invention of Thespis or Phrynichus, as people generally thought: confounding the Stage with the characteristic and dialogue manner of writing." J. Upton, Dissert. on Shakspeare, § 14, p. 119.

But still we have no proof that the word *Tragedy* was known in Phalaris' time; but only some sort of Dialogue; which, in Plato's opinion, was the original of Tragedy.—W. Bowyer.]

[6] Suid. in Θέσπ.

Sicyonian; but some say Thespis was the second after him; and others, the very first of all." And again, where he explains the Proverb, Οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον, "it was occasioned," he says, "by a Tragedy of Epigenes, a Sicyonian;" but he adds, "that others give a different and better account of it[7]." Now, if this be all that is said for Epigenes' plea; nay, if it be all that is said of him upon any account (for I think nobody mentions him besides Suidas) (a), I suppose this ill-supported pretence to Tragedy will soon be overruled, unless perhaps the very weakness of it may invite Mr. B. to espouse the cause; for I observe, that his judgment, like other men's valour, has commonly the generosity to favour the weaker side. It is true, there are two very great men, p. 236. Lilius Gyraldus[8] and Gerard Vossius[9], besides others, who affirm this this same Epigenes is cited, and some of his Tragedies named by Athenæus. If this be so, it will quite alter the case; and the trial must be called over again. But, with Mr. B.'s leave, I will once more take the boldness "to contradict great names;" for I affirm that the Epigenes in Athenæus was a Comic Poet, and many generations younger than his pretended namesake, the Tragedian. Suidas himself is my voucher: "Epigenes," says he, "a Comic Poet, some of his plays are Ἡραΐνη, and Μνημάτιον, and Βακχεῖα, as Athenæus says in his Deipnosophists[1]." Gyraldus indeed would draw this testimony over to his own side; and for Κωμικός, he corrects it Τραγικός. But Athenæus himself interposes, and forbids this alteration: "Epigenes," says he, "the Comic Poet, says thus in his Bacchæ; Ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆν' ἔτρεφε, με λαβὼν σιτευτόν[2]." The verses are to be distinguished thus:—

Ἀλλ' εἴ τις ὥσπερ χῆνά μ' ἔτρεφεν λαβὼν
Σιτευτόν ——

The words themselves show they belong to Comedy, when they tell us of "fatted geese;" and, indeed, the very subject of all his Fragments plainly evinces it. The next tells us of "Figs at a supper[3]:"—

Εἶτ' ἔρχεται χελιδονίων μετ' ὀλίγον
Σκληρῶν ἁδρὸς πινακίσκος—

[7] In Οὐδὲν πρ. Διόν.
[8] Gyrald. de Poëtis.
[9] Vossius de Poëtica.
[1] Suid. Ἐπιγ.
[2] Athen. p. 384. Ἐπιγένης ὁ Κωμῳδοποιὸς ἐν Βάκχαις.
[3] P. 75. Ἐπιγένης ἐν Βραγχίᾳ.

(a) He is also mentioned by Photius and Apostolius. Müller, *Dor.* iv. 7, § 8, note (n).

Correct it

—Εἶτ' ἔρχεται
Χελιδονείων μετ' ὀλίγον σκληρῶν ἀδρὸς
Πινακίσκος—

p. 237. And another, out of the same play[4], and three out of *Μνημάτιον*, and two out of Ἡρωΐνη, are all about Cups; the last of which will inform us a little about the Poet's age[5]:—

Τὴν Θηρίκλειον δεῦρο καὶ τὰ Ῥοδιακὰ
Κόμισον—

"Fetch hither the Thericlean and the Rhodian cups;" for by his naming the THERICLEAN cup (*a*), we may be sure he was no older than Aristophanes' time: nay, that he was considerably younger, Julius Pollux will assure us[6], where he calls him one of the writers of the New Comedy: *Τῶν δὲ νέων τις Κωμικῶν* Ἐπιγένης ἐν Ποντικῷ. *Τρεῖς μόνους σκώληκας ἔτι, τούτους δέ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.* The measures of the verses are thus:—

——— Τρεῖς μόνους
Σκώληκας ἔτι· τούτους δέ μ' ἔασον καταγαγεῖν.

Well, I hope, I have fully shown, without offending their ashes, that Gyraldus and Vossius were mistaken about Epigenes. I would only add, that we ought to correct in Suidas, Ἡρωΐνη for Ἡραΐνη, and Βακχεία for Βακχεῖα, and I take the three words in Athenæus, Βάκχαις, Βραγχίᾳ, and Βακχίᾳ, to be so many depravations of one and the same title of a Play.

The reader will please to take notice of Phalaris' expression, "That Aristolochus WROTE Tragedies against him[7];" and to remember too, what I have shown before, that both Comedies and Tragedies for some time were unpremeditated and extemporal, neither published nor written. Allowing then that this Epigenes, or any other Sicyonian started Tragedy before Thespis, still it will not bring Phalaris off, unless his advocate can show that
p. 238. Tragedy was *written* before Thespis' time. But there is no ground nor colour for such an assertion; none of the ancients countenance it; no tragedy is ever cited older than He. Donatus says expressly he was the first that *wrote;* and it is incredible

[4] P. 498. Ἐπιγ. ἐν Βακχίᾳ.

[5] Athen. p. 502.

[6] Poll. vii. 10.

[7] Ep. 63, ΓΡΑΦΕΙΝ τραγῳδίας.

(*a*) See Bentley's Dissertat. pp. 109, &c.

that the belief of his first inventing Tragedy should so universally obtain as we have shown it did, if any Tragedies of an older author had been extant in the world. Nay, I will go a step farther, and freely own my opinion, " That even Thespis himself published nothing in writing :" and if this be made out, the present argument against the Epistles will still be the stronger, though even without it, it is unanswerable, if Thespis be younger than the true Phalaris, which I will prove by and by. But I expect now to hear a clamour against " Paradoxes, and opposing great authors upon slight or no grounds ;" for the Arundel Marble mentions the Ἄλκηστις of Thespis, and Julius Pollux his Πενθεύς, and Suidas four or five more ; and Plutarch with Clemens Alexand. produce some of his verses. No question but these are strong prejudices against my new assertion, or rather suspicion ; but the sagacious reader will better judge of it when he has seen the reasons I go upon.

This I lay down as the foundation of what I shall say on this subject, That the famous Heraclides, of Pontus, set out his own Tragedies in Thespis' name. " Aristoxenus, the musician, says" (they are the words of Diogenes Laertius[8]) " that Heraclides made Tragedies, and put the name of Thespis to them." This Heraclides was a scholar of Aristotle's, and so was Aristoxenus too, and even a greater man than the other ; so that, I conceive, one may build upon this piece of history as a thing undeniable.

Now, before the date of this forgery of Heraclides, we have p. 239.
no mention at all of any of Thespis' remains. Aristotle, in his Poetry, speaks of the origin, and progress, and perfection of Tragedy ; he reads a lecture of criticism upon the fables of the first writers ; yet he has not one syllable about any piece of Thespis. This will seem no small indication that nothing of his was preserved ; but there is a passage in Plato that more manifestly implies it. " Tragedy," says he, " is an ancient thing, and did not commence, as people think, from Thespis, nor from Phrynichus[9]." Now from hence I infer, if several persons in Plato's time believed Tragedy was invented by Phrynichus, they must never have seen or heard of any Tragedies of Thespis ; for, if they had, there could have been no controversy which of the

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[8] Laërt. Herac. Φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Μουσικὸς καὶ Τραγῳδίας αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ Θέσπιδος αὐτὰς ἐπιγράφειν.

[9] Plato in Minoë [supra p. 70, n. 5].

two was the inventor, for the one was a whole generation younger than the other. But Thespis' Tragedies being lost, and Phrynichus' being the ancientest that were preserved, it was an inducement to several to believe him the first author.

It is true, indeed, that, after the time of Heraclides, we have a few fragments of Thespis quoted, and the names of some of his plays; but I will now show, that those passages are, every one of them, cited from Heraclides' counterfeit Tragedies, and not the works of the true Thespis.

As for the author of the Arundel Marble, who was but a little younger than Heraclides and Aristoxenus, and might possibly know them both, he is commonly indeed supposed to mention Thespis' Ἄλκηστις: for Mr. Selden, from the broken pieces of p. 240. the inscription, concluded that to be the true reading; and his conjecture has been embraced by all that have come after him. I myself, too, was formerly of the same opinion; but, being now more concerned to examine narrowly into it, I am fully satisfied that we were all mistaken. The words of the Marble are these, as Mr. Selden copied them:—*Αφ ου Θεσπις ο Ποιητης . . . . αχι . . . ος εδιδαξεν αλ . . . στιν . . . τεθηε . . ραγος*[1] ... But the Reverend Dr. Mill assures me, that at present there is nothing of ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ to be seen; and if any thing can be made of the first letter, it seems to be Ο rather than Α. I suppose it is plain enough already from the Epoch about Susarion[2], that Mr. Selden was not over-accurate in copying the inscription; and this very place before us is another proof of it, for instead of ΑΧΙ ... ΟΣ as he published it, I am informed by the same very good hand, that it is yet legibly and plainly ΠΡΩΤΟΣ ΟΣ· but, besides the uncertainty of this Αλ . . . *στιν*, which is now wholly defaced in the Marble, the very inscription itself evinces, that it ought not to be read ΑΛΚΗΣΤΙΝ· for the author of it never sets down the name of any play; not when he gives the date of Æschylus' first victory[3],—not when he speaks of Sophocles[4],—not where he mentions Euripides[5],—nor on any other occasion; and it is utterly improbable that he would do it in one single place, and omit it in so many others that equally deserved it. Add to all this the express testimony of Suidas, "That Phrynichus was the first that made women the subject of Tragedy[5];" his master Thespis having introduced nobody but men. There could be no play, therefore, of Thespis' with the title of Alcestis.

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[1] Böckh. (*Corp. Inscr.* ii. p. 301,) reads the passage as follows: *ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς [ἐφάνη], πρῶτος ὃς ἐδίδαξε [δρ]ᾶ[μα ἐν ἄ]στ[ει, καὶ ἐ]τέθη ὁ [τ]ράγος [ἆθλον]*.—J. W. D.

[2] See above, p. 54, 55. [3] 1, 65. [4] 1, 72. [5] Ibid. 76.

I shall now consider the passage in Clemens Alexandrinus. p. 241.
"Thespis, the Tragic Poet," says that very excellent author, "writes thus[6]:—

> Ἴδε σοι σπένδω ΚΝΑΞΖΒΙ τὸ λευκόν,
> Ἀπὸ θηλαμόνων θλίψας κνακῶν.
> Ἴδε σοι ΧΘΥΠΤΗΝ τυρὸν μίξας
> Ἐρυθρῷ μέλιτι, κατὰ τῶν σῶν, Πὰν
> Δικέρως, τίθεμαι βωμῶν ἁγίων.
> Ἴδε σοι Βρομίου αἴθοπα ΦΛΕΓΜΟΝ Λείβω——"

This supposed fragment of Thespis, as Clemens himself explains it, and as I have further proved out of Porphyry[7], relates to those four artificial words, Κναξζβὶ, Χθύπτης, Φλεγμὼ, Δρόψ, which comprehend exactly the whole XXIV letters of the Greek alphabet. Now I say, if these XXIV letters were not all invented in Thespis' time, this cannot be a genuine fragment of his. The consequence, I think, is so very plain, that even Mr. B., with his new System of Logic, cannot give us a better. We must know, then, that it was a long time after the use of Greek writing, nay, of writing books too, before the Greek alphabet was perfected as it now is, and has been for 2000 years. It is true there were then the very same sounds in pronunciation (for the language was not altered), but they did not express them the same way in writing. E served in those days for both E and H, as one English E serves now for two distinct sounds in THEM and THESE; so O stood for both O and Ω; and the sound of Z was expressed by ΔΣ, of Ξ by ΚΣ, of Ψ by ΠΣ; and the three aspirates were written thus, TH, ΠΗ, KH, which were afterwards Θ, Φ, X. At that time we must imagine the first verse of Homer to be written thus (*a*):—

ΜΕΝΙΝ ΑΕΙΔΕ ΤΗΕΑ ΠΕΛΕΙΑΔΕΟ ΑΚΗΙΛΕΟΣ.

And the same manner of writing was in Thespis' time, because p. 242.

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[5] Suid. in Φρύν. Πρῶτος γυναικεῖον πρόσωπον εἰσήγαγεν.
[6] Clem. Strom. v. Θέσπις ὁ τραγικὸς ὧδέ πως γράφων.
[7] See my Dissert. upon Malal. pp. 47, 48, 49.

(*a*) For more detailed information on the subject of the improvement of the Greek alphabet, see Payne Knight's Prolegomena ad Homerum, Sect. LXXIX., and Porson's Review of it, No. IV. Museum Criticum. Thiersch, *Gr. Gr.* § xii. Böckh. *Corp. Inscr.* i, p. 6.

the alphabet was not completed till after his death; for it is universally agreed that either Simonides, or Epicharmus, or both, invented some of the letters. Pliny says, "That Z H Ψ Ω are reported to be Simonides'; and that Aristotle says there were xviii old letters; and believes that Θ and X were added by Epicharmus rather than Palamedes[8]." Marius Victorinus says, "Simonides invented Θ Φ X[9]." "Simonides added four," says Hyginus; "and Epicharmus two[1];" but Jo. Tzetzes says, "Epicharmus added three, and Simonides two[2]." But these little differences are of no consequence in our present argument; for the whole xxiv are mentioned in this pretended fragment of Thespis. It is sufficient then for our purpose if any of them were invented either by Epicharmus or Simonides; for Epicharmus could not be above xxvii years old, and very probably was much younger at Olymp. lxi, which is the latest period of Thespis; and Simonides, at the same time, was but xvi, as we have it upon his own word[3]. Now, to waive the authority of the rest, even Aristotle alone, who could know the truth of what he said from so many inscriptions written before Epicharmus' time, and still extant in his own, is a witness infallible. This passage, therefore, ascribed to Thespis, is certainly a cheat, and in all probability it is taken from one of the spurious plays that Heraclides fathered upon him.

In the next place, I will show that all the other passages quoted
p. 243. from Thespis are belonging to the same imposture. Zenobius informs us, "That at first the choruses used to sing a Dithyramb to the honour of Bacchus; but in time the poets left that off, and made the Giants and Centaurs the subject of their plays; upon which the spectators mocked them, and said that was nothing to Bacchus. The poets, therefore, sometimes introduced the satyrs, that they might not seem quite to forget the God of the festival[4]." To the same purpose we are told by Suidas, "That at first the subject of all the plays was Bacchus himself, with his company of satyrs; upon which account those plays were called *Σατυρικά*: but afterwards, as tragedies came in fashion,

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[8] Plin. vii. 56 "Simonidem Melicum Z H Ψ Ω. Aristoteles xviii. priscas fuisse, et duas ab Epicharmo additas Θ X, quam à Palamede mavult."

[9] Mar. Victorinus, p. 2459.

[1] Hygin. Fab. 277.

[2] Tzetz. Chil. xii. 398.

[3] See Bentley's Dissertat. p. 42.

[4] Zenob. ver. 40. *Αἴαντας καὶ Κενταύρους λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν.* Perhaps the true reading is *Γίγαντας*.

the poets went off to fables[5] and histories, which gave occasion to that saying, This is nothing to Bacchus." And he adds, "That Chamæleon says the same thing in his Book about Thespis[6]." This Chamæleon was a very learned man, and a scholar of Aristotle's. And we may gather from the very name of this treatise of his, that Thespis was some way concerned in this alteration of Tragedy; either he was the last man that used all Satyrical Plays, or the first man that left them off. But whether of the two it was we could not determine, unless Plutarch had helped us out in it:—"When Phrynichus and Æschylus," says he, "turned the subject of Tragedy to Fables and doleful stories, the people said, What is this to Bacchus[7]?"—for it is evident, from this passage of Plutarch, compared with the others before, that the true Thespis' Plays were all Satyrical (that is, the plot of them was the story of Bacchus, the Chorus consisted of Satyrs, and the argument was merry), and that Phrynichus and Æschylus p. 244. were the first introducers of the new and doleful Tragedy. Even after the time of Thespis, the serious Tragedy came on so slowly, that of fifty plays of Pratinas, who was in the next generation after Thespis, two-and-thirty are said to have been satyrical[8].

But let us apply now this observation to the Fragments ascribed to Thespis, one of which is thus quoted by Plutarch[9]:—

> Ὁρᾷς ὅτι Ζεὺς τῷδε πρωτεύει θεῶν,
> Οὐ ψεῦδος, οὐδὲ κόμπον, οὐ μωρὸν γέλων
> Ἀσκῶν· τὸ δ' ἡδὺ μοῦνος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

"What differs this," says Plutarch, "from that saying of Plato, That the Deity was situated remote from all pleasure and pain[1]?" Why truly, it differs not at all, and I think there needs no other proof that it could not belong to a satyrical, ludicrous play, such as all Thespis' were; for surely this is not the language of Bacchus and his satyrs: nay, I might say it is too high and philosophical a strain even for Thespis himself. But suppose the author could have reached so elevated a thought, yet he would never have put it into the mouth of that drunken voluptuous god, or his wanton attendants. Even Æschylus, the grave reformer of the Stage, would rarely or never bring in his heroes talking sentences and philosophy[2], believing that to be against the genius and constitution of Tragedy; much less, then, would Thespis have done so, whose tragedies were nothing but droll. It is incredible, therefore, that this fragment should be genuine, and we may know at whose door to lay it, from the hint afforded us by Plutarch, though he was not aware of it: for the thought, as he has shown us, was Plato's; and to whom, then, should p. 245. the fragment belong but to Heraclides, the counterfeit Thespis, who was at first a scholar of Plato's[3], and might borrow the notion from his old master?

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[5] Suid. in Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόν.

[6] Χαμαιλέων ἐν τῷ περὶ Θέσπιδος.

[7] Plut. Symp. l. i. c. l. Φρυνίχου καὶ Αἰσχύλου τὴν τραγῳδίαν εἰς μύθους καὶ πάθη προαγόντων.

[8] Suid. in Πρατ.

[9] Plut. de Aud. Poet. Τὰ δὲ τοῦ Θέσπιδος ταυτί.

[1] Πόῤῥω ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ἵδρυται τὸ θεῖον.

Another verse is quoted by Julius Pollux[4], out of Thespis' Pentheus:—

Ἔργῳ νόμιζε νευρίδας ἔχειν ἐπενδύτην.

where, for νευρίδας ἔχειν, we may correct it νεβρίδ' ἔχειν. Now the very titles of this play, Πενθεύς, and of the others mentioned by Suidas, Ἆθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, and Ἱερεῖς and Ἠΐθεοι, do sufficiently show that they cannot be satyrical plays, and consequently not Thespis', who made none but of that sort. The learned Casaubon, after he has taught us from the ancients that Thespis was the inventor of satyrical plays,—"Yet among the plays," says he, "that are ascribed to Thespis, there is not one that appears to have been satyrical. Πενθεύς, indeed, seems to promise the fairest to be so; but we have observed that the old Poets never brought the satyrs into the story of Pentheus[5]." I have willingly used the words of Casaubon, though I do not owe the observation to him, because his judgment must needs appear free and unbiassed, since he had no view nor suspicion of the consequence I now make from it; for the result of the whole is this, That there was nothing published by Thespis himself, and that Heraclides' forgeries imposed upon Clemens, and Plutarch, and Pollux, and others; which, by the way, would be some excuse for Mr. B., if his obstinate persisting in his first mistake did not too widely distinguish his case from theirs.

The next thing that I am to debate with Mr. B. is the age of the true Thespis. And the witness that upon all accounts deserves to be first heard, is the author of the Arundel Marble, for he is the ancientest writer now extant that speaks of his age; p. 246. he is the most accurate in his whole performance, and particularly he was curious and inquisitive into the history of Poetry and the Stage, as appears from the numerous æras there belonging to the several poets; and, which is as considerable an advantage as any, we have the original stone still among us, so that his numbers (where they are still legible) are certainly genuine, and not liable, as written books are, to be altered and interpolated by the negligence or fraud of transcribers. The remaining letters of Thespis' epoch are these:—'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητὴς .... πρῶτος ὃς καὶ ἐδίδαξεν .... τέθη ὁ .. ράγος· which imply almost as manifestly as if the whole was entire, "that Thespis FIRST invented Tragedy, and the GOAT was made the prize for it." The very year, indeed, when this was done cannot now be known from the Marble, for the numbers are worn out by time and weather; but we can approach as near to it as the present argument requires; for we are sure it must be some year in the interval between the preceding and following epochs, because the whole Inscription proceeds in due order and succession of time. Now the preceding epoch is, "Cyrus' victory over Crœsus, and the taking of Sardes[6]," which, as all the best Chronologers, Scaliger, Lydiate, Petavius, &c. agree, was Olymp. LIX. 1, or, at lowest, at Olymp. LVIII. 2. The following is, "The beginning of Darius' reign, Ol. LXV. 1[7]." But if Tragedy was invented by Thespis between the Olympiads LIX. 1, and LXV. 1, how could Phalaris have intelligence of it, who was put to death before, at Olymp. LVII. 3?

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[2] Τὸ γνωμολογικὸν ἀλλότριον τῆς Τραγῳδίας ἡγούμενος. Vita Æsch.

[3] Laërt. Heracl.

[4] Poll. vii. 13. Θέσπις ἐν τῷ Πενθεῖ.

[5] Casaub. de Sat. p. 157, and 30.

This account in the Marble establishes, and is mutually esta- p. 247. blished by the testimony of Suidas, who informs us "that Thespis made (the first) Play at Ol. LXI.[8], which period falls in between two epochs that go before and after Thespis. And Mr. Selden, who first published the Inscription, and viewed and measured the stone, supplies the numbers there from this passage of Suidas: and "the space," he says, "where the letters are defaced agrees with that supplement[9]." Mr. Selden has been followed by everybody since; and Suidas' date is confirmed by another date about Phrynichus, Thespis' scholar:

[6] 1, 57.

[7] 1, 59.

[8] Suid. in Θέσπις. 'Εδίδαξεν ἐπὶ τῆς α'. καὶ ξ'. ὀλυμπιάδος.

[9] "Spatio lacunæ annuente."

"For Phrynichus taught at Olymp. LXVII[1]," which is XXIV years after Thespis, and is a competent distance of age between the scholar and the master. But if Mr. B. will still protest against this supplement of the Marble, let him do here as he did before in the epoch to Susarion, "take fairly the middle of the account," between the two epochs before and after it. And what will he get by it? The former epoch is Olymp. LIX. 1; the latter, LXV. 1; the middle of these two is Olymp. LXII. 1, which is IV years later than Suidas himself places him.

But let us see Mr. B.'s noble attempt to invalidate this testimony of the Arundel Marble; for, like a young Phaeton, he mounts the chariot, and boldly offers to drive through the loftiest regions of criticism; but he is tumbled down headlong in a most miserable manner. The thing he enterprizes is this—he charges the *graver* of the Marble with an omission of a whole line, or perhaps of several; for this he does not determine. The original papers which the graver was to copy, he supposes to have been thus:—

Ἀφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής . . . .
. . . .
p. 248. Ἀφ' οὗ Φρύνιχος ὁ ποιητής . . . αχι . . . ος ἐδίδαξεν Ἄλ . . .
στιν . . . . τέθη ὁ . ράγος . . . . The space between Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής and Ἀφ' οὗ Φρύνιχος, which is now omitted by the *negligence of the graver*, contained, as he imagines, the epoch belonging to Thespis; that is, the name and date of his Play, and of the Athenian Archon. But when the graver had cut the first line, as far as Ποιητής, he unluckily throws his eye on the lower line; and finding the word Ποιητής there in the same situation, he thinks himself right, and goes on with the rest that followed it; and so tacks the epoch to Thespis, which really and in the original belonged to Phrynichus. This wonderful achievement our Examiner seems mightily pleased with; he inculcates it once and twice, and applauds his own sagacity in it; but perhaps he will be a warning hereafter to all *young* and unfledged writers,—to learn to go before they pretend to fly.

The pretences for this charge upon the Marble graver are so very weak and precarious, so improper and useless to Mr. B.'s own design, that I confess I should be wholly astonished at his management, if I was not now a little acquainted with this

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[1] Suid. in Φρύνιχος.

"odd work of his," as himself calls it. His first pretence is, "That Ἄλκηστις, which the graver has made to be Thespis' Play, was the name of a Play of Phrynichus, but is no where reckoned among Thespis' but here." But I have already shown that Ἄλκηστις was only a supplement of Mr. Selden's, and a very false conjecture, from the dim letters ΑΛ . . . ΣΤΙΝ, which now are quite vanished; and that really neither Ἄλκηστις nor any p. 249.
other title of a Play, are mentioned in the Marble. But suppose it was Ἄλκηστις there, pray where is the consequence that Mr. B. would infer from it? Did Thespis make no Tragedies but what are mentioned by Suidas? Does not Suidas himself expressly say, "That those were the names of SOME of his Plays[2]," not ALL that he ever made? And what an admirable argument is it:—"Alcestis was a Play of Phrynichus, therefore none of Thespis had the same title?"—as if the same story and the same persons were not introduced over and over again by different hands! Among the few Tragedies that are yet extant we have an Ἠλέκτρα of Sophocles, and another Ἠλέκτρα, too, of Euripides. Nay, besides this very Ἄλκηστις of Phrynichus, and another called Φοίνισσαι, there was an Ἄλκηστις and Φοίνισσαι of Euripides too, both which are still in being: why, then, might not Phrynichus write one Tragedy after Thespis, as well as Euripides write two after him?

The next pretence for accusing the Marble-graver of an omission of some lines is, "Because it is a case that is known often to have happened in the copying of manuscripts." Here is another consequence, the very twin to that which went before —"Because omissions often happen in copying MSS., therefore this *is* an omission in the epoch of Thespis." If this argument had any force in it, it would equally hold against all the other epochs of this Marble, and against all marbles and MSS. whatsoever; for what will be able to stand the shock, if this can be thrown down, by saying, "That omissions often happen?" Mr. B., if he would make good his indictment against the graver, ought to prove from the place itself, from the want of p. 250.
connexion, or some other defect there, that there is just reason to suspect some lines have been left out; but to accuse him upon this general pretence, because "other copiers have been negligent," has exactly as much sense and equity in it as if

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[2] Suid. in Θέσπ. *τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ, Ἀθλα Πελίου*, &c.—not *τὰ δράματα.*

Mr. B. should be charged with meddling with what he understands not, and exposing his ignorance, because it is a case that is known "often to have happened in the crude books of *young writers*." And, besides this, there is another infirmity that this argument labours under; for though a copier may sometimes miss a line or two by taking off his eye, yet, if he have but the common diligence at least to compare his copy with the original, he discovers his own omissions, and presently rectifies them; and by this means it comes to pass that such deficiencies in the texts of MSS. are generally supplied and perfected by the same hand, in the margin. Though we should suppose, therefore, that the stone-cutter might carelessly miss something, yet, can we suppose too that the author of the Inscription would never read what was engraved there? Would a person of learning and quality, as he appears to have been, who had taken such accurate pains to deduce a whole series of Chronology from before Deucalion's Deluge to his own time, and for the benefit of posterity to engrave it upon marble, and set it up in a conspicuous place as a public monument, be at least so stupidly negligent as not to examine the stone-cutter's work, where the missing of a single letter in the numbers of any æra would make the computation false, and spoil the author's whole design? What mad work would it make, then, if, as Mr. B. affirms,
p. 251. whole lines were omitted by the stone-cutter, and passed uncorrected! Is it possible that the worthy author of the monument (I might say perhaps *the authors*; for it seems to have been done at a public charge) should act so inconsistently? Mr. B., if he pleases, may think so, or affirm it without thinking; but when he catches me affirming it, I will give him leave to tell me again, in his well-bred way, "that my head has no brains in it."

For the epoch itself assures me that there was no omission here by the stone-cutter. The words are, 'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής ..... πρῶτος ὃς καὶ ἐδίδαξεν ... τέθη ὁ . ράγος. Now, if the words after ποιητής belong to Phrynichus, as Mr. B. says, and not to Thespis, as the stone-cutter says,—pray what is the meaning of ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, FIRST? Thespis, I know, FIRST invented Tragedy; and that was worthy of being recorded here, as the invention of Comedy was before. But what did Phrynichus FIRST find out that deserved to be named here? Why, he "FIRST brought in women into the subject of his plays[3];" which is a business of less moment than that of Æschylus, who *first* added a second actor; or of Sophocles, who added a third; yet neither of these two improvements are registered in the Marble: and why, then, should that of Phrynichus be mentioned when theirs are omitted? But I will not charge it as a fault upon Mr. B. that he neglected to gather this hint from the word ΠΡΩΤΟΣ, for the common editions of the Marble have it not. But I am afraid he will not easily excuse himself for not observing the next words, .. *τέθη ὁ . ράγος*, which have been always hitherto thought to signify "That the GOAT was made the prize of Tragedy." Now, certainly the proper place of p. 252. mentioning this *prize* was at the epoch of Thespis, the inventor of Tragedy; for so the prizes of Comedy, "the cask of wine, and the basket of figs," are mentioned in the epoch of Susarion, the inventor of Comedy. And what blindness was it in Mr. B. not to observe this, when he so boldly tells the stone-cutter, and the man that set him to work, that they had dropped a whole line, and that these words belong to Phrynichus! Pray what could ΤΡΑΓΟΣ the GOAT have to do in the epoch of Phrynichus? Does Mr. B. believe that sorry prize was continued after Tragedy came into reputation? Would Phrynichus, or any body for him, have been at the charge of a stage, and all the ornaments of a chorus and actors, for the hopes of winning a Goat that would hardly pay for one vizard? In the following epochs of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, &c., there is no mention of the Goat; and if this epoch had belonged to Phrynichus, no Goat had been here neither.

But Mr. B. rather suspects "That the graver did make an omission, because the next æra in the Marble falls as low as Olymp. LXVII.; before which time it is not to be doubted but the Alcestis of Phrynichus (that Phrynichus who was Thespis' scholar) was added." Now, with his leave, I shall make bold to ask him one question, in words of his own, "Whether it was proper and prudent in him to accuse the stone-cutter of *negligence*," by an argument that discovers a shameful *negligence* in himself?—for "the next æra is not so low as Ol. LXVII." As Mr. Selden has published it, it is but Ol. LXV. 4. But without doubt Mr. Selden mistook the letters of the inscription (as the

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[3] Suid. Φρύν.

p. 253. learned Dr. Prideaux has observed before me), and for ΠΙ read III; i. e. 3, instead of 6: so that the true æra that comes after Thespis is Olymp. LXV. 1; but the æra that Mr. B. speaks of, Olymp. LXVII, is the next but one after Thespis. Is not Mr. B. now an accurate writer, and a fit person to correct a stone-cutter?—or shall we blame his assistant "that consulted books for him?" But the assistant may be rather supposed to have written this passage right, and the mistake be Mr. B.'s; "for that is a case known often to have happened in the copying of manuscripts."

But the gentleman makes amends, with telling us a piece of most certain news; "for it is not to be doubted," he says, "but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII." Now, I would crave leave to inquire of him how he came to hear of this news? But perhaps he will tell me, "I may as well ask how he came to hear his name was Phrynichus? Fame, that told him the one, must tell him the other too." But, if he do not trust too much to Fame (which I advise him not to do, for she often changes sides), I would then tell him a piece of news, quite contrary to his, That it is not to be doubted but Alcestis was NOT acted before Olymp. LXVII, because that Olympiad was the very first time that Phrynichus wrote for the stage; and he was alive and made plays till XXXV years after. I will tell him, too, some other particulars about this Phrynichus; but, before I do that, he will give me leave to expostulate a little about his conduct in this quarrel with the stone-cutter; the whole ground of which, as the case plainly appears, was this:—Mr. B. would have Thespis placed earlier
p. 254. in the Marble than Ol. LXI, because Phalaris was dead before that Olympiad, and consequently could not hear of Tragedy, unless Thespis was earlier. Upon this he indicts the stone-cutter for an idle fellow, who, after he had graved 'Αφ' οὗ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής, skipped a whole line, and tacked the words which concerned Phrynichus to the name of Thespis. Now, allowing that the poor stone-cutter should confess this, and plead guilty, pray what advantage would Mr. B. and his Sicilian prince get by it?—for let it be as he would have it, 'Αφ' οὗ ὁ Θέσπις ὁ ποιητής . . . and that the line that should have come after was really omitted; yet, however, since THESPIS is named there, there is something said about him in the very original

which the graver should have copied; and though the æra of it be lost by the graver's *negligence*, yet we are sure, from the method of the whole inscription, that this lost æra must needs be later than that which comes before it. But the æra that comes before it, "Cyrus' victory over Crœsus," is Olymp. LIX. 1, or at soonest, LVIII. 3; and the death of Phalaris, as Mr. B. himself allows through all his examination, was at Ol. LVII. 3. What is it then that he aims at, in his charge against the stone-cutter? —could he carry his point against him ever so clearly, yet his Phalaris is still in the very same condition, for he died, we see, VIII years, or V at least, before Thespis is spoken of in the *original* Inscription. And is not this a substantial piece of *dulness* (it is one of his own civil words!) to make all this bustle about omissions in the Marble, when, if all he asks be allowed him, he is but just as he was before? I am afraid his readers will be tempted to think that, whether the stone-cutter was so or no, p. 255.
his accuser has here shown himself a very ordinary workman.

Having thus vindicated the *graver* of the Inscription from the insults of our Examiner, I shall now put in a word in behalf of the *author* of it. That excellent writer here tells us, that the *first* performance of Thespis was after Olymp. LIX. 1; for this is the plain import of his words, and those learned men "who have taken pains to illustrate this Chronicle," have all understood them so. But Mr. B. will not take up with this authority; for he affirms—"Some of Thespis' plays were acted about Olymp. LIII; and if this here, about Olymp. LX, was his, it was rather one of his last than the first; but his real opinion is, that it was neither the first nor last, but Phrynichus' play erroneously applied to Thespis." Now, in answer to this, I dare undertake from the same topic that Mr. B. uses, i. e. "a comparison of Thespis' age with Phrynichus'," to prove the very contrary;—that this Play, about Olymp. LX, could not be Phrynichus'; and that in all probability it was the first of Thespis.

Suidas, to whom the whole learned world confess themselves much obliged for his accounts of the age and works of so many authors, tells us "Phrynichus was Thespis' scholar[4];" and Mr. B. himself expressly affirms the same[5]. Plato names them both together as pretenders to the invention of Tragedy; where he says, "That Tragedy did not begin[6], as men believe, from Thespis,

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[4] Suid. in Φρύν. Μαθητὴς Θέσπιδος.
[5] P. 168.
[6] Plato in Minoë.

nor from Phrynichus." And if any one will infer from this
passage of Plato that the two poets were nearer of an age than
master and scholar usually are, he will make my argument against
p. 256. Phalaris so much the stronger; for by this means Thespis will
be nearer to Phrynichus' age and remoter from Phalaris'. But
I am willing to suppose with Mr. B. that Phrynichus was scholar
to Thespis; so that, if we can but fix the scholar's age, we may
gather from thence the age of the master. Now Phrynichus made
a tragedy at Athens, which he intituled (*Μιλήτου ἅλωσις*) "The
Taking of Miletus." "Callisthenes says (they are the words of
Strabo) that Phrynichus, the tragic poet, was fined by the Athenians a thousand drachms, for making a tragedy, called The
Taking of Miletus by Darius[7]." And Herodotus, an older author than he:—"When Phrynichus," says he, "exhibited his
play, The Taking of Miletus, the whole theatre fell into tears,
and fined the poet a thousand drachms; and made an order that
nobody ever after should make a play of that subject[8]." The
same thing is reported by Plutarch[9], Ælian[10], Libanius[11], Ammianus Marcellinus[12], the Scholiast on Aristophanes[13], and Joh.
Tzetzes[14]. But the Taking of Miletus, the whole story of which
is related by Herodotus, was either at Olymp. LXX or LXXI, as
all chronologers are agreed; and the Tragedy of Phrynichus
being made upon that subject, we are sure that he must be alive
after Ol. LXX. But there is another tragedy of his, called
Φοίνισσαι, which will show him to have been still alive above XX
years after that Olympiad. It is cited by the Scholiast on
Aristophanes[15], and Athenæus[16] gives us an Iambic out of it:

Ψαλμοῖσιν ἀντίσπαστ' ἀείδοντες μέλη.

But the writer of the argument of Æschylus' Persæ has the most
particular account of it:—"Glaucus," says he, "in his Book
p. 257. about the Subjects of Æschylus' Plays, says[17] his Persæ
were borrowed from the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus;" the first
verse of which Phœnissæ is this:

"Τάδ' ἐστὶ Περσῶν τῶν πάλαι βεβηκότων·

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[7] Strabo xiv. p. 635. *Μιλήτου ἅλωσιν ὑπὸ Δαρείου.*
[8] Herod. vi. c. 21.
[9] Plut. Præc. Reip. gerendæ.
[10] Æl. xii. 17.
[11] Liban. tom. i. p. 506.
[12] Amm. xxvii. 1.
[13] Schol. Arist. p. 364.
[14] Tzetz. Chil. viii. 156.
[15] Schol. Arist. p. 518.
[16] Athen. p. 635. *Φρύν. ἐν Φοινίσσαις.*
[17] *Ἐκ τῶν Φοινισσῶν Φρυνίχου τοὺς Πέρσας παραπεποιῆσθαι.*

and a eunuch is introduced, bringing the news of Xerxes' defeat, and setting chairs for the ministers of state to sit down on[1]." Now it is evident from this fragment, that Phrynichus was yet alive after Xerxes' expedition, i. e. Olymp. LXXV. 1. Nay, three years after this Olympiad, he made a tragedy at Athens, and carried the victory, Themistocles being at the charge of all the furniture of the scene and chorus[2]; who, in memory of it, set up this inscription: ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΡΕΑΡΙΟΣ ΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙ· ΦΡΥΝΙΧΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ· ΑΔΕΙΜΑΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΧΕΝ, i. e. "Themistocles, of the parish of Phreari, was at the charge; Phrynichus made the Tragedy; and Adimantus was Archon." And I am apt to believe that Phœnissæ was this very play which he made for Themistocles; for what could be a more proper subject and compliment to Themistocles than Xerxes' defeat, which he had so great a hand in? Now we are sure, from the name of the Archon, that this was done at Olymp. LXXV. 4; and how long the Poet survived this victory, there is nobody now to tell us.

To compare this now with Mr. B.'s doctrine about the age of Thespis and Phrynichus: "It is not to be doubted," says he, "but the Alcestis of Phrynichus was acted before Olymp. LXVII." There spoke an oracle,—"it is not to be doubted;" because we find him still making tragedies XXXVI years after. Mr. B. declares *his opinion* twice, "That a play acted about Olymp. LX. was not made by Thespis, but by Phrynichus." Who will not rise up now to this gentleman's *opinion?* That play must needs p. 258.
be Phrynichus', because he was working for the stage still, nay, and carried the prize there, LXIII years after that Olympiad. This, I think, is a little longer than Mr. Dryden's vein has yet lasted: which, Mr. B. says, "is about XXXVI years." But I can help him to another instance that will come up with it exactly to a single year; for Sophocles began Tragedy at the age of XXVIII, and held out at it till the age of XCI[3]; the interval LXIII. If this example will bring off Mr. B. for saying the play is Phrynichus' against the plain authority of the Marble, it is at his service; but with this reserve, that he shall not abuse me for *lending* it; for I have had too much of that already.

But, if I may venture to guess any thing that Mr. B. will think or say, I conceive that, upon better consideration, he will be willing to allow Suidas' words, "That Phrynichus got the prize at Ol. LXVII[3], to be meant of his *first* victory; for so we find in the Marble that the *first* victories of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, are the only ones recorded[4]. And if Phrynichus began at Olymp. LXVII, then the distance between his first and his last (that we know of) will be XXXVI years; which is the very space that Mr. B. assigns to Aristophanes and Mr. Dryden. And it hits too with what the same Suidas has delivered about Thespis, "That he exhibited a play at Olymp. LXI[5];" for, if we interpret this passage, like the other about Phrynichus, that it was Thespis' *first* Play—then the master will be older than the scholar by about XXV years; which is a competent time; and, I p. 259. believe, near upon the same that the very learned person whom Mr. B. so much honours "by letting the world know he had all his knowledge in these matters from him," (which they that know that person's eminent learning will think to be no compliment to him) is older than Mr. B. And I humbly conceive that all these hints and coincidences, when added to the express authority of the Marble, which sets Thespis after Olymp. LIX, will bring it up to the highest probability that Thespis first introduced Tragedy about Olymp. LXI; which is XIV years after the true Phalaris was dead.

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[1] Τὴν τοῦ Ξέρξου ἥτταν.

[2] Plut. in Themist. Χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς.

[3] Marm. Arund.

I observe Mr. B.'s emphatical expression, "The Alcestis of Phrynichus, that Phrynichus who was Thespis' scholar;" which seems to imply, that he thought there were two Phrynichuses, both tragic poets; and indeed the famous Lilius Gyraldus[6], almost as learned a man as Mr. B., was of the same opinion. It is necessary, therefore, to examine this point, or else our argument from the date of Phrynichus' Phœnissæ will be very lame and precarious; for it may be pretended the author of Phœnissæ was not "that Phrynichus that was Thespis' scholar." Now, with Mr. B.'s gracious permission (for I dare be free with Gyraldus), I will endeavour to show that there was but one tragedian of that name. It is true there were two Phrynichuses that wrote for the stage; the one a tragic the other a comic poet; that is a thing beyond question; but the point that I contend for is, that there were not two Phrynichuses, writers of Tragedy.

The pretence for asserting two tragic poets of that name, is a passage of Suidas; who, after he had named Φρύνιχος, &c. "Phry-

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[3] Suid. in Φρύν. Ἐνίκα ἐπὶ τῆς ξζ. ὀλυμπιάδος.

[4] Marm. Arund. Πρῶτον ἐνίκησε.

[5] Suid. in Θέσπ.

[6] Gyrald. De Poetis.

nichus, the son of Polyphradmon, or Minyras, or Chorocles, the p. 260.
scholar of Thespis;" and "that his tragedies are nine," Πλευρωνία,
Αἰγύπτιοι[7], &c., subjoins, under a new head, Φρύνιχος, &c.—
"Phrynichus, the son of Melanthas, an Athenian tragedian:
some of his plays are 'Ανδρομέδα, 'Ηριγόνη, and Πυῤῥίχαι." This
latter place is taken, word for word, out of Aristophanes' Scholiast[8];
who adds, that the same man made the tragedy called
"The Taking of Miletus." Now it may seem from these two
passages, that there were two Phrynichuses, tragic poets; for
the one is called the son of Melanthas, the other not; and the
three plays ascribed to the latter are quite different from all the
nine that were made by the former. But, to take off this pretence,
I crave leave to observe that the naming his father Melanthas
is an argument of small force; for we see the other has
three fathers assigned to him: so uncertain was the tradition
about the name of his father: some authors therefore might relate
that his father was called Melanthas, and yet mean the very
same Phrynichus, that, according to others, was the son of
Polyphradmon. And then the second plea, that the plays attributed
to the one are wholly different from those of the other,
is even weaker than the former; for the whole dozen mentioned
in Suidas might belong to the same Phrynichus. He says, indeed,
"Phrynichus, Polyphradmon's son, wrote nine plays;"
because the author he here copies from knew of no more; but
there might be more, notwithstanding his not hearing of them;
as we see there really were two, "The Taking of Miletus," and
"Phœnissæ," that are not mentioned here by Suidas.

Having shown now what very slight ground the tradition about
two tragedian Phrynichuses is built on, I will give some arguments p. 261.
on my side, which induce me to think there was but one.
And my first is, because all the authors named above, Herodotus,
Callisthenes, Strabo, Plutarch, Ælian, Libanius, Amm. Marcellinus,
Joh. Tzetzes, who speak of the play called "The Taking of
Miletus," style the author of it barely Φρύνιχος ὁ Τραγικός,
"Phrynichus the tragedian," without adding ὁ Νεώτερος, "the
younger," as all of them, or some at least, would and ought to
have done, if this person had not been the famous Phrynichus
that was Thespis' scholar. And so, when he is quoted on other

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[7] Suid. in Φρύν. leg. Πλευρωνίαι, ex Tzetze ad Lycophronem.

[8] Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. p. 364.

occasions by Athenæus, Hephæstion, Isaac Tzetzes, &c. he is called in like manner "Phrynichus the tragic poet," without the least intimation that there was another of the same name and profession.

Besides this, the very Scholiast on Aristophanes, and Suidas, who are the sole authors produced to show there were two tragedians, do in other places plainly declare there was but one. "There were four Phrynichuses in all," says the Scholiast[9].

1. "Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon, the Tragic Poet.
2. "Phrynichus, the son of Chorocles, an Actor of Tragedies[1].
3. "Phrynichus, the son of Eunomides, the Comic Poet.
4. "Phrynichus, the Athenian General; who was concerned with Astyochus, and engaged in a plot against the government."

What can be more evident than that, according to this catalogue, there was but one of this name a tragedian? But it is no wonder if, in Lexicons and Scholia compiled out of several authors, p. 262. there be several things inconsistent with one another. So in another place, both the Scholiast[2] and Suidas[3] make this fourth Phrynichus, the general, to be the same with the third, the comic poet: on the contrary, Ælian[4] makes him the same with the first: and he adds a particular circumstance, "That in his tragedy Πυῤῥίχαι, he so pleased the theatre with the warlike songs and dances of his chorus, that they chose him as a fit person to make a general." Among the moderns, some fall in with Ælian's story, and some with the other; but, with deference to all their judgments, I am persuaded both of them are false; for Phrynichus the general was stabbed at Athens, Olymp. XCII. 2, as Thucydides relates[5]; but a more exact account of the circumstances of his death is to be met with in Lysias[6] and Lycurgus[7], the orators. This being a matter of fact beyond all doubt and controversy, I affirm that the date of his death can neither agree with the tragic nor the comic poet's history; being too late for the one, and too early for the other. It is too late for the tragedian, because he began to make plays, as we have seen above, at Olymp. LXVII; from which time, till Olymp. XCII. 2, there are CII years; and even from the date of his Phœnissæ, that was acted at Olymp. LXXV. 4, which is the last time we hear of him, there are LXVI years to the death of Phrynichus the general; and then it is too early for the comedian, for we find him alive five years after, contending, with his play[8] called "The Muses," (quoted by Athenæus, Pollux, Suidas, &c.) against Aristophanes' Frogs, at Olymp. XCIII. 3; when Callias was Archon.

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[9] Schol. Arist. p. 397, 130. And so Suidas in Φρύν. and Λύκις.

[1] See also p. 113, 358. τραγικὸς ὑποκριτής.

[2] Schol. p. 157.

[3] Suid. in Φρύν. et Παλαίσμασι.

[4] Æl. Var. Hist. iii. 8.

[5] Thucyd. viii. p. 617.

[6] Lysias contra Agoratum, p. 136.

[7] Lycurg. contra Leocratem, pp. 163, 164.

Again, I will show there was but one Phrynichus a tragedian. p. 263. Aristophanes, in his Vespæ, says that the old men at Athens used to sing the "old songs of Phrynichus[9]."

—— *καὶ μινυρίζοντες μέλη*
'Αρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα.

It is a conceited word of the poet's making; and *σιδωνο*, which is one member of the composition of it, relates to the Phœnissæ (i. e. the Sidonians), a Play of Phrynichus, as the Scholiast well observes. Here we see the author of Phœnissæ (whom they suppose to be the latter Phrynichus) is meant by Aristophanes; but if I prove too that Aristophanes in this very place meant the Phrynichus, Thespis' scholar, it will be evident that these two Phrynichuses (whom they falsely imagine) are really one and the same. Now that Aristophanes meant the scholar of Thespis, will appear from the very words *μέλη ἀρχαῖα*, "Ancient songs and tunes[10]." *Ancient*, because that Phrynichus was the second, or, as some in Plato thought, the first author of Tragedy: and "Songs and tunes," because he was celebrated and famous by that very character. "Phrynichus," says the Scholiast on this place[1], "had a mighty name for making of songs;" but in another place he says the same thing of Phrynichus, the son of Polyphradmon; who, according to Suidas, was Thespis' scholar. "He was admired," says he, "for the making of songs[2];" "They cry him up for the composing of tunes; and he was before Æschylus[3]." And can it be doubted then any longer but that the same person is meant? It is a problem of Aristotle's: *Διὰ τί οἱ*

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[8] Argum. Ran. Arist.

[9] Arist. Vesp. p. 138.

[10] The word included is *μέλι*, not *μέλη*. See Dindorf ad l.—J. W. D.

[1] P. 138. *Δι' ὀνόματος ἦν καθόλου ἐπὶ μελοποιΐᾳ.*

[2] P. 397. *'Εθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ μελοποιΐαις.*

[3] P. 166. *'Επαινοῦσιν εἰς μέλη. ἦν δὲ πρὸ Αἰσχύλου.*

περὶ Φρύνιχον μᾶλλον ἦσαν μελοποιοί; "Why did Phrynichus make more songs than any tragedian does now-a-days[4]?" And he answers it, Ἠ *διὰ τὸ πολλαπλάσια εἶναι τότε τὰ μέλη ἐν ταῖς* p. 264. *τῶν μέτρων τραγῳδίαις*. Correct it *τὰ μέλη τῶν μέτρων ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις*; "Was it," says he, "because at that time the songs (sung by the chorus) in tragedies were many more than the verses spoken by the actors?" Does not Aristotle's very question imply that there was but one Phrynichus a tragedian?

I will add one argument more for it, and that, if I do not much mistake, will put an end to the controversy; for I will prove that the very passage in Aristophanes, where the Scholiast, and Suidas from him, tell us of this supposed second Phrynichus the son of Melanthas, concerns the one and true Phrynichus the scholar of Thespis. "The ancient poets," says Athenæus, "Thespis, Pratinas, Carcinus, and Phrynichus, were called *ὀρχηστικοί*, dancers; because they not only used much dancing in the choruses of their plays, but they were common dancing-masters, teaching any body that had a mind to learn[5]." And to the same purpose Aristotle tells us, "that the first poetry of the stage was *ὀρχηστικωτέρα*, more set upon dances than that of the following ages[6]." This being premised (though I had occasiou to speak of it before), I shall now set down the words of the poet[7]:

Ὁ γὰρ γέρων, ὡς ἔπιε διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου,
Ἤκουσέ τ' αὐλοῦ, περιχαρὴς τῷ πράγματι,
Ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύσεται·
Τἀρχαῖ' ἐκεῖν' οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο,
Καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδούς φησιν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους
Τὸν νοῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

Which are spoken by a servant concerning an old fellow, his master, that was in a frolic of dancing. Who the Thespis was that is here spoken of, the Scholiast and Suidas pretend to tell us; for they say, "It was one Thespis, a harper; not the tragic p. 265. poet[8]." To speak freely, the place has not been understood this thousand years and more, being neither written nor pointed right; for what can be the meaning of *Κρόνους τὸν νοῦν*? The word *Κρόνος* alone signifies the whole; and *τὸν νοῦν* is superfluous and needless. And so in another place[9]:

Οὐχὶ διδάξεις τοῦτον, κρόνος ὤν.

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[4] Arist. Prob. xix.

[5] Athen. i. p. 22. Οἱ *ἀρχαῖοι ποιηταί*.

[6] Arist. Poët. iv.

[7] Arist. Vesp. 364.

[8] Schol. ibid. Ὁ *κιθαρῳδὸς, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ τραγικός*. So Suidas in Θέσπ.

[9] Arist. Nub. p. 107.

I humbly conceive the whole passage should be thus read and distinguished:

> Ὀρχούμενος τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲν παύεται
> Τἀρχαῖ' ἐκεῖν', οἷς Θέσπις ἠγωνίζετο·
> Καὶ τοὺς τραγῳδούς φησιν ἀποδείξειν κρόνους
> Τοὺς νῦν, διορχησόμενος ὀλίγον ὕστερον.

"All night long," says he, "he dances those old dances that Thespis used in his choruses; and he says he will dance here upon the stage by and by, and show the tragedians of these times to be a parcel of fools, he will out-dance them so much." And who can doubt now, that considers what I have newly quoted from Athenæus, but that Thespis (ὁ ἀρχαῖος) the *old* tragic poet (who lived CXIV years before the date of this play) ὁ ὀρχηστικός, the common dancing-master at Athens, is meant here by Aristophanes? So that the Scholiast and Suidas may take their harper again for their own diversion; for it was a common practice among those grammarians, when they happened to be at a loss, to invent a story for the purpose. But, to go on with Aristophanes: the old fellow begins to dance, and as he dances, he says

> Κλῆθρα χαλάσθω τάδε· καὶ γὰρ δὴ
> Σχήματος ἀρχὴ
> (Οἰ. Μᾶλλον δέ γ' ἴσως μανίας ἀρχή)
> Πλευρὰν λυγίσαντος ὑπαὶ ῥώμης.

So the interlocution is to be placed here, which is faulty in all p. 266. the editions. "Make room there," says he, "for I am beginning a dance that is enough to strain a man's side with the violent motion." After a line or two, he adds,

> Πτήσσει Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ,
> (Οἰ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)
> Σκέλος οὐράνιόν γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

Thus the words are to be pointed, which have hitherto been falsely distinguished. But there is an error here of a worse sort, which has possessed the copies of this play ever since Adrian's time, and perhaps before. Πτήσσω signifies "to crouch, and sneak away for fear," as poultry do at the sight of the kite, or a cock when he is beaten at fighting. The Scholiast[1] and Ælian[2] tells us that—Πτήσσει Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ—"Phrynichus sneaks like a cock," became a proverb upon those "that came off badly in any affair," because Phrynichus the tragedian came off sneakingly when he was fined 1000 drachms for his play, Μιλήτου ἅλωσις. Now, with due reverence to antiquity, I crave leave to suspect that this is a proverb coined on purpose, because the commentators were puzzled here. For, in the first place, "to sneak away like a cock," seems to be a very improper similitude, for a cock is one of the most bold and martial of birds. I know there is an expression like this of some nameless poet[3],

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[1] Schol. ibid.

[2] Ælian. Var. Hist. xiii. 17. Ἐπὶ τῶν κακόν τι πασχόντων.

> Ἔπτηξ' ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλον ὡς κλίνας πτέρον·
> "He sneaked like a cock, that hangs down his wings when he is beaten."

But this case is widely different; for the comparison here is very elegant and natural, because the circumstance of *being beaten* is p. 267. added to it; but to say it in general of a cock, as if the whole species were naturally timid, is unwarrantable and absurd. As in another instance:—"He stares like a man frightened out of his wits," is an expression proper enough; but we cannot say in general: "He stares like a man." I shall hardly believe, therefore, that Aristophanes, the most ingenious man of an age that was fertile of great wits, would let such an expression pass him, "He sneaks like a cock." But, in the next place, the absurdity of it is doubled and tripled by the sentence that it is joined with: "Phrynichus," says he, "kicking his legs up to the very heavens in dances, crouches and sneaks like a cock." This is no better than downright nonsense; though, to say something in excuse for the interpreters, they did not join ἐκλακτίζων with Φρύνιχος, as I do, but with the word that follows in the next verse. But if the reader pleases to consult the passage in the poet, he will be convinced that the construction can be no other than what I have made it. Ἐκλακτισμός, says Hesychius, σχῆμα χορικόν, ὀρχήσεως σύντονον (correct it σχῆμα χορικῆς ὀρχήσεως σύντονον[4]) "was a sort of dance, lofty and vehement, used by the choruses." And Julius Pollux, Τὰ ἐκλακτίσματα, γυναικῶν ἦν ὀρχήματα· ἔδει γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν ὦμον ἐκλακτίσαι. "The ἐκλακτίσματα," says he, "were dances of women; for they were to kick their legs higher than their shoulders[5]." But, I conceive, here is a palpable fault in this passage of Pollux; for certainly this kind of dance would be

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[3] Plut. in Alcib.

[4] So Pollux, iv. 14. Τὸ σχιστὰς ἕλκειν, σχῆμα ὀρχήσεως χορικῆς.

[5] Pollux, ibid.

very unseemly and immodest in women. And the particle γάρ, *for*, does farther show the reading to be faulty; for how can the throwing up the heels as high as the head in dancing be assigned as a *reason* why the dance must belong to women? It would p. 268.
rather prove it belonged to men, because it required great strength and agility. But the error will be removed, if, instead of γυναικῶν, we correct it γυμνικῶν. "The dance," says he, "was proper to the γυμνικοί, exercises; *for* the legs were to be thrown up very high, and consequently it required *teaching* and *practice*." Well, it is evident now how every way absurd and improper the present passage of Aristophanes is. If I may have leave to offer the emendation of so inveterate an error, I would read the place thus:

ΠΛΗΣΣΕΙ Φρύνιχος, ὥσπερ ἀλέκτωρ
(Οἰ. Τάχα βαλλήσεις)
Σκέλος οὐράνιόν γ' ἐκλακτίζων.

i. e. "Phrynichus STRIKES like a cock, throwing his heels very lofty." This is spoken by the old fellow while he is cutting his capers; and in one of his frisks he offers to strike the servant that stood by with his foot as it was aloft. Upon which the servant says, Τάχα βαλλήσεις,—"You will hit me by and by, with your capering and kicking." Πλήσσω is the proper term for a cock when he strikes as he is fighting; as Πλῆκτρον is his spur that he strikes with. The meaning of the passage is this: That in his dances he leaped up, and vaulted, like Phrynichus, who was celebrated for those performances; as it farther appears from what follows a little after:

Καὶ τὸ Φρυνίχειον, p. 269.
'Εκλακτισάτω τις ὅπως
'Αδόντες ἄνω σκέλος
"Ωζωσιν οἱ θεαταί[6].

Which ought to be thus corrected and distinguished:

Καί, τὸ Φρυνίχειον,
'Εκλακτισάτω τις· ὅπως
'Ιδόντες ἄνω σκέλος
"Ωζωσιν οἱ θεαταί.

i. e. "And in Phrynichus' way, frisk and caper, so as the spectators, seeing your legs aloft, may cry out with admiration." Now, to draw our inference from these several passages, it appears, I suppose sufficiently, that the Phrynichus here spoken of by Aristophanes was, as well as the Thespis famous for his

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[1] Arist. p. 365.

dancing; and consequently, by the authority of Athenæus quoted above, he must be ὁ ἀρχαῖος Φρύνιχος, "the ancient Phrynichus," ὁ ὀρχηστικός, "the master of dancing[7]." Upon the whole matter, then, there was but one tragedian Phrynichus, the scholar of Thespis; and if so, we have fully proved already, from the dates of his plays, that his master Thespis ought not to be placed earlier than about Olymp. LXI.

But I have one short argument more, independent of all those before, which will evidently prove that Thespis was younger than Phalaris; for, to take the earliest account of Thespis which Mr. Boyle contends for, he was contemporary with Pisistratus. But Pisistratus' eldest son Hippias was alive at Olymp. LXXI. 2[8], and after that was at the battle of Marathon, Olymp. LXXII. 2, where he was slain, according to Cicero[9], Justin[1], and Tertullian[2]; but, if Suidas say true (out of Ælian's book *De Providentia*, as one may guess by the style and matter), he survived that fight[3], and died at Lemnos of a lingering distemper: and this latter account seems to be confirmed by Thucydides and Herodotus; for the one says, "He was with the Medes at p. 270. Marathon[4]," without saying he was killed there; and the other not obscurely intimates that he was not killed, for he says, "His tooth, that dropped out of his head upon the Attic ground, was the only part of his body that had a share in that soil[5]." There are only two generations, then, from Thespis' time to the battle of Marathon; but there are four from Phalaris'; for Theron, the fourth from that Telemachus that deposed Phalaris[6], got the government of Agrigentum, Olymp. LXXIII. 1, but three years only after that battle; and he was then at least XL years old, as appears from the ages of his son and daughter. I will give a table of both the lines of succession:—

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[7] We have part of an Epigram made by Phrynichus himself (*a*), in commendation of his dancing:

Σχήματα δ' ὄρχησις τόσα μοι πόρεν, ὅσσ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ
Κύματα ποιεῖται χείματι νὺξ ὀλόη.

[8] Marm. Arund.

[9] Cic. ad Att. ix. 10.

[1] Just. ii. 9.

[2] Tert. adv. Gentes.

[3] Suid. in Ἱππίας.

[4] Thuc. vi. p. 452.

[5] Herod. vi. 106.

[6] See above, pp. 195, 196, 197.

(*a*) Plut. Sympos. Quæst. viii. 9.

		1. Telemachus.	Phalaris.
		2. Eumenides.	
Thespis.	1. Pisistratus.	3. Ænesidamus.	
	2. Hippias, Ol. LXXII. 2.	4. Theron, Ol. LXXII. 2.	

It is true Hippias was an old man at that time; though it appears, by the post and business Herodotus assigns him, that he was not so very old as some make him. But, however, let him be as old, if they please, as Theron's father, yet still the case is very apparent that Thespis is one whole generation younger than Phalaris.

It may now be a fit season to visit the learned Examiner, and to see with what vigour and address he repels all these arguments that have settled the time of Thespis about Olymp. LXI. His authorities are Diogenes Laërtius and Plutarch, who shall now be examined. The point which Mr. B. endeavours to prove, is this: That Thespis acted plays in Solon's time, and consequently before the death of Phalaris. Now the words of Laërtius, which are all he says that any ways relate to this affair, are exactly p. 271.
these:—"Solon," says he, "hindered Thespis from acting of tragedies; believing those false representations to be of no use[7]." Hence the Examiner infers that Thespis acted his plays in the days of Solon; so that his argument lies thus:—"He was hindered from acting tragedies; *ergo*, he acted tragedies:" i. e. he acted them, because he did not act them. Is not this now a syllogism worthy of the acute Mr. B. and his new System of Logic?—And it is not a much better argument if you turn its face the quite contrary way; for if Solon, when Thespis, as we may suppose, made application to him for his leave to act tragedies, would not suffer him to do it, is it not reasonable to infer that Thespis acted none till after Solon's death?—which is the very account that I have established by so many arguments.

But are not the words of Plutarch more clear and express in the Examiner's behalf? It is true; for this author relates particularly, "That Solon saw one of Thespis' plays; and then, disliking the way of it, he forbade him to act any more[8]." But what then? how does it appear that this was done before Phalaris' death. If I should allow this story in Plutarch to be true, yet Mr. B. will find it a difficult thing to extort from it what he aims at. "Why, yes," he says, "Solon was Archon, Olymp.

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[7] Laërt. Solone. Θέσπιν ἐκώλυσε τραγῳδίας ἄγειν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, ὡς ἀνωφελῆ τὴν ψευδολογίαν.

[8] Plut. Solone.

XLVI. 3; which is XLIV years before Phalaris was killed." Here Mr. B. supposes that this business with Thespis happened in the year of Solon's Archonship; which is directly to oppose his own author Plutarch, who relates at large how Solon, after he was Archon, travelled abroad X years; and after his return (how long after we cannot tell) this thing passed between him and
p. 272. Thespis. "But Eusebius," says Mr. B., "places the rise of Tragedy Olymp. XLVII; a little after Solon's Archonship." Will Mr. B. here stand to this against the plain words of Plutarch? Mr. B. either does or may know, that Eusebius' histories are so shuffled and interpolated, and so disjointed from his tables, that no wise chronologer dares depend on them in a point of any niceness without concurrent authority. "But," says he, "take the lowest account that can be, that Solon saw Thespis' plays at the end of his life; Solon died at the end of the LIIId, or the beginning of the LIVth Olympiad[9]; i. e. XIV years before Phalaris died." Now here is a double misrepresentation of the author he pretends to quote; for there is nothing in Plutarch about Olymp. LIII or LIV; he only tells us that one Phanias said Solon died when Hegestratus was Archon, who succeeded Comias; in whose year Pisistratus usurped the government. But we know the date of Pisistratus' usurpation is Olymp. LIV. 4, Comias being then Archon[1]; so that Solon, according to Phanias' doctrine, died at Olymp. LV. 1; which is IV years later than Mr. B. makes him say. But to pardon him this fault, which in him shall pass for a small one, yet the next will bear harder upon him; for he brings in this date of Solon's death out of Phanias, as if it were a point uncontroverted, and allowed by Plutarch himself; whereas Plutarch barely mentions it, without the least token of approbation; and places before it a quite different account from Heraclides (an author as old as Phanias, and much more considerable), "That Solon lived ΣΥΧΝΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΝ, A LONG TIME after Pisistratus' usurpation." Nay,
p. 273. there is some ground for conjecture that Plutarch disbelieved Phanias; for he espouses that common story about Solon's conversation with Crœsus[2], who came not to the crown till Ol. LV. 3, which is two years after Solon's death, according to Phanias; and yet Solon did not see Crœsus at his first accession to the

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[9] Plut. Solone.

[1] Marm. Arund. Κ . . . . ΟΥ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ.

[2] Plut. Solone.

throne, but after he had conquered xiv nations in Asia, as Herodotus tells it; so that, for any thing that Mr. B. has proved, Solon might possibly have this controversy with Thespis after the death of the Sicilian prince. But what if it was before his death? must the fame of this new diversion, called Tragedy, which was then a dishonourable thing, and quashed by the magistrate, needs fly as far as Sicily, to the Prince's court?—as if a new show could not be produced at a Bartholomew Fair but the foreign princes must all hear of it!

But I must frankly observe on Mr. B.'s side (what he forgot to do for himself) that, as Plutarch tells the story of Thespis, it must have happened a little before Pisistratus' tyranny; for he presently subjoins, That when Pisistratus had wounded himself, and, pretending that he was set upon by enemies, desired to have a guard,—"You do not act," says Solon to him, "the part of Ulysses well; for he wounded himself to deceive his enemies; but you, to deceive your own countrymen!" Laërtius tells it a little plainer: That when Pisistratus had wounded himself, Solon said, "Ay, this comes of Thespis' acting and personating in his tragedies[3]." Take both these passages together, and it must be allowed that, as far as Plutarch's credit goes, it appears that Thespis did act some of his plays before Olymp. LIV. 4. But we have seen above, that the Arundel Marble and Suidas set p. 274. the date of his first essay about Olymp. LXI; and the age of Phrynichus his scholar strongly favours their side; for by their reckoning, he began his plays about xxv years after his master, but by Plutarch's, above L. And whose authority now shall we follow? Though there is odds enough against Plutarch, from the antiquity of the author of the Marble, who was above 300 years older than he, and from his particular diligence and exactness about the history of the Stage, yet I will make bold to add another reason or two why I cannot here follow him; for he himself tells me in another place, "That the first that brought Μύθους καὶ Πάθη, the stories and the calamities of heroes upon the Stage, were Phrynichus and Æschylus[4];" so that before them all Tragedy was satyrical; and the subject of it was nothing else but Bacchus and his Satyrs. But if this affair about Thespis, and Solon, and Pisistratus, be true, then Thespis must have represented Ulysses and other heroes in his plays; for it is intimated that Thespis' acting gave the hint to Pisistratus to wound himself, as Ulysses did. So that this latter passage of Plutarch is a refutation of his former. The case seems to me to be this:—Somebody had invented and published this about Solon, as a thing very agreeable to the character of a wise lawgiver; and Plutarch, who would never baulk a good story, though it did not exactly hit with chronology, thought it a fault to omit it in his history of Solon's Life. We have another instance of this in the very same Treatise; for he tells at large the conversation that Solon had with Crœsus[5], though he prefaces it with this, "That some would show by chronological p. 275. arguments that it must needs be a fiction." Nay, he is so far transported in behalf of his story, that he accuses the whole system of chronology as a labyrinth of endless uncertainty[6]! and yet he himself upon other occasions can make use of chronological arguments, when he thinks they conduce to his design. As in the Life of Themistocles, he falls foul upon Stesimbrotus (an author, as he himself owns[7], contemporary with Pericles and Cimon; who, as Athenæus says[8], had seen Pericles, and might possibly see Themistocles too) for affirming that Themistocles conversed with Anaxagoras and Melissus, the philosophers; "wherein he did not consider chronology," says Plutarch; "for Anaxagoras was an acquaintance of Pericles, who was much younger than Themistocles; and Melissus was general against Pericles in the Samian war[9]." Here, we see, this great man could believe that an argument drawn from time is of considerable force; and yet, with humble submission, chronology seems to be revenged on him in this place for the slight he put upon it in the other; for Pericles was not so remote from Themistocles' time, but that one and the same person might be acquainted with them both,—and even they themselves be acquainted with one another; the one being made general within XVI years after the other's banishment[1]. And first for Anaxagoras: he might very well be personally known to Themistocles; for he was born at Olymp. LXX. 1, as Apollodorus and Demetrius Phalereus, two excellent writers, testify[2]; and began to teach philosophy at Athens at XX years of

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[3] Laërt. Solone, Ἐκεῖθεν ταῦτα φῦναι.

[4] Plut. Symp. Quæst. i. 1.

[5] Plut. in Solone.

[6] Id. Χρονικοῖς τισι λεγομένοις κανόσιν, &c.

[7] Plut. in Cimone.

[8] Athen. p. 589.

[9] Plut. in Themist. Οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἁπτόμενος.

[1] Diod. pp. 41 and 47.

[2] Laërt. in Anaxag.

age, Olymp. LXXV. 1, when Callias was Archon; the very year of Xerxes' expedition, when Themistocles acquired such glory; and IX years before he was banished. The same authors in- p. 276. form us that Anaxagoras continued XXX years teaching at Athens; so that he had IX entire years to cultivate a friendship with Themistocles. And in the second place, what hinders but that Melissus too might be Themistocles' friend, and yet be the Samian General in the war against Pericles, which was at Olymp. LXXXIV. 4[3]? for, suppose him to have been of the same age with Anaxagoras, he might then, as we have seen already, have been acquainted with Themistocles; nay, suppose him, if you please, X years older, and yet he would be but LXX years old when he was General to the Samians. And what is there extraordinary in that? Anaxagoras himself survived that war XIII years[4]; and we have had in our own time more Generals than one that were LXXX years of age.

But Mr. B. will prove "that I myself allow Plutarch's account of Thespis: and am obliged to defend it as much as he is, because I owned, in another place, that he was contemporary with Solon[5]." The reader shall judge between us when I have told him the case. Johannes Malalas and another writer relate that, soon after the siege of Troy, in Orestes' time, one Themis or Theomis (i. e. as I corrected it, *Thespis*) first invented tragedies; in opposition to which, I affirmed that "the true Thespis lived in Solon's time,"—long enough after the taking of Troy. Now certainly there was no need of exactness here, where the distance of the two ages spoken of was so many whole centuries. I had no need to determine Thespis' age to a particular year, but to say he lived in the time of Solon (as without question he did); and may be supposed about XX years p. 277. old before Solon died, if he made tragedies at Olymp. LXI. Mr. B. is pleased to call that dissertation my *soft* epistle to Dr. Mill, which is ironically said for *hard;* and, indeed, to confess the truth, it is too *hard* for him to bite at, as appears by his most miserable stuff about Anapæstic Verses.

And so much for the age of Thespis. I shall now consider the opinion of those that make Tragedy to be older than he.

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[3] Thucyd. Diod. Suid. v. Μέλιτος, who confounds Melissus with Melitus the Orator.

[4] Laërt. ib.

[5] Dissert. ad Mal. p. 46. "Soloni æqualis fit."

And what has the learned Examiner produced to maintain this assertion?—nothing but two common and obvious passages of Plato and Laërtius, which every second-hand writer quotes that speaks but of the Age of Tragedy; one of which passages tells us "That Tragedy did not commence with Thespis nor Phrynichus, but was very old at Athens[4]:" the other, "That of old, in Tragedy, the chorus alone performed the whole Drama; afterwards Thespis introduced one actor[5]." This is all he brings, except a hint out of Aristotle; who, affirming that Æschylus invented the second actor, *implies*, he says, that Thespis found out the first. Now for two of his authorities, Laërtius and Aristotle; these words of theirs do not prove that Tragedy is older than Thespis; for Thespis might be the first introducer of one actor, and yet be the inventor too of that sort of Tragedy that was performed by the chorus alone. At first, his plays might be but rude and imperfect; some songs only and dances by the chorus and the Hemichoria; i. e. the two halves of the chorus answering to each other; afterwards, by long use and experience, perhaps of XX, or XXX, or XL years, he might
p. 278. improve upon his own invention, and introduce one actor, to discourse while the chorus took breath. What inconsistency is there in this? Æschylus, we see, is generally reported as the inventor of the second actor; and yet several believed that afterwards he invented too the third actor[6]; for, in the making of LXXV plays he had time enough to improve farther upon his first model. Where then is Mr. B.'s consequence, that he would draw from Laërtius and Aristotle? But he has Plato yet in reserve; who affirms "That Tragedy was in use at Athens long before Thespis' time." I have already observed, in answer to this, That Plato himself relates it as a paradox; and nobody that came after him would second him in it. He might be excused indeed by this distinction, that he meant *Αὐτοσχεδιάσματα*, the extemporal songs in praise of Bacchus, which were really older than Thespis, and gave the first rise to Tragedy, were it not that he affirms there that Minos, the King of Crete, was introduced in those old Tragedies before Thespis' time[7]; which by no means may be allowed; for the old Tragedy was all

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[4] Plato in Min. *πάνυ παλαιόν.*

[5] Laërt. in Plato.

[6] Vita Æsch. *Τὸν τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸς ἐξεῦρε.*

[7] Plat. in Minoë.

(Σατυρικὴ καὶ ὀρχηστικῄ) dancing and singing, and had no serious and doleful argument, as Minos must be, but all jollity and mirth.

Mr. B. here takes his usual freedom of giving my character: "He believes," he says, "Laërtius' works are better known to me than Plato's." What authors *he believes* I am best acquainted with, is to me wholly indifferent; but, since he seems curious about my acquaintance with books, I will tell him privately in his ear, that the last acquaintance I made of this sort was with the worst author I ever yet met with. But, surely, one would think now that the Examiner himself was very well versed in Plato, since he is so pert upon me, and *believes* that p. 279.
I am not. Now the reader shall see presently, and by this very passage of Plato, whether Mr. B. *knows* that author, or rather "casts his eye upon him," as he did upon Seneca and the Greek Tragedians. The interlocutors in this dialogue are Socrates and one Minos an Athenian, his acquaintance; and the subject of half their discourse is to vindicate Minos, the ancient King of Crete, from the character of cruelty and injustice, which the Tragic Poets by their plays had fastened upon him. Now our Examiner, with his wonderful diligence and sense, believes the person that talks there with Socrates, to be Minos the old King of Crete, who lived about DCCC years before him[8]: "Minos," says he, "asks Socrates how men come to have such an opinion of HIS severity;" i. e. of Minos' own that speaks; as plainly appears there from Mr. B.'s context. Is not this gentleman now very well qualified to pass censures upon writers, that can make Plato's Discourses to be like Lucian's Dialogues of the Dead? nay, that can put the dead and the alive together in dialogue, and be almost like Mezentius (the Phalaris of his age, and therefore worthy of Mr. B.'s respect) who

"Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis."

If he had read that short Treatise of Plato's without being *fast asleep*, he might see some of those numerous places, which will tell him that Minos, the interlocutor there, was not Minos of Crete. "Dost thou know," says Socrates to him, "which of the Cretan kings were good men,—as Minos and Rhadamanthys, the sons of Jove and Europa?" "Rhadamanthys," replies the other,

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[8] Edit. 3, last leaf.

p. 280. "was a good man, they say; but Minos was cruel, severe, and unjust." "Have a care," says Socrates again to him; "this borders upon blasphemy and impiety; but I will set you right in your opinion of Minos, lest you, who are a man, the son of a man, should offend against a hero, the son of Jove." If these places be not sufficient to make the Examiner sensible of his blunder, I will give him several others "when he and I next talk together." And I will tell him this farther, beforehand, that in my opinion, Plato himself published this Dialogue without naming the interlocutor; it was only (Σωκράτης καὶ ὁ δεῖνα) "Socrates and somebody." Afterwards Minos was made the name of that unknown person, from Μίνως, the title of the Dialogue; but I hardly think that he that first did it ever imagined such an ingenious author as Mr. B. could have been caught in so sorry a trap.

To convince us that Tragedy was older than Thespis, Mr. B. assures us "That Plutarch, in the Life of Theseus, EXPRESSLY tells us that the acting of Tragedies was one part of the funeral solemnities, which the Athenians performed at the tomb of Theseus." But he has been told already by another, that there is "no such thing in Plutarch's Life of Theseus; or, if there was, yet Tragedy would not on that account be older than Thespis; for Theseus had no tomb at Athens before the days of Thespis[9]." Mr. B. has pleaded guilty to this[1]; and confessed that he took it at second-hand from Jul. Scaliger, who says, "Tragœdiam esse rem antiquam constat ex historia, ad Thesei namque sepulchrum certasse Tragicos legimus[2]." I will tell him too of another that took it at the same hand; the learned Ger. Vossius: "Aiunt quidam," says he, "Thesei ad sepulchrum certasse Tragicos; p. 281. atque eam fuisse Tragœdiarum vetustissimam[3]." Well, I will not impute this to Mr. B. as a fault, since Scaliger and Vossius have erred before him;—I will only observe the difference between those great men and the greater Mr. B. They cite no authority for what they say, because they said it only at second-hand. Mr. B. who took it at trust from them, believing that they had it out of Plutarch's Life of Theseus, cites him for it *at a venture* in his margin; and, in the text says he *expressly* tells us so. What poor and cowardly spirits were they, in comparison of Mr. B.!—they wanted the manly and generous courage to quote authors they had never read, with an air of assurance. It is a great blot upon their memories; but, however, we will let it pass, and examine a little into the story of Theseus' tomb, because such great men have been mistaken in it: for, were it true that tragedies had been acted at Theseus' tomb, (which is not so), yet those tragedies would be so far from being the first, that they came LX years after Thespis had exhibited his. Theseus died in banishment, being murdered and privately buried in the Isle of Scyros; and about DCCC years afterwards, the oracle enjoined the Athenians to take up his bones, and carry them to Athens; which was accordingly done by Cimon, Olymp. LXXVII. 4. Μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά, says Plutarch, Φαίδωνος Ἄρχοντος. "After the Medes' invasion, when Phædon was Archon, the oracle bid the Athenians fetch home the bones of Theseus; and it was done by Cimon[4]." If the reading be not corrupted, this oracle was given Olymp. LXXVI. 1, for then Phædon was Archon; and at this rate it will be seven years before the oracle was obeyed. But I rather believe that, for Μηδικὰ Φαίδωνος, we ought to correct it, p. 282. Μηδικὰ Ἀφεψίωνος, "when Aphepsion was Archon." A was lost in Ἀφεψίωνος, because Μηδικὰ ends with that letter, and αι and ε are commonly put one for the other; being anciently pronounced both alike. Now, Ἀφεψίων was Archon, Olymp. LXXVII. 4[5], which was the very year that Cimon fetched Theseus' bones, as Plutarch relates it; who adds too, that Ἀφεψίων was the Archon[6]; Diodorus, in the annal of that year, says Phæon was Archon; for so the old reading is, Ἄρχοντος Ἀθήνῃσι Φαίωνος. The late editions substitute Φαίδωνος: but the true lection is Ἀφεψίωνος, as appears from Laërtius and Plutarch; and this depravation in Diodorus confirms my suspicion about the first passage in Plutarch; for as here Ἀφεψίωνος was changed into Φαίωνος, so there it might be into Φαίδωνος. The Arundelian Marble calls him Apsephion, placing Ἄρχοντος Ἀψηφίονος at this very year. Meursius[7], from these faulty places in Plutarch and Laërtius, makes Phædon to have been thrice Archon, about Olymp. LXXIII. 3, at Olymp. LXXVI. 1, and LXXVII. 4; whereas really he was but once

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[9] View of Dissert. p. 72.

[1] P. ult. 3rd Edit.

[2] Scal. de Poet. i. 5.

[3] Voss. Poet. ii. 12.

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[4] Plut. in Theseo.

[5] Laërt. in Socrat.

[6] Plut. Cim.

[7] Meurs. Archont. ii. 6, 7.

Archon, at Olymp. LXXVI. 1. But there is another mistake committed by Jos. Scaliger, that has had very odd consequences. Scaliger, in his Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφῇ, which he collected from all the notes of time that he could meet with in any authors, makes Ἀφεψίων to be Archon at Ol. LXXIV. 4. This, I am persuaded, he did not do out of design, but pure forgetfulness[8], for he intended to have set it at Olymp. LXXVII. 4; but, in the interval between reading his author and committing this note to writing, his memory deceived him, and he put it at Olymp. LXXIV. 4. This suspicion of mine will be made out from p. 283. Scaliger's own words there: Ὀλυμπ. οδ΄. δ΄. Ἀφεψίων. Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη κατά τινας, compared with Laërtius, from whence they are taken: Σωκράτης ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ Ἀφεψίωνος ἐν τῷ δ΄. ἔτει τῆς οζ΄. Ὀλυμπιάδος[9]. After this comes Meursius, who mistakes that Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀναγραφή for an ancient piece first published out of MS. by Scaliger; and seeing Aphepsion named there as Archon, Ol. LXXIV. 4, he interpolates Laërtius, to make him agree with it[1]; by which means he makes two falsehoods in Laërtius' text, which was right before he meddled with it; for he sets Aphepsion at Olymp. LXXIV. 4, instead of LXXVII. 4; and at Ol. LXXVII. 4, he puts Phædon, instead of Aphepsion; and besides this, he dates Cimon's taking of Scyros, and the fetching of Theseus' bones, at Ol. LXXIV. 4[2], because Plutarch says Aphepsion was Archon at the time of that action[3]; which is a mistake of a dozen years; for this was done Ol. LXXVII. 3 and 4, as is plain from Diodorus[4], and intimated even by Plutarch himself. Nay, to see how error is propagated, even Petavius too was caught here; for at Ol. LXXVII. 4, he takes notice of Laërtius' inconsistency, as he thought it: "He makes Socrates to be born," says he, "at this Olympiad; but he names Aphepsion for the Archon, who was not in this year, but Olymp. LXXIV. 4[5]." And again, at Olymp. LXXIV. 4, Petavius makes Aphepsion to be Archon[6], and cites Laërtius for it in the Life of Socrates; and he adds, "That in this year Cimon fetched Theseus' bones from Scyros to Athens." Here, we see, are the very same mistakes that Meursius fell into; and

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[8] See Diss. pp. 158 and 215.

[9] Laërt. in Socr.

[1] Meurs. Arch. ii. 7.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Plut. Cimon.

[4] Diod. p. 45.

[5] Petav. Doctr. Temp. ii. p. 570.

[6] Ibid. p. 567.

the sole occasion of them all was the heedlessness of Jos. Scaliger. But Petavius has yet another mischance, for he adds[7], p. 284.
that "upon the bringing up of Theseus' bones, the prizes for tragedians were instituted;" which is part of the error of Jul. Scaliger and Ger. Vossius, that we have noted above; the original of which seems to have been this mistaken passage of Plutarch, who, after he has related how the bones of Theseus were brought in pomp to Athens by Cimon,—Ἔθεντυ δέ, says he, *καὶ εἰς μνήμην* ΑΥΤΟΥ *καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην*[8]. Now, it seems that some believe ΑΥΤΟΥ to be spoken of Theseus; and from thence they coined the story of tragedies being acted at his tomb. But it plainly relates to Cimon, who, with the rest of the generals, sat judge of the plays of Sophocles and Æschylus at that Olymp. LXXVII. 4, and gave the victory to the former[9]. Upon the whole, then, first, It appears against Mr. B. that tragedies were not acted among the solemnities at Theseus' tomb; and, secondly, That Theseus' tomb was not built till Ol. LXXVII. 4, in Æschylus' and Sophocles' time, long after Thespis; so that, were it true that tragedies had been one of those funeral solemnities, yet it would be no argument for that antiquity that Mr. B. assigns to Tragedy. But these are mistakes of his, only for want of reading: the next that I am going to mention, let others judge from what it proceeds. The case is this:—A certain writer has accused Mr. B. of a false citation of Plutarch's Life of Theseus, "for there is no such thing as he quotes in that life. In the life of Cimon, indeed, there is something that an ignorant person might construe to such a sense[1]." To this Mr. B. replies, that he owns he was misled by Jul. Scaliger, who affirms the thing, but quotes nobody for it; "and perhaps," says Mr. B. farther, "I was too hasty in not fully considering the whole p. 285.
passage of Plutarch in the Life of Cimon relating to this matter." Now, this excuse implies an affirmation that he had his eye on that passage in the Life of Cimon, when he wrote that about tragedies at Theseus' tomb. But the contrary of this is manifest from his own book; for he quotes not the Life of Cimon, but the Life of Theseus, where there is not one syllable of tragedies; so that he quoted Plutarch *at a venture,* without look-

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[7] "Inde Tragœdorum institutus est Agon."

[8] Plut. Cim.

[9] Plut. ibid. See Marm. Arund. epoch. 57.

[1] View of Dissert. p. 72.

ing into him at all. Where is the truth, then, of his "not FULLY considering?" If Mr. B.'s very excuses stand in need of excuse, how inexcusable must the rest be!

It was the Examiner's purpose to show some footsteps of Tragedy before the time of Thespis: but he has not observed a passage of Herodotus (because his second-hand writers did not furnish him with it), which of all others had been fittest for his turn. "The Sicyonians," says that historian, "in every respect honoured the memory of Adrastus; and particularly they celebrated the story of his life with tragical choruses; not making Bacchus the subject of them, but Adrastus. But Clisthenes assigned the chorus to Bacchus, and the rest of the festival to Melanippus[2]." This Clisthenes, here spoken of, was grandfather to Clisthenes the Athenian, who was the main agent in driving out the sons of Pisistratus, at Olymp. LXVII; and since tragical choruses were used in Sicyon before that Clisthenes' time, it appears they must be long in use before the time of Thespis, who was one generation younger than Clisthenes himself: and, agreeably to this, Themistius tells us "That the Sicyonians were the inventors of Tragedy, and the Athenians the finishers[3]." And when Aristotle says, "That p. 286. some of the Peloponnesians pretend to the invention of it[4]," I understand him of these Sicyonians. Now, if Mr. B. had but met with this place of Herodotus, with what triumphing and insulting would he have produced it!—what plenty of scurrility and grimace would he have poured out on this occasion! But I have so little apprehensions either of the force of this argument, or of Mr. B.'s address in managing it, that I here give him notice of it, for the improvement of his next edition: the truth is, there is no more to be inferred from these passages, than that, before the time of Thespis, the first grounds and rudiments of Tragedy were laid:—there were choruses and extemporal songs (αὐτοσχεδιαστικά), but nothing *written* or published as a dramatic poem;—so that Phalaris is still to be indicted for a sophist, for saying his two fairy poets *wrote* tragedies against him[5]. Nay, the word *Tragedy* was not heard of then at Sicyon, though Herodotus names (Τραγικοὺς χορούς) the tragical choruses; which by and by shall be considered.

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[2] Herod. v. 67. Τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον.

[3] Them. Orat. xix. Τραγῳδίας εὑρεταὶ μὲν Σικυώνιοι, τελεσιουργοὶ δὲ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταί.

[4] Arist. Poët. 3.

[5] Epist. 63, 97.

Mr. B. is so very obliging, "that if I will suffer myself to be taught by him, he will set me right" in my notion of Tragedy. I am willing to be *taught* by any body, much more by the great Mr. B., though as to this particular of Tragedy, I dare not honour myself as Mr. B. honours his teacher, by telling him, "That the foundation of all the little knowledge I have in this matter was laid by him;" for there is nothing true in the long lecture that he reads to me here about tragedy, but what I might have learned out of Aristotle, Julius Scaliger, Gerard Vossius, Marmora Oxoniensia, and other common books: and as for the singularities in it, which I could not have learned in other places (if I, who p. 287.
am here to be *taught*, may use such freedom with my master), they are such lessons as I hope I am now too old to learn. I will not sift into them too minutely; for I will observe the respect and distance that is due to him from his scholar; but there is one particular that I must not omit, when he tells me, as out of Aristotle, that the subject of primitive Tragedy was satirical reproofs of vicious men and manners of the times; so that he explains very dexterously, as he thinks, the expression of Phalaris, "That the poets wrote tragedies AGAINST him;" for the meaning, he says, is this: "That they wrote lampoons, and abusive satirical copies of verses upon him." But it were well if this would be a warning to him, when he next pretends to *teach* others, to consider first how lately he himself came from school. The words of Aristotle that he refers to are, "That Tragedy at first was Σατυρική[6]:" which Mr. B. in his deep judgment and reading interprets *satire* and *lampoon*, confounding the satyrical plays of the Greeks with the satire of the Romans; though it is now above a hundred years since Casaubon[7] wrote a whole book, on purpose to show they had no similitude or affinity with one another. The Greek *Satyrica* was only a jocose sort of tragedy, consisting of a chorus of satyrs (from which it had its name) that talked lasciviously, befitting their character; but they never gave "reproofs to the vicious men of the times," their whole discourse being directed to the action and story of the play, which was Bacchus, or some ancient hero, turned a little to ridicule. There is an entire play

[6] Arist. Poët.

[7] Is. Casaub. de Satyrica et Satira. Par. 1595.

of this kind yet extant, the Cyclops of Euripides; but it no more p. 288. concerns the *vicious men* at Athens in the poet's time, than his Orestes or his Hecuba does. As for the abusive poem or satire of the Romans, it was an invention of their own. *Satira tota nostra est,* says Quinctilian[8], "Satire is entirely ours;" and if the Greeks had any thing like it, it was not the satyrical plays of the tragic poets, but the old comedy, and the Silli made by Xenophanes, Timon, and others. "Satire," says Diomedes, "among the ROMANS, is NOW an abusive poem, made to reprove the vices of men[9]." Here we see it was a poem of the Romans, not of the Greeks; and it was *now,* that is, after Lucilius' time, that it became abusive; for the satire of Ennius and Pacuvius was quite of another nature. And now which of my masters must I be *taught* by? by Quinctilian and Diomedes? or by the young Orbilius, that has lashed Scaliger and Salmasius at that insolent rate? But Mr. B. offers to prove that the old tragedy had a mixture of lampoon, from Thespis' cart that he carried his plays in; "From which cart," says he, "scurrility and buffoonery were so usually uttered, that 'Εξαμάξειν and 'Εξ ἁμάξης λέγειν, became proverbial expressions for satire and jeering." What an odious word is here, 'Εξαμάξειν! Sure all the buffoonery of that cart he talks of, could not be so nauseous as this one barbarism. I desire to know in what original author (for his second-hand gentlemen he must excuse me) this wonderful word may be found; the original of which seems a mistake of ἐξ ἁμαξῶν, for a participle 'Εξαμάξων. But to leave this to keep company with 'Αντιγονίδαι and Σελευκίδαι[1], I will crave leave to tell him, that there were other carts, and not Thespis', that this proverb (Τὰ p. 289. ἐξ ἁμαξῶν) was taken from; for they generally used carts in their pomps and processions, not only in the festivals of Bacchus, but of other gods too; and particularly in the Eleusinian feast, the women were carried in the procession in carts, out of which they abused and jeered one another. Aristophanes in Plutus:—

Μυστηρίοις δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις ὀχουμένην
'Επὶ τῆς ἁμάξης ——

Upon which passage the old Scholiast[2] and Suidas[3] have this note:—"That in those carts the women (ἐλοιδόρουν ἀλλήλαις) made abusive jests one upon another;" and especially at a bridge over the river Cephissus, where the procession used to stop a little; from whence, to *abuse* and *jeer* was called γεφυρίζειν[4]. These Eleusinian carts are mentioned by Virgil, in the first of his Georgics:—

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[8] Quinct. x. 1.

[9] Diomed. p. 482.

[1] See Diss., p. 128.

[2] Schol. Arist. p. 48.

[3] Suid. in Τὰ ἐξ ἁμαξῶν.

> "Tardaque Eleusinæ matris volventia *plaustra*[5]."

Which most of the interpreters have been mistaken in; for the poet means not that Ceres invented them, but that they were used at her feasts. But besides the Eleusinian, there was the same custom in many other festival pomps; whence it was that Πομπεύειν and Πομπεία came at last to signify *scoffing* and *railing*. So Demosthenes takes the word; and his Scholiast says[6], "That in those *pomps* they used to put on vizards, and riding in the carts, abuse the people; from whence," says he, "comes the proverb, ἐξ ἁμάξης με ὕβρισε," which Demosthenes uses in the same oration[7]; so that the very passage of this orator, which Mr. B. cites in his margin, is not meant of the carts of tragedians. It is true, Harpocration[8] and Suidas[9] understand it of the *pomp* in the feasts of Bacchus; but even there too they were not the tragic but the comic poets who were so abusive; for they also p. 290. had their carts to carry their plays in. "The comic poets," says the Scholiast on Aristophanes[1], "rubbing their faces with lees of wine, that they might not be known, were carried about in carts, and sung their poems in the highways; from whence came the proverb (Ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λαλεῖ)—To rail as impudently as out of a cart." Mr. B. concludes this paragraph with a kind hint, "That the doctor may perhaps, before he dies, have a convincing proof that a man may be the subject of such tragedies (i. e. such lampoons and abuses from carts) while he is living." I heartily thank him for telling the world what worthy adversaries I am like to have, and what honourable weapons they will use; and, to requite his kindness, I assure him that I shall no more value, nor be concerned at those *lampooning* tragedies, than if they were really spoken *out of carts*, which perhaps may still be the fittest stage for such kind of tragedians.

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[4] Hesych. Γεφ.

[5] Georg. i. 163.

[6] Demosth. de Corona, p. 134, edit. Par.

[7] P. 159.

[8] Harp. in Πομπεία. Διονυσιακαῖς ἑορταῖς.

[9] Suid. in Ἐξ ἁμάξης. Ἐν Ληναίοις.

[1] Schol. Arist. p. 76.

There are two passages of Horace and Plutarch that concern the rise and origin of Tragedy:—

> "Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camœnæ
> Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis[2]."

And Ἀρχομένων τῶν περὶ Θέσπιν ἤδη τὴν Τραγῳδίαν κινεῖν[3]. Now the first of these, as Mr. B. glosses upon it, means it was "an unknown kind of tragic poetry which Thespis found out;" and implies "there was another kind in use before him." The latter, he says, may import that Thespis did not invent, "but only gave life and motion to Tragedy, by making it dramatic." Now Mr. B. either seriously believes these interpretations or not. If he *does*, the best advice his friends can give him is, to p. 291. trouble his head no more with critic, for it will never do him credit. If he *does not* believe them, where is that modesty "becoming a young writer," or that sincerity becoming a gentleman, or that prudence becoming a man? It is a dangerous thing to trifle with the world, and to put those things upon others which he believes not himself. No man ever despised his readers that did not suffer for it at the last. However, whether Mr. B. believes these interpretations or not, I am resolved not to refute them; for though I have often had already, and shall have still, a very ignoble employment in answering some of his little cavils, yet I have spirit enough to think that there may be *some* drudgery so very mean as to be really below me.

We are come now to the last point about Tragedy; and that is the *origin* of the *name*. I had observed, "that the name of Tragedy was no older than the thing, as sometimes it happens, when an old word is borrowed and applied to a new notion." So that the very word τραγῳδία, which the false Phalaris uses in his Epistles, was not so much as heard of in the days of the true one. Mr. B. commences his answer to this with an acuteness familiar to him. "What does he mean?" says he: "*Names*, I thought, were invented to signify *things*: and that the *things* themselves must be before the *names* by which they are called." Now I leave it to the sagacious reader to discover, what I cannot do, the pertinency and the drift of this passage of Mr. B.'s. However, let it belong to any thing or nothing, it is a proposition false in itself. "That things themselves must be before the names by which they are called;" for we have many new tunes in music made every day which never existed before, yet several of them are called by p. 292. *names* that were formerly in use; and perhaps the tune of *Chevy Chace,* though it be of famous antiquity, is a little younger than the name of the Chace itself; and I humbly conceive that Mr. Hobbs' book, which he called the Leviathan, is not quite so ancient as its name is in Hebrew. So very fortunate is Mr. B. when he endeavours at subtlety and niceness! It is true, where *things* are eternal, or as old as the world, which we call the works of Nature, they *must* be older than the *names* that are given to them; but in things of art or notion, that have their existence from man's intellect or manual operation, *the things themselves* may be many years younger *than the names by which they are called;* and so the thing Tragedy may possibly be younger than the name that it is called by.

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[2] Hor. in Arte Poët.

[3] Plut. in Solone.

The reason, therefore, why I affirmed "that the name of Tragedy was no older than the thing," was,—because good authors assured me that the word Tragedy[4] was first coined from the Goat, that was the prize of it; which prize was first constituted in Thespis' time. So the Arundel Marble, in the epoch of Thespis: Καὶ ἆθλον ἐτέθη ὁ Τράγος·—"and the Goat was appointed for the prize." So Dioscorides, in his epigram upon Thespis:—

> ———Ὧι τράγος ἆθλον.

And Horace, speaking of the same person,

> "Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob Hircum."

And because I was fully persuaded by them that this was the true etymology of the word, and that the guesses of some grammarians, (Τραγῳδία *quasi* τρυγῳδία, or Τραγῳδία *quasi* τραχεῖα ᾠδή,) and other such like, were absurd and ridiculous, I thought, p. 293. as I do still, that the very name of Tragedy was no older than Thespis; and consequently could not have been found in the epistles of the true Phalaris.

But I have not forgotten, what I myself lately quoted out of Herodotus, that the Sicyonians before Thespis' time honoured the memory of Adrastus (τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι) "with tragical choruses[5]." If this be so, here appears an ample testimony that the word *Tragedy* was older than Thespis. But for a man that meddles with this kind of learning, the first stock to set up and

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[4] Τραγῳδία. Τράγος.

[5] Herod. v. c. 67.

prosper with is sound *judgment*, which gives the very name and being to *critic;* and without which he will never be able to steer his course successfully among many seeming contradictions. As in this passage of Herodotus, which is contrary to what others assure us, what course is to be taken?—must we stand dubious and neuter between both, and cry out upon "the uncertainty of Heathen Chronology?"—or must we not rather say, That Herodotus, who lived many years after Thespis, when Tragedy was frequent and improved to its highest pitch, made use of a Prolepsis when he called them Τραγικοὺς χορούς,—meaning such choruses as gave the first rise to that which in his time was called Tragedy? So we have seen before, that Porphyry, and Jamblichus, and Conon, speak of Taurominium at a time when that name was not yet heard of; but they meant the city of Naxos, that was afterwards called so. Such an anticipation is common and familiar in all sorts of writers. And if Herodotus, in another place, where he says, "That the Epidaurians (long before Susarion lived in Attica) honoured the goddesses Damia and Auxesia
p. 294. (χοροῖσι γυναικηΐοισι κερτόμοισι) with choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country[*]," had called them χοροῖσι κωμικοῖσι (comical choruses), he had said nothing unworthy of a great historian, because those choruses of women were much of the same sort that were afterwards called comical, though perhaps at that time the word *comical* was not yet minted.

But let us see what Mr. B. advances to show that the name of Tragedy is older than Thespis. "It cannot reasonably be questioned," says he, "but that those Bacchic hymns they sung in chorus round their altars (from whence the regular Tragedy came) were called by this name Tragedy, from Τράγος, the Goat, (the sacrifice,) at the offering of which these odes were sung." But he presently subjoins, "That as to this we are in the dark, and have only probabilities to guide us." And if we are in the dark, I dare affirm that the Examiner will leave us so still; for it is not his talent to give light to any thing, but rather to make it darker than it was before. "It cannot reasonably," he says, "be questioned." Why not, I pray? Because it would be a question that he could not answer. I know no other *unreasonableness* in questioning it; for he has not one authority for what he supposes here, That the name of Tragedy was as old as the institution of sacrificing a Goat to Bacchus: but, on the contrary, we have express testimony that it was no ancienter than when the Goat was made the prize to be contended for by the Poets. As, besides the passages cited before, Eusebius says in his Chronicle, "Certantibus in Agone Tragos, i. e. Hircus, in præmio dabatur; unde aiunt Tragœdos nuncupatos." So Diomedes the grammarian, "Tragœdia a *τράγῳ* et *ᾠδῇ* dicta; quoniam olim p. 295. actoribus Tragicis, *τράγος*, id est, Hircus, præmium cantus, proponebatur." Etymol. Mag. *Κέκληται τραγῳδία ὅτι τράγος τῇ ᾠδῇ ἆθλον ἐτίθετο.* Philargyrius on Virgil's Georgics,—"Dabatur Hircus, præmii nomine; unde hoc genus poëmatis Tragœdiam volunt dictam[7]." All the other derivations of the word Tragedy are to be slighted and exploded. But if this be the true one, as it certainly is, the word cannot possibly be ancienter than Thespis' days; who was the first that contended for this prize. Besides this, we have very good authority that "those Bacchic hymns, from whence the regular Tragedy came," were originally called by another name;—not Tragedy, but Dithyramb. So Aristotle expressly teaches: "Tragedy," says he, "had its first rise from those that sung the Dithyramb[8]." *Διθύραμβος*, says Suidas, *ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον*: i. e. "Dithyramb means the Bacchic hymn." The first author of the Dithyramb, as some relate[9], was Lasus Hermionensis, in the first Darius' time; or, as others[1], Arion Methymnæus, in the time of Periander. But, as it appears from Pindar, and his Scholiast[2], the antiquity of it was so great, that the inventor could not be known; and Archilochus, who was much older than both Lasus and Arion, has the very word Dithyramb in these wonderful and truly Dithyrambic verses[3]:—

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[*] Herod. v. c. 83.

Ὡς Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος
Οἶδα Διθύραμβον, οἴνῳ συγκεραυνωθεὶς φρένας.

So the verses are to be corrected and distinguished, being a pair of Trochaics; and Mr. B. may please to observe, that Archilochus too, as well as Suidas, defines a Dithyramb to be a Bacchic hymn; which Mr. B. erroneously makes to be peculiar to Tragedy.

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[7] Georg. ii. 183.

[8] Arist. Poet. iv. *Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν Διθύραμβον.*

[9] Suid. *Λάσος*. Arist. Schol. pp. 362. 421.

[1] Suid. *Ἀρίων*. Arist. Schol. 421. Dion Chrysost. p. 455.

[2] Pind. Olymp. xiii.

[3] Athen. p. 628.

p. 296. I will tell him also anon, that the Chorus belonging to the Dithyramb was not called a Tragic, but a Cyclian Chorus.

Mr. B. has failed in his first attempt about the date of the word Tragedy: but he has still another stratagem to bring about his design: for he will prove that Τραγῳδία "comprehended originally both Tragedy and Comedy;" and since Comedy was as ancient as Susarion, who was near forty years older than Thespis, it follows that the word Τραγῳδία, which Comedy was then called by, must be older than Thespis. This being the point he promised to prove, he presently shifts hands, and changes the question; for he has quoted five passages, one out of Athenæus, three out of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, and one out of Hesychius, to show that Τρυγῳδία signifies Comedy; which is a thing so known and common, and confessed by all, that he might as well take pains to prove Κωμῳδία signifies Comedy. But what is all this to Τραγῳδία? Must τραγῳδία signify Comedy, because τρυγῳδία does? An admirable argument, and one of Mr. B.'s beloved sort! He may prove too, whensoever he pleases, *lacerna* means "a lamp," because *lucerna* does; and a great many other feats may be performed by this argument. But, in his other citations, with which his margin is plentifully stuffed out, there is one to show that Τρυγῳδία signifies Tragedy; and two, that Τραγῳδία signifies Comedy. Now, the first of these is beside the question again; for though τρυγῳδία should stand both for τραγῳδία and κωμῳδία, yet it does not at all follow that τραγῳδία may stand for κωμῳδία. If Mr. B. had studied his new logic more, and his Phalaris less, he had made better work in the way
p. 297. of reasoning. It is as if some school-boy should thus argue with his master: *Pomum* may signify *malum*, "an apple;" and *pomum*, too, may signify *cerasum*, "a cherry;" therefore *malum*, "an apple," may signify *cerasum*, "a cherry." But, besides the failure in the consequence, the proposition itself is false; for τρυγῳδία does not signify Tragedy: nay, to see the strange felicity of Mr. B.'s criticism, even his other assertion is false too; for τραγῳδία never signifies Comedy. Let us examine his instances:

"Τρυγῳδία," says Mr. B., "signifies Tragedy, properly so called, in this passage of Aristophanes[4]:—

—— Αὐτὸς δ' ἔνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ
Τρυγῳδίαν——

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[4] Arist. Acharn. p. 278.

For this is spoken of Euripides." But what then? "Why, Euripides being a Tragic poet, *τρυγῳδία*, when applied to him, must needs signify Tragedy." I am unwilling to discourage a gentleman; and yet I cannot but take notice of his unlucky hand, whenever he meddles with authors. Here he interprets *τρυγῳδία*, "Tragedy;" and yet the very jest and wit of this passage consists in this, that the poet calls Euripides' plays *Comedies;* and so the Scholiast interprets it: *τρυγῳδίαν δὲ εἶπεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ κωμῳδίαν.* Euripides was accused by Aristophanes, and several of the ancients, for debasing the majesty and grandeur of Tragedy, by introducing low and despicable characters instead of heroic ones; and by making his persons discourse in a mean and popular style, but one degree above common talk in Comedy; contrary to the practice of Æschylus and Sophocles, who aspired after the sublime character; and by metaphors, and epithets, and compound words, made all their lines strong and lofty; and particularly in Aristophanes' Ranæ [5], where Æschylus and Euri- p. 298.
pides are compared together, the latter is pleasantly burlesqued and rallied on this very account. What could Aristophanes then say smarter in this passage about him, than, in derision of his style and characters, to call his Tragedies *Comedies?*

Well, let us see if, in his next point, Mr. B. is more fortunate, —"that *τραγῳδία* may signify Comedy. There is a fragment," he says, "of Aristophanes' ΓΑΡΥΤΑΔΗΣ preserved, where *τραγῳδός* signifies a Comedian [6]:"

> Καὶ τίνες ἂν εἶεν; πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
> Ἀπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
> Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας.

Now Sannyrion being a Comic poet, as it is very well known, it is a clear case, as Mr. B. thinks, that *ἀπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν* means "one of the Comedians." No doubt, the poet meaned to say that Sannyrion was sent ambassador from the comic poets, Meletus from the tragic, and Cinesias from the dithyrambic. This was Aristophanes' thought; and therefore I affirm that his words could not be *ἀπὸ τῶν τραγῳδῶν*, as now they are read: so far from that, that if *τραγῳδῶν could* signify Comedians, yet he would not have used the word in this place, where *τραγικῶν χορῶν* immediately follows; for what a wretched ambiguity would be here, and wholly unworthy of so elegant a poet! since τραγῳδῶν and τραγικῶν χορῶν are words of the same import: and if the former may signify Comedy, the latter may do so too. So that if the persons Sannyrion and Meletus had not been well known, the passage might appear a mere tautology; Tragedians and Tragedians, or Comedians and Comedians; or, if the signification p. 299. was varied, the one word meaning Comedians, and the other Tragedians, yet it had been uncertain whether of the two was the Comedian and whether the Tragedian; because both the words, according to Mr. B., may be interpreted in either signification. These, I conceive, are such just exceptions against the vulgar reading of this passage, that a person who esteems Aristophanes as he deserves, may safely say he never wrote it so. If Critic had ever once smiled upon Mr. B., or if there was not a kind of fatality in his errors, he could scarce have missed this most certain correction:

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[5] Arist. Ran. p. 167, &c.

[6] Athen. p. 551.

—Πρῶτα μὲν Σαννυρίων
Ἀπὸ τῶν τρυγῳδῶν—

by which all the ambiguity or tautology vanishes: for τρυγῳδὸς never signified any thing but a comedian. And how easy and natural was the depravation of τρυγῳδῶν into τραγῳδῶν! Τρυγῳδός being the much rarer word, and, as I believe, not to be met with in prose or serious writings; for it was a kind of jeering name, and not so honourable as Κωμῳδός. However, the corruption of this passage is very ancient; for the author of the Epitome of Athenæus, who lived before Eustathius' time, i. e. above D years ago, read it τραγῳδῶν· for here he calls Sannyrion a tragedian[7]. But in Ælian's days, the true reading (τρυγῳδῶν) was still extant in Athenæus; for that author transcribes this very passage into his Various History; and from it he calls Sannyrion a comedian[8], and Meletus a tragedian.

But that Mr. B. may not wonder at the change of τρυγῳδῶν into τραγῳδῶν, I will tell him of one or two other corruptions in the very same passage:

p. 300. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τραγικῶν χορῶν
Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλικῶν Κινησίας·

for the learned Casaubon, instead of Μέλητος, reads it Μέλιτος:

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[7] Epit. Athen. MS. Σαννυρίωνα τὸν τραγῳδόν.

[8] Æl. Var. Hist. x. 6. Σαννυρίων ὁ Κωμῳδίας ποιητής.

"because," says he, "neither this verse here, nor any other wherein he is mentioned, will allow the second syllable of his name to be long[9]." But, with humble submission, Whether his name be written Μέλιτος or Μέλητος[10], I affirm that those very verses both allow and require that the second syllable of it should be long;—as first in this of Aristophanes, if the first syllable of Κυκλικῶν be short, the second of Μέλιτος must be long. Casaubon, it is true, as his observation shows, believed the first of Κυκλικῶν to be of necessity long; but, as it is plain that it *may* be short, so that it actually is so in several passages (I might say all) of the same poet, will be seen by and by. The other verse that Casaubon produces, is out of the Ranæ:

> Σκολιῶν Μελίτου, καὶ Καρικῶν αὐλημάτων.

But even here, too, the second syllable of Μελίτου is long; for KAI ought to be struck out, as will be plain from the whole passage[1]:—

> Οὗτος δ' ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει πορνιδίων,
> Σκολίων Μελίτου, Καρικῶν αὐλημάτων,
> Θρήνων, Χορείων· τάχα δὲ δηλωθήσεται.

Who does not see now that, if KAI be inserted in the second verse, a great part of the elegancy is lost? for the whole sentence runs on without any particle of conjunction. But to put the matter quite out of doubt, this very verse is cited in Suidas[2], and KAI does not appear there; but it easily crept into the text, because the next word begins with the same letters KA. Upon the whole, therefore, the fault that Casaubon found in the passage of Athenæus is really none: but there is one which he did not find, and that is κυκλικῶν instead of κυκλίων· for the verse should be corrected thus:— p. 301.

> Μέλητος, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν κυκλίων Κινησίας.

So Ælian[3] cites it from this very place, Κινησίας Κυκλίων χορῶν ποιητής: and Aristophanes[4] speaks so in other places:—

> Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένακας.

And again, speaking of the same Cinesias:—

> Ταυτὶ πεποίηκας τὸν κυκλιοδιδάσκαλον·

and so all manner of writers call them Κύκλιοι χοροί, and never

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[9] Casaub. ad Athen. p. 857.

[10] The true reading is Μέλητος: cf. *Schol. Plat.* p. 330, ed. Bekker.—J. W. D.

[1] Arist. Ran. p. 180. [2] Suid. in. Μέλιτος. [3] Æl. x. 6. [4] Arist. Nub. p. 79.

Κυκλικοί: Suidas, Scholiasts on Pindar and Aristophanes, Hesychius, Plato, Plutarch, and others. This Cyclian chorus was the same with the Dithyramb, as some of these authors expressly say; and there were three choruses belonging to Bacchus; the Κωμικός, the Τραγικός, and the Κύκλιος, the last of which had its prize and its judges at the Dionysia[5], as the other two had. The famous Simonides won LVI of these victories, as Tzetzes informs us from an epitaph upon that poet's tomb[6]:—

῞Εξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἤραο νίκας
Καὶ τρίποδας, θνήσκεις δ' ἐν Σικελῷ πεδίῳ.
Κείῳ δὲ μνήμην λείπεις, ῞Ελλησι δ' ἔπαινον
Εὐξυνέτου ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις.

So this epigram is to be corrected; for it is faulty in Tzetzes. Indeed, it is not expressed here what sort of victories they were; so that possibly there might be some of them obtained by his Tragedies, if that be true which Suidas tells us, that Simonides made Tragedies. But I rather believe that he won them all by his Dithyrambs with the Cyclian choruses; and I am confirmed in it by his own epigram, not published before[7]:—

p. 302. *῞Εξ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα, Σιμωνίδη, ἤραο ταύρους*
Καὶ τρίποδας, πρὶν τόνδ' ἀνθέμεναι πίνακα.
Τοσσάκι δ' ἱμερόεντα [διδαξάμενος] χορὸν ἀνδρῶν,
Εὐδόξου νίκας ἀγλαὸν ἅρμ' ἐπέβης.

I have supplied the third verse with *διδαξάμενος*, which is wanting in the MS. But it is observable that, instead of *νίκας*, as it is in Tzetzes, the MS. epigram has *ταύρους*, which I take to be the author's own word; but being not understood, it was changed into *νίκας*: for *Ταῦρος*, a Bull, was the prize of the Dithyramb, as a Goat was of Tragedy; which was the reason why Pindar gives to the Dithyramb the epithet of *βοηλάτης*[8]:—

Ταὶ Διωνύσου πόθεν ἐξέφαναν
Σὺν βοηλάτᾳ χάριτες
Διθυράμβῳ——.

"He calls the Dithyramb *βοηλάτης*," says the Scholiast, "because the Bull was the prize to the winner; that animal being sacred to Bacchus." And as the Dithyrambic poets contended for a Bull, so the harpers (Κιθαρῳδοί) contended for a calf. Aristophanes[9]:—

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[5] Æsch. contra Ctesiph. p. 87. Καὶ τοὺς μὲν κριτὰς τοὺς ἐκ Διονυσίων, ἐὰν μὴ δικαίως τοὺς Κυκλίους χοροὺς κρίνωσι, ζημιοῦτε.

[6] Tzetz. Chil. i. 24.

[7] Anthol. Epigr. MS. [Anthol. Palat. I. p. 253.]

[8] Pind. Olymp. xiii.

Ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἥσθην, ἡνίκ' ἐπὶ μόσχῳ ποτὲ
Δεξίθεος εἰσῆλθ' ᾀσόμενος Βοιώτιον.

"Some," says the Scholiast, "interpret it ἐπὶ μόσχῳ, for a calf: because he that got the victory with his harp, had a calf for his premium." He seems, indeed, to give preference to the other exposition, that makes Μόσχος the name of a harper, and the modern translators follow him in it; but the former is the true meaning of the passage, as both the language and the sense sufficiently show. I will crave leave to add two things more relating to this matter:—First, that this triple chorus, the Comic, Tragic, and Cyclian, may perhaps be meant in that epigram of Dioscorides, which I have produced above:— p. 303.

Βάκχος ὅτε τριττὸν κατάγοι χορὸν——.

Neither shall I contend the point, if any one will embrace this exposition; but, for my own part, I prefer the other, which makes it relate to Trina Liberalia, the three festivals of Bacchus. And, secondly, that these prizes, the bull and the calf, appointed for the Dithyramb and playing on the harp (if they really were continued till Simonides' death, and Aristophanes' time; and if those passages of theirs related to the present custom, and not the first institution only) may induce some to believe that the old prizes for Tragedy and Comedy might be continued too, though they be not taken notice of. However, be this as it will, the arguments used above are not weakened at all by it; for it is plain, from the epochs of Æschylus, &c., in the Arundel Marble (where those prizes are not mentioned) that the epochs of Susarion and Thespis (where they are mentioned) were proposed to us by that author as the first rise of Comedy and Tragedy.

Mr. B. has one passage more, which is his last anchor, to prove his notable point, "That the word Tragedy may signify Comedy." It is in the Greek Prolegomena to Aristophanes, gathered out of some nameless authors; the words are, Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην (Κωμῳδίαν) εἰπεῖν καὶ τραγῳδίαν, οἱονεὶ τρυγῳδίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, ὅτι τρυγίᾳ χριόμενοι ἐκωμῴδουν· i. e. "Comedy may be called Tragedy, *quasi* Trygœdia, because the actors besmeared their faces with lees of wine[1]." Here, we see, the testimony is positive and full that Comedy may be called Tragedy; which is the thing that Mr. B. undertook to prove; p. 304. and what is there now remaining but to congratulate and applaud him? But I think one could hardly pitch upon a better instance, to show that he that meddles with these matters must have *brains*, as Mr. B.'s phrase is, as well as eyes, *in his head*. A man that has that furniture in his upper story, will discover, by the very next words in that nameless old author, that the passage is corrupted; for it immediately follows, *Καὶ τῆς μὲν Τραγῳδίας τὸ εἰς ἔλεον κινῆσαι τοὺς ἀκροατάς, τῆς δὲ Κωμῳδίας τὸ εἰς γέλωτα.* So that the whole sentence, as the common reading and Mr. B. has it, is thus:—"Comedy may be also called Tragedy; and it is the design of Tragedy to excite compassion in the auditory; but of Comedy to excite laughter." Is not this now a most admirable period? and all one as if he had said, "Comedy may be called Tragedy, for they are quite different things!" Without all doubt, if he had really meant "Comedy may be called Tragedy," in those following words he would have said *τῆς τραγῳδίας τῆς κυρίως λεγομένης·* "it is the design of Tragedy, properly so called;" and not have left them, as they now are, a piece of flat nonsense. But the fault, one may say, is now conspicuous enough; but what shall be done for an emendation of it?—even that too is very easy and certain, for, with the smallest alteration, the whole passage may be read thus: *Ἔστι δὲ ταύτην εἰπεῖν καὶ τρυγῳδίαν, οἱονεὶ τρυγῳδίαν τινὰ οὖσαν, ὅτι τρυγίᾳ χριόμενοι ἐκωμῴδουν.* And so we have it, in almost the very same words, in another writer among the same Prolegomena: *Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ (Κωμῳδίαν) καὶ τρυγῳδίαν φασίν, ὅτι τρυγὶ διαχρίοντες τὰ πρόσωπα ὑπεκρίνοντο*[2]. The import of both is, "That for *κωμῳδία*, one may use the word *τρυγῳδία*:" which is true and p. 305. right; for the words are synonymous, as appears from several places in Aristophanes and the old lexicographers.

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[9] Acharn. p. 261.

[1] Proleg. Arist. p. ix.

I have now despatched all the Examiner's instances which he has brought to show that *τρυγῳδία* may signify Tragedy, or *τραγῳδία* signify Comedy; and it would seem a very strange thing in any other writer but Mr. B. that he should bring half a dozen examples, that are either false or nothing to his purpose, and be ignorant of that single one that is plainly and positively for him. I crave his leave to produce it here, and to change my adversary for a while, if Mr. B. will not be affronted that I assign him a second so much inferior to him—the great Isaac Casaubon. This author in his most excellent book, "De Satyrica Poësi," as Mr. B. has done, teaches us[3], "That at first both Comedy and Tragedy were called *τρυγῳδία* or *τραγῳδία*, as appears from Athenæus; where he says[4], both Comedy and Tragedy were found out in the time of vintage (*τρύγης*): *ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τρυγῳδία τὸ πρῶτον ἐκλήθη καὶ κωμῳδία.* Which," says Casaubon, "I thus correct:—*ἐκλήθη καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία·* that is, From which word (*τρύγη*) Vintage, both Comedy and Tragedy were at first called *τρυγῳδία.*" This is Casaubon's first proof; and we see it solely depends upon his own emendation of Athenæus: which, with humble submission, I take to be a very wrong one; for it is not in the text, as he has cited it, *ἐκλήθη* KAI *κωμῳδία* (which would truly show some defect in it), but *ἐκλήθη* 'H *κωμῳδία*, both in his own and the other editions. He was deceived, therefore, by trusting to his Adversaria, without consulting the original; for there is no other pretence of altering the text, but from the particle KAI. He goes on, and tells us[5], "That both *τρυγῳδία* p. 306 and *τραγῳδία* were at first a common name for both Tragedy and Comedy; but afterwards it was divided, *διεσπάσθη*, as Aristotle says, and the ancient critics witness." Now, the passage in Aristotle which he refers to has nothing at all either about Tragedy or Comedy; but it speaks of poetry in general: *Διεσπάσθη δὲ κατὰ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἤθη ἡ ποίησις.* "That it was divided and branched into sorts according to the several humours of the writers; some singing the stories of heroes, others making drolls and lampoons, and a third sort hymns and encomiums, all as their several fancies led them[6]." But Mr. Casaubon subjoins this quotation following:—*Τραγῳδία τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν ὄνομα κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγῳδία, ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ἴδιον·* i. e. "Tragedy was of old a common name both for itself and Comedy; but afterwards that common name became peculiar to Tragedy, and the other was called Comedy:"—which passage is taken out of the Etymologicon Magnum, though a little interpolated and depraved by Casaubon himself; for that author, after he has given several etymologies of the word *τραγῳδία*, at last says[7], Ἡ *ἀπὸ τῆς τρυγὸς τρυγῳδία· ἦν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο κοινὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν κωμῳδίαν· ἐπεὶ οὔπω διεκέκριτο τὰ τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας· ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἓν ἦν τὸ ἆθλον, ἡ τρύξ· ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν κοινὸν ὄνομα ἔσχεν ἡ τραγῳδία· ἡ δὲ κωμῳδία ὠνόμασται*, &c., where we must not refer the words *ὄνομα κοινὸν* to *Τραγῳδία*, as Casaubon does, but to *Τρυγῳδία*, which immediately comes before; for the meaning of it is this: "That *Τραγῳδία* might have its name, by a little variation, from *τρυγῳδία*· which word *τρυγῳδία* signified of old not Tragedy only, but Comedy too; for at that time p. 307. these two sorts of poetry were not distinguished, but had one and the same prize (*τρύγα*) a vessel of wine: afterwards Tragedy retained that old name (*υ* only being changed into *α*), and the other was called Comedy." It is an error therefore in Casaubon, when he tells us, as from this writer, that *Τραγῳδία* once signified Comedy; for the thing that this writer affirms is this: "That *Τρυγῳδία* once signified both Tragedy and Comedy;" which is a proposition very much different from that other of Casaubon's.

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[2] Proleg. Arist. p. vii.

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[3] Casaub. Satyr. p. 21.

[4] Athen. p. 40.

[5] Casaub. p. 22.

[6] Arist. Poët. cap. iv.

But however, if this passage of the Etymologicon will not serve Casaubon's purpose, it may be useful to Mr. B.'s. It is true it will not come up to his main point, which he undertook to make out, "That under the word Tragedy, both Tragedy and Comedy were at first comprehended" (which alone, and nothing less than it, will signify any thing to the age of Tragedy); yet it plainly affirms what he, by two mistaken instances, in vain attempted to prove, "That *τρυγῳδία* once signified Tragedy." It concerns me, therefore, to give answer to this passage, because I have already flatly denied that *τρυγῳδία* ever signified Tragedy; and I think I need not be at so much trouble for a reply, when the author himself affords me one in this very place; for the grounds of his assertion he declares to be these two,—That *τραγῳδία* is derived from *τρυγῳδία*· and that *τρύξ* (wine) was the common prize both to Comedy and Tragedy. Now, both these are plain mistakes; for the true derivation of τραγῳδία is from τράγος, a goat, as I have fully shown above; and that the prize was not the same, but the goat was for Tragedy, and the wine for Comedy, the Arundel Marble (to name p. 308. no more) expressly affirms, in the epochs of Susarion and Thespis. If the grounds, then, that he walks upon fail him, his authority too must fall with him; for he is alone, without any other to support him; all the rest confining the signification of τρυγῳδία to Comedy alone. Τρυγῳδεῖν, κωμῳδεῖν, says Hesychius; Τρυγῳδία, ἡ κωμῳδία, says Aristophanes' Scholiast. In the present editions of Suidas, we read Τρυγοκωμῳδία without any exposition; but the true reading, as the very order of the alphabet shows, is τρυγῳδία, κωμῳδία: and so H. Stephanus affirms that he found it in his MS. All these three are older than the author of the Etymologicon; and if ever any before their time had used τρυγῳδία for Tragedy, either all or some of them would have told us of it.

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[7] Etymol. Mag. v. Τραγῳδ.

If I may have leave to talk without proof, as well as some others, I should rather suspect that κωμῳδία was the old and common name both for Tragedy and Comedy till they came to be distinguished by their peculiar appellations; for the etymology of the word κωμῳδία (ἐν κώμαις ᾠδή, "a Song in Villages") agrees equally to them both: both Tragedy and Comedy being first invented and used in the villages, as all writers unanimously say[8]. And it is remarkable that Dioscorides, in his Epigrams, calls the plays of Thespis κώμους.

> Θέσπιδος εὕρεμα τοῦτο, τάδ' ἀγροιῶτιν ἀν ὕλαν
> Παίγνια, καὶ ΚΩΜΟΥΣ τούσδε τελειοτέρους.

And again he says, Thespis' plays were an entertainment to the κωμῆται.

> Θέσπις ὅδε τραγικὴν ὃς ἀνέπλασε πρῶτος ἀοιδήν,
> ΚΩΜΗΤΑΙΣ νεαρὰς καινοτομῶν χάριτας.

So that even Thespis' plays might at first, and for a little while, p. 309. be called Comedies, which was a word already in use from the time of Susarion; but when men understood the difference between the two sorts, and a distinct prize was appointed to Thespis, it was natural to give each sort a particular name, taken from the several prizes; and the one was called τραγῳδία, from the Goat[9]; the other τρυγῳδία, from the Cask of Wine[10]. The very likeness that is between the two words is no small confirmation that this account of them may be true; but I only propose it as a guess, to set against the conjecture of the author of the Etymologicon; and perhaps it might be accounted as probable as his, if it had not the disadvantage of coming so many centuries after it.

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[8] It is sufficiently shown in the Introduction that κωμῳδία is derived from κῶμος, and not from κώμη.—J. W. D.

[9] Τράγος.

[10] Τρύξ.

Mr. B. having at last made an end of his mistakes in this article about Tragedy, I am very glad too to make an end of my animadversions upon them; for I am sensible how long I have detained the reader upon this subject, though I hope both the pleasure and the importance of it, and the vast number of faults that called upon me for correction, will excuse the prolixity, which I will not increase farther by a repetition of what has been said; for even a short account of each, where the variety of things touched on is so great, would amount to a long story. I will only crave leave to say, That of the three points which the learned Mr. B. undertook to make out, every one has been carried against him; and that the incidental mistakes which he has run into have not failed to increase in number, proportionably as this article of his exceeded in length.

ATTIC DIALECT.—ZALEUCUS' LAWS.

[Pp. 353—363, Ed. London, 1699.]

In the same Preface (*a*) it presently follows, *Ὡς οὐ τιμᾶται Θεὸς ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φαύλου, οὐδὲ θεραπεύεται δαπάναις οὐδὲ* ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑΙΣ *τῶν ἁλισκομένων, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἄνθρωπος*: where, instead of *ἁλισκομένων*, which in this place makes no tolerable sense, the true reading seems to be *ἁλισγουμένων*: and then the meaning will be, "That God is not honoured by a wicked man, nor pleased with the costly and pompous sacrifices of polluted persons, as if he was a vile mortal." Now this paragraph alone is sufficient to detect the imposture of these pretended Laws: for, as I have shown before, the true Zaleucus lived before Draco, who made Laws for the Athenians at or before Olymp. XXXIX; but the word ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ was not coined, nor the thing expressed by it invented, till Thespis won the goat, the prize of his p. 354. play, about Olymp. LX, above LXXX years after Draco. How then came the word *Τραγῳδία* into the Laws of Zaleucus, which were written above CXX years before Thespis? I do not wonder now that Zaleucus was so generally believed to have all his Laws from Minerva; for nothing less than a Deity could have foreknown the word *Τραγῳδία*, a whole century and more before it came into being. But besides that the very word was not at all heard of in Zaleucus' time, we must observe too that it is used by him metaphorically "for sumptuousness and pomp," which is a sense that could not be put upon it till a long time after Thespis; for in the infancy of Tragedy there was nothing pompous nor sumptuous upon the stage; no scenes, nor pictures, nor machines, nor rich habits for the actors; which, after they were introduced there, gave the sole occasion to the metaphor. For the first scene was made by Agatharchus for one of Æschylus'

(*a*) The pretended Preface of Zaleucus which Stobæus has described.

Plays, as Vitruvius tells us,—"Primum Agatharchus Athenis, Æschylo docente Tragœdiam, scenam fecit, et de ea commentarium reliquit[1]." This Agatharchus was a painter, who learned the art by himself, without any master, as Olympiodorus says in his MS. Commentary on Plato's Phædo, Γεγόνασί τινες καὶ αὐτοδίδακτοι· Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος γεωργός.... Φήμιος, Ἀγάθαρχος ὁ γραφεύς. For it is most probable he means the same Agatharchus that made Æschylus' scene for him; and that all the other ornaments were first brought in by Æschylus, we have the unanimous testimony of all antiquity. Now the first Play that Æschylus made was at Olymp. LXX, and the last at Olymp. p. 355. LXXX; and in what part of this XL years' interval he invented those ornaments for pomp and show, we cannot now tell[2]. But suppose, if you please, that he invented them at the very first Play, and that the metaphor that makes Τραγῳδία signify pomp, came into use upon the sight of them; neither of which are at all probable: yet even still it will be above CLX years after the time of the true Zaleucus.

The last argument that I shall offer against the laws of Zaleucus is this—that the Preface of them, which Stobæus has produced, is written in the *common* dialect, as the old grammarians have called it; whereas it ought to be in Doric, for that was the language of the Locri Epizephyrii, as it appears from the Treatise of Timæus the Locrian, extant in Plato; and from the Epigrams of Nossis. I do not know that it has yet been observed that this

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[1] Vitruv. Pref. Lib. vii.

[2] But we may make a near guess at it from the accounts we have of Agatharchus the painter, who first made a scene, according to Vitruvius, whom I cited above. Ἀγάθαρχος, says Harpocration, *τούτου μνημονεύει Δημοσθένης· ἦν δὲ ζωγράφος ἐπιφανής, Εὐδήμου υἱός, τὸ δὲ γένος Σάμιος.* The very same words are to be found in Suidas. Now the passage where Demosthenes speaks of him is in his Oration against Midias, p. 360; but there is a larger account of him in Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades, and the largest of all in Andocides' Oration against Alcibiades. The substance of all their story is, that Alcibiades forcibly detained Agatharchus in his house, and would not let him stir out till he had painted it. Now Alcibiades died Olymp. XCIV. 1 (*a*), when he was about XL years old (*b*); and we can hardly suppose him less than XX when he had this frolic upon Agatharchus; especially if what Demosthenes' Scholiast says be true, that the reason of it was because Agatharchus was taken in bed with Alcibiades' Miss. Agatharchus then was by this account alive still about Olymp. LXXXIX. 1, which is XXXVI years after Olymp. LXXX, when Æschylus' last Play was acted. It is plain then he was but a young man, even at Olymp. LXXX; and if we consider he was (*αὐτοδίδακτος*) his own master in painting, and took it up of himself, we can scarce suppose he could invent the painting of scenes till very near that Olympiad.

(*a*) Diodor. (*b*) Corn. Nepos.

Nossis was a Locrian; and therefore I shall make bold to give an epigram or two of hers, which will show at once both her country and her dialect.

Ὦ ξεῖν', εἰ τύ γ' ἔπεις ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλάναν,
  Τᾶν Σαπφῦς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,
Εἰπεῖν, ὡς Μούσαισι φίλα, τήνᾳ τε Λόκρισσα
  Τίκτεν ἴσαις, ὅτι θ' οἱ τοὔνομα Νόσσις· ἴθι.

So this epigram is to be read, which is faulty in [Holstenius and[3]] Berkelius' notes upon Stephanus; and the meaning of it is, that Nossis addresses herself to a traveller, and desires him, if ever he go to Mitylene, where Sappho was born, to say, That a Locrian woman wrote poems like hers, and that her name was Nossis. Ἴσαις is the accusative Doric and Æolic for ἴσας, i. e. χάριτας: and that this is the true sense of it will be further evident from another epigram of hers, not published before[4], where she cele- p. 356. brates the Locrians, her countrymen:—

Ἔντεα Βρέντιοι ἄνδρες ἀπ' αἰνομόρων βάλον ὤμων,
  Θεινόμενοι Λοκρῶν χερσὶν ὑπ' ὠκυμάχων·
Ὧν ἀρετὰν ὑμνεῦντα, θεῶν ὑπ' ἀνάκτορα κεῖνται,
  Οὐδὲ ποθεῦντι κακῶν παχέας, οὓς ἔλιπον.

The import of which is, That the Locrians had obtained a victory over the Brutians, their neighbours, and had hung up in the temples of the gods those shields they had taken, which now did not desire to return to those cowards that wore them before. And by this we may have some discovery of Nossis' age, which hitherto has been thought uncertain; for the Βρέντιοι or Βρέττιοι, whom she speaks of there, were not formed into a body, nor called by that name, till Olymp. cvi. 1, in Dionysius the Younger's time[5]. She cannot, therefore, be more ancient than Olymp. cvi; but that she was a little younger, is plain from her epigram[6] upon the tomb of Rhintho the Tarentine, or as she calls him, the Syracusian, her contemporary, who lived in the time of the first Ptolemy, about Olymp. cxiv.[7] Her mother's name was Theuphilis the daughter of Cleocha; as another epigram of hers taught me, yet unpublished:

Ἥρα τιμήεσσα, Λακείνιον ἃ τὸ θυῶδες
  Πολλάκις οὐρανόθεν νισσομένα καθορῇς,
Δέξαι βύσσινον εἷμα, τό τοι μετὰ παιδὸς ἀγαυᾶς
  Νοσσίδος ὕφανεν Θεύφιλις ἁ Κλεόχας.

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[3] The words in brackets do not occur in the original Edition of 1699, but are added, I know not on what authority, in Bowyer's reprint of 1777.—J. W. D.

[4] [*Anthol. Palatina* I. p. 229.]

[5] Diod. p. 418. Strabo, p. 255. Justin. xxiii. 1.

[6] Anthol. iii. 6.

[7] Suid. 'Ῥίνθ.

In the MS. it is, Θευφίλης: and we may observe, that even this too confirms it, that she was a Locrian, because she speaks of Λακείνιον: for the famous temple of Juno Lacinia was not far from Locri, in the neighbourhood of Crotona. She had a p. 357. daughter called Melinna, as another MS. epigram seems to show, though it is possible she may mean there another's daughter, and not her own: however it deserves to be put here for its singular elegancy: –

Αὐτομέλιννα τέτυκται· ἴδ' ὡς ἀγανὸν τὸ πρόσωπον
Ἀμὲ ποτοπτάζειν μειλιχίως δοκέει·
Ὡς ἐτύμως θυγάτηρ τᾷ ματέρι πάντα ποτῴκει·
Ἦ καλὸν, ὅκκα πέλοι τέκνα γονεῦσιν ἴσα[8].

Αὐτομέλιννα, that is, Melinna herself, not her picture, it is so exactly like her; so *αὐτοζωή*, *αὐτοαλήθεια*. In the MS. it is *ἅ με*, but the true reading is *ἀμέ*, Doric for *ἐμέ*: for *ποτῴκει*, the MS. has it *προσῴκει*: but I have changed *πρός* into the Doric preposition *ποτί*. From the preterperfect tense of verbs the Dorians form a present; as from *δέδοικα* they make *δεδοίκω*, from *δέδυκα*, *δεδύκω*: so that from *προσ-έοικε*, "to be like," as a picture is like the original, our female poet forms *ποτ-εοίκω*, and then contracts it *ποτῴκω*. So much was necessary to be said to make this epigram intelligible. I return now to the Locrian dialect, which a Locrian song, *Λοκρικὸν ᾆσμα*, in Athenæus[9], sufficiently proves to be the Doric:

Μὴ προδῷς ἄμ', ἱκετεύω· πρὶν καὶ μολὲν κεῖνον, ἀνίστω·
Μὴ κακὸν μέγα ποιήσῃ κἀμὲ τὴν δειλάκραν.
Ἁμέρα καὶ ἤδη σὲ τὸ φῶς διὰ τὰς θυρίδος οὐκ ἐσορῇς;

So this passage ought to be read, and the version should be thus:—

"*Ne prodas me, obsecro: prius quam ille veniat, surge*, &c. Sunt verba mulieris ad mœchum suum, ut surgere velit, priusquam vir domum redeat et ipsum deprendat." And it is now apparent what good reason Athenæus had to call the Locrian songs *μοιχικοί*: and we cannot doubt but he means the Locrians of Italy, if we consider what account he gives of the women of that p. 35 place[10]. And now, to bring this argument to a conclusion, since it evidently appears that the Locrian language was Doric, without all question the laws of that city were written in that dialect, as certainly as Solon's Laws, at Athens, were written in Attic. These of Zaleucus therefore are commentitious because they are not in Doric, unless Mr. B. will be as zealous for "his King Zaleucus," as he is for "his Prince Phalaris," and contend that the King's Laws were *transdialected* as well as the Prince's Epistles.

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[8] [*Anthol. Pal.* I. p. 301.]

[9] Athen. p. 697. [I have introduced Dindorf's readings.—J. W. D.]

[10] Athen. p. 516.

I. This metaphor of Τραγῳδία for solemnity and pomp, invites me to step out of my way a little, and to consider the Laws ascribed to Charondas: for we have there too the very same metaphor. Diodorus speaks prolixly of these Laws[11], and the prooemia of them are recorded in Stobæus; where, among others, we have this, "That a man who is a slave to riches ought to be despised as one of a mean spirit, *καὶ καταπληττόμενος ὑπὸ κτημάτων πολυτελῶν καὶ βίου* ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, since he is smitten so much with wealth, and a sumptuous and pompous life[12]." This, as I observed already, is the very same figure of speech with that in Zaleucus, and is borrowed from the costly and gaudy ornaments of the stage. Now the Laws of the Thurians were made at Olymp. LXXXIV; which was the time when that colony was planted: but I hardly think that this metaphor of Τραγῳδία for magnificence and pomp was so early in use as at Olymp. LXXXIV. At that time Æschylus was newly dead, Sophocles was in his prime at LIV years of age, and Euripides had just entered upon the province of Tragedy. Now the last of these poets was so far from giving occasion to this metaphor, by the
rich ornaments of his scenes and actors, that he was noted for p. 359.
the quite contrary way, as introducing his heroes in mere rags. So Æschylus accuses him in Aristophanes' Ranæ[1]:

Ὦ πτωχοποιὲ καὶ ῥακιοσυῤῥαπτάδη.

And the comedian himself, in another of his plays, most pleasantly rallies him upon the same account[2]; and reckons up five of his shabby heroes that gave names to as many of his tragedies—Œneus, Phœnix, Philoctetes, Bellerophontes, Telephus. It is true, it appears from this very ridiculing of Euripides, that the other tragedians were not guilty of the same fault of bringing beggars upon the stage; but, however, even the persons that they introduced were not clad so very gorgeously as to make Tragedy become a metaphor for *sumptuousness*; for money was at that time a scarce commodity in Greece, especially at Athens[3], and the people were frugal: so that they had not much to lay out upon ornaments for the stage, nor much inclination had they had it. Nay, we are sure, that for a hundred years after the beginning of the Thurian government, the expense and furniture of Tragedy was very moderate; for Demosthenes, in his action against Midias[4], which was made Olymp. CVII. 4, has informed us that the charge of a tragic chorus was MUCH LESS than that of the chorus of musicians, which usually performed too at the same festivals of Bacchus. Τραγῳδοῖς, says he, κεχορήγηκέ ποτε οὗτος· ἐγὼ δὲ Αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάλωμα ἐκείνης τῆς δαπάνης πολλῷ πλεῖόν ἐστιν, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου. i. e. "Midias was once the furnisher of a tragic chorus; but I, of a chorus of musicians; and there is nobody but knows that the expense of p. 360. this is MUCH GREATER than the charge of that[5]." And yet the cost even of a music chorus was no very great matter, as we gather from this, that Demosthenes alone bore it all, and voluntarily too. It is true, he magnifies it as much as he can; and questions whether he should call it *generosity* or *madness* in himself, to undertake an expense above his estate and condition[6]; but we ought to receive this as a cast of his rhetoric; for, to be sure, he would never undo himself by taking an office which nobody forced upon him. But another orator, Lysias, a little ancienter than he, has given us a punctual account of the several expenses of the stage. "When Theopompus," says he, "was Archon, (Olymp. XCII. 2.) I was furnisher to a tragic chorus; and I laid out XXX Minæ. Afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me XX Minæ. When Glaucippus was Archon, (Ol. XCII. 3.) I laid out VIII Minæ upon the Pyrrichists. Again I won the victory with the chorus of men; and with that and the charge of the Tripus, I expended L Minæ. And when Diocles was Archon, (Olymp. XCII. 4.) I laid out upon the Cyclian chorus III Minæ (*a*). Afterwards, when Alexias was Archon, (Olymp. XCIII. 4.) I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me above XV Minæ. And when Euclides was Archon, (Olymp. XCIV. 2.) I was

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[11] Diod. pp. 79—84.

[12] Stob. Serm. 42.

[1] Arist. Ran. p. 164.

[2] Id. Acharn. p. 279, 280.

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[3] Cic. Tuscul. v. 32.

[4] Dionys. Halic. de Demosth.

[5] Demosth. c. Midiam, p. 362.

[6] Ibid. p. 336.

(*a*) A writer in the *Museum Criticum* (Vol. II. p. 84.) imagines that Bentley meant CCC minæ. Lysias says 300 *drachmæ*, which is just 3 *minæ*.—J. W. D.

at the charge of XVI Minæ upon the comedians, and of VII upon the young Pyrrichists[7]." Now an Attic Mina being equivalent to three pounds of English money, it is plain from this passage of Lysias, that the whole charge of a tragic chorus did but then amount to XC pounds sterling. By the way, I shall correct a fault in the Orator Isæus[8]: *Οὗτος γὰρ τῇ μὲν φυλῇ εἰς Διονύσια χορηγήσας, τέταρτος ἐγένετο, τραγῳδοῖς δὲ καὶ πυῤῥιέταις ὕστατος.* p. 361. —Correct it *τέταρτος ἐγένετο τραγῳδοῖς καὶ πυῤῥιχισταῖς ὕστατος*[9]. "This man," says he, "being to furnish our choruses at the festivals of Bacchus, did it so meanly, that in the Tragic Chorus he camè but the fourth; and in the *Pyrrichists* he was last of all." And now I refer it to the reader, whether, considering this true account of the small charge of a tragic chorus, even in Lysias and Demosthenes' time, he can think it probable that at the LXXXIVth Olympiad the tragic ornaments were so famous for their richness as to give rise to the metaphor of *Τραγῳδία* for sumptuousness, especially in Italy, where perhaps at that time no tragedy had ever been acted. I must own, it seems to me a very unlikely thing that this metaphor should so quickly obtain, even in common conversation, much less be admitted into a body of laws, where the language ought to be plain and proper, and where any metaphor at all makes but a very bad figure, especially a new one, as this must needs be then, which perhaps could not be understood, at first hearing, by one half of the citizens. It is true, when Tragedy was propagated from Athens into the courts of princes, the splendour of the tragic chorus was exceedingly magnificent, as at Alexandria and Rome, &c.; which gave occasion to that complaint of Horace's, that the show of plays was so very gaudy, that few minded the words of them[1]—

> "Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur, et artes
> Divitiæque peregrinæ: quibus oblitus Actor
> Cum stetit in scena, concurrit dextera lævæ.
> Dixit adhuc aliquid? Nil sane. Quid placet ergo?
> Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno."

And in another place he says[2], the tragic actor was

> "Regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro." p. 362.

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[7] Lysias, in Ἀπολ. Δωροδοκίας.

[8] P. 54.

[9] One may correct it also *πυῤῥίχαις*, which comes to the same thing (*a*).

[1] Hor. Epist. ii. 1.

[2] Id. in Arte Poët.

(*a*) Addend. p. 545.

It is no wonder, therefore, that in those ages Τραγῳδία might be used metaphorically, to signify riches and splendour; and so Philo, and Lucian, and some others, use it; but I do not find any example of it within a whole century of the date of Charondas' Laws.

II. But this objection will be much more considerable if Charondas really lived before the original of the Thurian government, and even before Æschylus himself, the first inventor of tragic ornaments; for it will then be of equal force against Charondas' Laws as against those of Zaleucus. Theodoret tells us[3] "that Charondas is said to have been the first lawmaker of Italy and Sicily;" and if this be true, he must be senior to Zaleucus himself, and before the very name of Tragedy, much more before the use of this metaphor taken from it; or, if we allow of their reckoning[4], that make Charondas the scholar of Zaleucus, it is more than enough to our present purpose; for they supposed his master Zaleucus to have been contemporary with Lycurgus the Spartan; by which account they must place Charondas CCC years before Thespis. Nay, even according to Eusebius, Zaleucus' Laws bear date above CC years before the founding of Thurii, and above C years before the original of Tragedy. But we have a better authority than these; I mean Heraclides, in his Book of Governments; who informs us[5], "That the Rhegians of Italy were governed by an aristocracy; for a thousand men, chosen out according to their estates, managed every thing; and their laws were those of Charondas the Catanian; but Anaxilas the Messanian made
p. 363. himself tyrant there." Which account is confirmed in the main by Aristotle, when he says, "The oligarchy of Rhegium was changed into a tyranny by Anaxilas[6]." Here, I conceive, Heraclides has very plainly asserted that Charondas' Laws were made before the time of Anaxilas; but we are assured this Anaxilas died at Olymp. LXXVI. 1, after he had reigned at Rhegium and Messana XVIII years at the least, which commence from Olymp. LXXI. 3. Now the first victory that Æschylus won at the stage, was at Ol. LXXIII. 3[7]; and we may

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[3] Theodoret. c. Græc. Serm. 9.

[4] In Arist. Pol. ii. 12.

[5] Heraclid. de Polit. Νόμοις ἐχρῶντο τοῖς Χαρώνδου τοῦ Καταναίου.

[6] Arist. Pol. v. 12.

[7] Marm. Arund.

fairly suppose, because he never got the prize till then, that he had not invented scenes and machines, and the other ornaments before. If Charondas' Laws, therefore, were made but the very year that Anaxilas usurped the government, yet they are older by VIII years than the original of tragical scenes. But, without question, Charondas' form of government had been a good while in Rhegium before Anaxilas subverted it: for the city had been built then CC years; and the very account in Heraclides clearly implies that the aristocracy was of some continuance.

PART III.

EXTRACTS FROM

AUGUSTUS W. VON SCHLEGEL'S

LECTURES

ON THE DRAMATIC ART AND LITERATURE OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS AND ROMANS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

The Lectures, from which the following selection has been made for the purposes of this Work, are upon the Dramatic Art and Literature of the Ancients *and Moderns*. They were originally delivered to a mixed auditory at Vienna, in the year 1808, and published in 1809, with a second edition in 1816. Although the Author has not since their first delivery made any alteration with a view of bringing them up to the standard of discoveries subsequently made in the field of the Ancient Drama by professed philologists, (to which discoveries indeed these very Lectures contributed some impulse,) and therefore some of his statements require to be modified, as the reader will see in the original portion of the Work now in his hands, yet, so far as the Translator of these pages is aware, this popular and perspicuous history and critique has not been superseded by any work of similar plan and extent.

In this Edition[1] the First and Second Lectures have been added, almost entire, to the Selection, and the whole translation has been carefully revised.

[1] That of 1836.

FIRST LECTURE.

EXTRACTS.

* * * Modern and Ancient Taste, how contrasted. Both to be fairly recognized. Classical and Romantic Poetry, how based on the collective mental Culture of the Ancient and Modern World. * * * Preliminary exposition of the fundamental Ideas, *dramatic, theatrical: tragic, comic.* Cursory Survey of the Drama in different Ages and Countries of the World.

* * * * * * * *

It is well known that about three and a half centuries ago the study of ancient literature was revived by the diffusion of the Greek language (the Latin never became extinct): the classical authors were brought to light and rendered universally accessible by the art of printing; the monuments of ancient genius were diligently disinterred. All this supplied manifold excitements to the human mind, and formed a marked epoch in the history of our mental culture; it was fertile in effects, which extend even to us, and will extend to an incalculable series of ages. But at the same time the study of the ancients was perverted to a deadly abuse. The learned, who were chiefly in possession of it, and were incompetent to distinguish themselves by works of their own, asserted for the ancients an unconditional authority; in fact with great show of reason, for in their kind they are models. They maintained, that only from imitation of the ancient writers is true salvation for human genius to be hoped for; in the works of the moderns they appreciated only what was, or seemed to be, similar to those of the ancients; all else they rejected as barbarous degeneracy. Quite otherwise was it with the great poets and artists. Lively as might be the enthusiasm with which the ancients inspired them, much as they might entertain the design of vying with them, still their independence and originality of mind constrained them to strike out into their own path, and to impress upon their productions the stamp of their own genius. Thus fared it, even before that revival, with Dante, the father of modern poetry: he avouched that he took Virgil as his teacher, but produced a work which, of all mentionable works, most differs in its make from the Æneid, and in our opinion very far surpassed his fancied master, in power, truth, compass, and profoundness. So was it likewise, at a later period, with Ariosto, who has perversely been compared with Homer: nothing can be more unlike. So, in art, with Michel-Angelo and Raphael, who nevertheless were unquestionably great connoisseurs in the antiques. As the poets for the most part had their share of scholarship, the consequence was a schism in their own minds, between the natural bent of their genius, and the obligation of an imaginary duty. Where they sacrificed to the latter, they were commended by the learned: so far as they followed the bent of the former, they were favourites with the people. That the heroic lays of a Tasso and a Camoens still survive on the lips of their fellow-countrymen is assuredly not owing to their imperfect affinity with Virgil, or even with Homer; in Tasso it is the tender feeling of chivalrous love and honour, in Camoens the glowing inspiration of patriotic enthusiasm.

Those ages, nations, and ranks, which found the imitation of the ancients most to their liking, were precisely such as least felt the want of a self-formed poetry. The result was dead school-exercises, which at best can excite but a frigid admiration. Bare imitation in the fine arts is always fruitless of good: even what we borrow from others must, as it were, be born again within us, if ever it is to issue forth in the nature of poetry. What avails the dilettantism of composing with other people's ideas? Art cannot subsist without Nature, and man can give his fellow-men nothing but himself.

Genuine successors of the ancients and true co-rivals with them, walking in their path and working in their spirit by virtue of congenial talents and cultivation of mind, have ever been as rare as your handicraftsmanlike insipid copyists were and are numerous. The critics, bribed to their verdict by the mere extrinsicality of form, have for the most part very liberally sanctioned even these serviles. These were "correct modern classics," while the great and truly living popular poets, whom a nation, having once got them, would not consent to part with, and in whom moreover there were so many sublime traits that could not be overlooked, these they were fain at most to tolerate as rude wild geniuses. But the unconditional separation thus taken for granted between genius and taste is an idle evasion. Genius is neither more nor less than the faculty of electing, unconsciously in some measure, whatever is most excellent, and therefore is *taste* in its highest activity.

Pretty much in this way matters proceeded, until, no long time since, some thinking men, especially Germans, set themselves to adjust the misunderstanding; and at once to give the ancients their due, and yet fairly recognize the altogether different peculiarity of the moderns. They did not take fright at a seeming contradiction. Human nature is indeed in its basis one and indivisible, but all investigation declares that this cannot be predicated in such a sense concerning any one elementary power in all nature, as to exclude a possibility of divergence into two opposite directions. The whole play of vital motion rests upon attraction and repulsion. Why should not this phenomenon recur on the great scale in the history of mankind likewise? Perhaps in this thought we have discovered the true key to the ancient and modern history of poetry and the fine arts. They who assumed this, invented for the characteristic spirit of *modern* art, as contrasted to the *antique* or *classical*, the designation *romantic.* And not an inappropriate term either: the word is derived from *romance*, the name originally given to the popular languages which formed themselves by intermixture of the Latin with the dialects of the Old-German, in just the same way as modern culture was fused out of the foreign elements of the northern national character and the fragments of antiquity, whereas the culture of the ancients was much more of one piece.

This hypothesis, thus briefly indicated, would carry with it a high degree of self-evidence, could it be shown that the self-same contrast between the endeavour of the ancients and moderns does symmetrically, I might say systematically, pervade all the manifestations of the artistic and poetic faculty, so far as we are acquainted with the phases of ancient mind: that it reveals itself in music, sculpture, painting, architecture, &c. the same as in poetry: a problem which still remains to be worked out in its entire extent and compass, though much has been excellently well remarked and indicated in respect of the individual arts.

To mention authors who have written in other parts of

Europe, and prior to the rise of this "School" in Germany. In music, Rousseau recognized the contrast, and showed that rhythm and melody were the prevailing principle of the ancient, as harmony is of the modern music. But he is contracted enough to reject the latter; in which we cannot at all agree with him. With respect to the arts of design, Hemsterhuys makes a clever apophthegm: "The ancient painters seem to have been too much sculptors, the modern sculptors are too much painters." This goes to the very heart of the matter; for, as I shall more expressly prove in the sequel, the spirit of all ancient art and poetry is *plastic*, as that of the modern is *picturesque*.

I will endeavour, by means of an example borrowed from another art, that of architecture, to illustrate what I mean by this harmonious recognition of seeming opposites. In the middle ages there prevailed, and in the latter centuries of that æra developed itself to the most perfect maturity, a style of architecture which has been denominated *Gothic*, but ought to have been called *Old-German*. When, upon the revival of classic antiquity in general, imitation of the Grecian architecture came up, which often indeed was but too injudiciously applied, without regard had to difference of climate and to the destination of the edifices, the zealots for this new taste condemned the Gothic style altogether, reviled it as tasteless, gloomy, barbarous. In the Italians, if anywhere, this was excusable: considering their many hereditary remains of ancient structures, and also their climatical affinity with the Greeks and Romans, partiality for ancient architecture lay, as it were, in their very blood. But we northern people are not to be so easily talked out of those powerful, solemn impressions which fall upon us at the very entering into a Gothic cathedral. Rather we will endeavour to account for these impressions and to justify them. A very little attention will satisfy us that the Gothic architecture bespeaks not only extraordinary mechanical skill, but a marvellous outlay of inventive genius; upon still closer contemplation we shall recognize its profound significance, and perceive that it forms a complete finished system in itself quite as much as does that of the Greeks.

To apply this to the matter in hand. The Pantheon is not more different from Westminster Abbey or St. Stephen's in Vienna, than is the structure of a tragedy of Sophocles from that of a play of Shakspeare. The comparison between these miracles of poetry and architecture might be carried out still further. But really does admiration of the one necessitate us to have a mean esteem of the other? Cannot we admit that each in its own kind is great and admirable, though *this* is, and is meant to be, quite another thing from *that?* It were worth making the attempt. We do not wish to argue any man out of his preference for the one or the other. The world is wide, and has room enough in it for many things that differ, without their interfering with one another. But a preference originating in views directed to one side alone of the question, a preference conceived one knows not why nor wherefore, is not what makes a connoisseur. No: the true connoisseur is he who can suspend his mind, free and unconstrained, in liberal contemplation of discrepant principles and tendencies, renouncing the while his own individual partialities.

It might suffice for our present purpose, to have thus barely indicated the existence of this striking contrast between the antique or classical and the romantic. But as exclusive admirers of the ancients still persist in maintaining that every deviation from these models is a mere whim of the "new school" of critics, who speak in a mysterious way about it, but cannot manage to make it dependent upon any valid idea, I will endeavour to give an explanation of the origin and spirit of the *romantic*, and then let it be determined whether the use of the term and recognition of the thing be thereby justified.

The mental culture of the Greeks was a finished education in the school of nature. Of a beautiful and noble race, gifted with impressible senses and a cheerful spirit, under a mild sky, they lived and bloomed in perfect health of being, and, favoured by a rare combination of circumstances, achieved all that could be achieved by the limitary creature man. Their whole system of art and poetry is the manifestation of this harmony of all powers. They invented the poetry of joy.

Their religion consisted in deification of nature in its various powers, and of the earthly life: but this worship, which fancy, among other nations, darkened with hideous shapes hardening the heart to cruelty, assumed among this people a form of grandeur, dignity, and mildness. Here superstition, elsewhere the tyrant of human endowments, seemed glad to lend a hand to their most free development; it cherished the art by which it was adorned, and out of idols grew *ideals*.

But greatly as the Greeks succeeded in the Beautiful and even the Moral, we can concede to their culture no higher character than that of a refined and dignified sensuality. Of course this must be understood in the general and in the gross. Occasional dim forebodings of philosophers, lightning-gleams of poetic inspiration, these form the exception. Man can never altogether turn his back upon the Infinite; some evanid recollections will testify of the home he has lost; but the point to be considered is, what is the predominant tendency of his endeavours?

Religion is the root of man's being. Were it possible for him to renounce all religion, even that which is unconscious and independent of the will, he would become all surface, no heart nor soul. Shift this centre in any degree, in the same degree will the system of the mind and affections be modified in its entire line of effect.

And this was brought about in Europe by the introduction of Christianity. This sublime and beneficent religion regenerated the decrepid worn-out old world, became the leading principle in the history of the modern nations, and at this day, when many conceit themselves to have out-grown its guidance, they are more influenced by it, in their views of all human affairs, than they are themselves aware.

Next to Christianity, the mental culture of Europe, since the commencement of the middle ages, was decidedly influenced by the German race of northern invaders, who infused new quickening into a degenerated age. The inclemency of northern nature drives the man more inward upon himself, and what is lost in sportive development of the sensitive being is amply compensated, wherever there are noble endowments, in earnestness of spirit. Hence the frank heartiness with which the old German tribes welcomed Christianity; so that among no other race of men has it penetrated so deeply into the inner man, approved itself so energetic in its effects, and so interwoven itself with all human sensibilities.

The rugged but honest heroism of the northern conquerors, by admixture of Christian sentiments, gave rise to *chivalry*, the object of which was to guard the practice of arms, by vows which were looked upon as sacred, from that rude and base abuse of force into which it is so apt to decline.

One ingredient in the chivalrous virtue was a new and more delicate spirit of love, considered as an enthusiastic homage to genuine female excellence, which was now for the first time revered as the acme of human nature, and, exalted as it was by religion under the form of virgin maternity, touched all hearts with an undefinable intimation of the mystery of pure love.

As Christianity did not, like the heathen worship, content itself with certain exterior performances, but laid claim to the whole inner man with all its remotest thoughts and imaginations, the feeling of moral independence took refuge in the domain of *honour;* a kind of secular morality which subsisted along with that of religion, and often came in collision therewith, but yet akin to it in so far as it never calculated consequences, but attached absolute sanctity to principles of action elevated as articles of faith above all inquisition of a misplaced ratiocination.

Chivalry, love, and honour are, together with religion itself, the subjects of that natural poetry which poured itself forth with incredible copiousness in the middle ages, and preceded a more conscious and thoughtful cultivation of the romantic spirit. This æra too had its mythology, consisting in chivalrous fables and religious legends, but its marvellous and its heroism forming a perfect contrast to those of the ancient mythology.

Some writers, in other respects agreeing with us in our conception and derivation of the peculiar character of the moderns, have placed the essence of the northern poetry in melancholy, and, rightly understood, we have no objection to this view of the matter.

Among the Greeks, human nature was self-satisfied; it had no misgivings of defect, and endeavoured after no other perfection than that which it actually could attain by the exercise of its own energies. A higher wisdom teaches *us* that human nature, through a grievous aberration, has lost the position originally assigned to it, and that the sole destination of its earthly existence is to struggle back thither, which, however, left to itself, it cannot. The old religion of the senses did but wish to earn outward perishable blessings; immortality, as far as it was believed, stood shadow-like in the obscure distance, a faded dream of this sunny waking life. Under the Christian view, it is just the reverse: the contemplation of the infinite has annihilated the finite; life has become the world of shadows, the night of being; the eternal day of essential existence dawns only beyond the grave. Under such a religion, that mysterious foreboding which slumbers in every feeling heart cannot but be wakened into distinct consciousness that we are in quest of a happiness which is unattainable here, that no external object will ever be altogether able to fill the capacity of the soul, that all enjoyment is a fleeting illusion. And when the soul sits down, as it were, beside these waters of Babylon, and breathes forth its longing aspirations towards the home from which it has become estranged, what else can be the key-note of its songs but heaviness of heart? And so it is. The poetry of the ancients was that of possession, ours is that of longing desire: the one stands firm on the soil of the present; the other wavers betwixt reminiscence of the past, and bodeful intimations of the future. Let not this be understood to imply that all must flow away in monotonous lamentation, the melancholy always uttering itself audibly, and drowning all besides. As under that cheerful view of things which the Greeks took, that austere Tragedy of theirs was still a possible phenomenon; so that romantic poetry, which originated in the different views I have been describing, could run along the whole scale of the feelings, even up to the highest note of joy; but still there will always be an indescribable something in which it shall carry the marks of its origin. The feeling of the moderns has, on the whole, become more deep and inward, the fancy more incorporeal, the thoughts more contemplative. To be sure, in nature the boundaries run into one another, and the things are not so sharply defined as one is under the necessity of doing in order to eliminate a theoretical idea.

The Grecian ideal of human nature was, perfect unison and proportion of all powers, *natural harmony*. The moderns, on the contrary, have arrived at the consciousness of the disunion there is within, which renders such an ideal no longer possible; hence the endeavour of their poetry is to make these two worlds, between which we feel ourselves to be divided, the world of sense and the world of spirit, at one with each other, and to blend them indissolubly together. The impressions of sense shall be hallowed, as it were, by their mysterious league with higher feelings, while the spirit will deposit its bodings or indescribable intuitions of the infinite, in types and emblems derived from the phenomena of the visible world.

In Grecian art and poetry there is an original unconscious unity of form and matter; the modern, so far as it has remained faithful to its own proper spirit, attempts to bring about a more thorough interpenetration of both, considered as two opposites. The former solved its problem to perfection, the latter can satisfy its *ad infinitum* endeavour only in a way of approximation, and by reason of a certain semblance of incompleteness, is the rather in danger of being misappreciated.

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What is *dramatic?* To many the answer may seem obvious: "Where different persons are introduced speaking, but the poet himself does not speak in his own proper person." But this is no more than the exterior pre-requisite of the form; the form is that of dialogue. But the persons of a dialogue may express thoughts and sentiments without operating a change on each other, and so may leave off at last each in the same mind as at the beginning; in such a case, however interesting the matter of the discussion may be, it cannot be said to excite any dramatic interest. I will exemplify this in the *philosophic dialogue,* a quiet species of discussion not intended for the stage. In Plato, Socrates asks the inflated sophist Hippias, "What is the beautiful?" He is forthwith prepared with his shallow answer, but presently finds himself compelled by Socrates' ironical objections to abandon his first definition, and stumble about clutching after other ideas, and finally to quit the field, shamed by the exposure of his ignorance, and out of temper at finding more than his match in the philosopher. Now, *this* dialogue is not merely instructive in a philosophical point of view, but entertaining as a drama in miniature. And justly has this lively progress in the thoughts, this stretch of expectation for the issue, in one word, this dramatic character, been extolled in the dialogues of Plato.

Hence already we are in a condition to apprehend wherein the great charm of dramatic poetry consists. Activity is the true enjoyment of life, nay more, is life itself. Mere passive enjoyments may lull into a listless complacency, which however, if there be any stirrings of interior sensibility, cannot long be free from the inroad of ennui. Now, most people by their position in life, or, it may be, from incapacity for extraordinary exertions, are tethered within a narrow round of insignificant engagements. Day follows day, one like another, under the sleepy rule of custom; life progresses without perceptible motion, the rushing stream of the youthful passions stagnating into a morass. From the self-dissatisfaction which this occasions, they seek to make their escape in all kinds of games, which always consist in some occupation, some self-imposed task, in which there are difficulties to be overcome, but withal not troublesome. Now, of all games, the *play* is unquestionably the most entertaining. We see others act, if we cannot act to any great purpose ourselves. The highest subject of human activity is man, and in the play we see men measuring their powers upon each other as friends or foes; influencing each other in their capacity of rational and moral beings, through the medium of opinion, sentiment, and passion; definitively ascertaining their mutual relations, and bringing them to a decisive position. By abstraction and pretermission of all that is not essential to the matter in hand, namely, of all those daily wants and consequent petty distractions which in real life break in upon the progress of essential actions, the poet contrives to condense within small compass much that excites attention and expectation. Thus he gives us a picture of life that resuscitates the days of youth, an extract of what is moving and progressive in human existence.

But this is not all. Even in lively oral narration it is common to introduce the persons speaking, and to vary tone and expression accordingly. But the gaps which these speeches would leave in the hearers' mental picture of the story, the narrator fills up by a description of the concomitant actions or other incidents, in his own name. The dramatic poet foregoes this assistance, but finds abundant compensation in the following invention. He requires that each of the characters of his story should be personated by a living individual; that this individual should, in sex, age, and form, come as near as may be to the fictitious individual of the story, nay, should assume his entire personality; that he should accompany every speech with the appropriate expression of voice, mien, and gesture, and moreover annex thereto those visible actions, of which otherwise the audience would need to be apprised by narrative. Still further: these vicegerents of the creatures of his imagination are required to appear in the costume belonging to their assumed rank, and to the times and country in which they lived: partly for the sake of closer resemblance; partly, because even in dress there is something characteristic. Lastly, he requires that they should be environed by a locality in some measure similar to that in which he makes the incidents to have taken place, because this also helps to realize the fiction; that is to say, he will have scenery. Now here is a *theatre* complete. It is plain that the very form of dramatic poetry, that is, the exhibition of an action by dialogue without the aid of narrative, implies the theatre as the necessary complement. We grant, there are dramatic works not originally designed for the stage, and indeed not likely to be particularly effective there, which nevertheless read excellently. But I very greatly question whether they would make the same vivid impression upon a reader who had never witnessed a play nor heard one described. *We* are habituated, in reading dramatic compositions, to fancy to ourselves the acting.

The invention of the theatre and theatrical art seems a very obvious and natural one. Man has a great turn for mimic imitation; in all lively transposing of himself into the situation, sentiments, and passions of others, he assimilates himself to them in his exterior, whether he will or no. Children are perpetually going out of themselves; it is one of their favourite sports to copy the grown people they have opportunity of observing, or indeed whatever else comes into their heads; and with their happy pliancy of imagination, they can make all alike serve their turn, to furnish them with the insignia of the assumed dignity, be it that of a father, a schoolmaster, or a king. There remains but one step more to the invention of the Drama; namely, to draw the mimic elements and fragments clear off from real life, and confront the latter with these collectively in one mass; yet in many nations this step never was taken. In the very copious description of ancient Egypt in Herodotus and others, I do not recollect any indication of this. The Etruscans on the contrary, so like the Egyptians in many other particulars, had their theatrical games, and, singular enough, the Etruscan term for "actor," *histrio*, has survived in living languages even to the most recent times. The whole of Western Asia, the Arabians and Persians, rich as their poetical literature is in other departments, know not the Drama. Neither did Europe in the middle ages: upon the introduction of Christianity the old dramas of the Greeks and Romans were set aside, partly because they had reference to heathen ideas, partly because they had degenerated into shameless immorality; nor did they revive until nearly a thousand years later. So late as the fourteenth century we find, in that very complete picture which Boccaccio has given of the then existing frame of society, no trace whatever of plays. Instead of them they had simply their *Conteurs*, *Menestriers*, and *Jongleurs*. On the other hand it must by no means be supposed that the invention of the Drama was made only once in the world, and was passed along from one nation to another. The English circumnavigators found among the islanders of the Southern Ocean (a people occupying so low a grade in point of intellectual capacity and civilization) a rude kind of drama, in which a common incident of life was imitated well enough to be diverting. To pass to the other extremity of the world: that nation from which perhaps all the civilization of the human race emanated, I mean the Indians, had their dramas for ages before that country was subjected to any foreign influence. They possess a copious dramatic literature, the age of which ascends backward nearly two thousand years. Of their plays (Nataks) we are at present acquainted with one specimen only, the charming *Sacontala*, which, with all the foreign colouring of its native climate, in its general structure bears such striking resemblance to our romantic drama, that we might suspect the translator, Sir William Jones, of having laboured to produce the resemblance, out of his partiality for Shakspeare, were not the fidelity of his translation attested by other scholars. In the golden times of India the exhibition of these Nataks delighted the splendid imperial court at Delhi; but under the misery of their many oppressions, dramatic art in that country seems at present to lie extinct. The Chinese, on the contrary, have their standing national theatre: *standing* indeed, it may be conjectured, in every sense: I make no question but in the establishment of arbitrary rules and nice observance of unimportant conventionalities they leave the most correct of the Europeans far behind them.

With all this extensive diffusion of theatrical entertainments, it is surprising to find what a difference there exists in point of dramatic talent between nations equally favoured in other respects. The talent for the Drama would seem to be a peculiar quality, essentially distinct from the gift of poetry in general.

The contrast between the Greeks and Romans in this respect is not to be wondered at; for the Greeks were quite a nation of artists, the Romans a practical people. Among the latter, the fine arts were introduced only as a corrupting article of luxury, both betokening and accelerating the degeneracy of the times. This luxury they carried out on so large a scale, in respect of the theatre, that perfection in essentials must have been neglected in the rage for meretricious accessories. Even among the Greeks dramatic talent was any thing but universal: in Athens the Theatre was invented, in Athens it was exclusively brought to perfection. The Doric dramas of Epicharmus form but an inconsiderable exception to this remark. All the great dramatic geniuses of Greece were born in Attica, and formed their style at Athens. Widely as the Grecian race diffused itself, felicitously as it cultivated the fine arts almost wherever it came, yet beyond the bounds of Attica it was fain to admire, without being able to compete with, the productions of the Attic stage.

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e, Epicharmus

SECOND LECTURE.

Theatrical Effect. Importance of the Drama as a Vehicle of Doctrines. Principal Dramatic Species. Essence of Tragic and Comic. Earnest and Sport. How far Acquaintance with the Ancients attainable without Knowledge of the original Languages. Plan of the following Lectures on Ancient Drama.

FROM this cursory survey of the chart, as it were, of Dramatic Literature, we return to our investigation of the fundamental conceptions. Since the very form of the Drama implies, as we before said, the visible representation, and the Drama rests its pretensions there, a dramatical composition may always be regarded from a twofold point of view, how far is it *poetical*, and how far *theatrical*. The one consideration can very well be separated from the other. Let not the expression *poetical* be misunderstood: I do not speak of the versification and ornaments of diction—these, in themselves, and without a higher principle of animation, are precisely the things that tell least upon the stage—but I speak of the poetry in the spirit and general design of the composition, and this may exist in a high degree though the Drama be written in prose, as well as the converse. Now what makes a Drama poetical? doubtless the same as does works in other departments. First it must be a connected, independent, satisfactory whole. But then this is only the negative definition of a work of art, whereby such a work is distinguished from the phenomena of Nature, whose character it is to run out into each other without clearly-marked boundaries and subsistence of their own. To be poetical, it is requisite that there be *ideas*, that is to say, such thoughts and feelings as are necessary and of eternal truth, transcending our earthly existence, which ideas the work must reflect from itself as from a mirror, and typically bring the same to view. What these ideas ought to be and may be, in the different species of the Drama, will be the subject of our investigation in the sequel; and on the other hand, we shall also show how the absence of these ideas makes a drama a mere prosaic and empirical thing, that is to say, a thing made up by the calculating understanding from the observation of literal realities.

But what makes a dramatic work *theatrical*, that is, adapted to appear with advantage on the stage? Whether it possesses this property is often difficult to say in the individual case. Especially there is apt to be much debating to and fro upon this point, when the self-love of author and actor mixes itself up with the question; each shifts upon the other the blame of failure, and he who advocates the cause of the poet appeals to a perfection of theatrical and histrionic art, which he has in the conceptions of his own mind, and the means of realizing which are just not in existence. But to answer the question in general is not so difficult. The problem is, to work upon an assembled multitude, to keep their attention on the stretch, to excite their sympathy. The poet, therefore, has one part of his occupation in common with the public speaker. In what way does the latter chiefly attain his end? By clearness, rapidity, and emphasis. All that exceeds the ordinary measure of patience and comprehension he must diligently avoid. Further, when many people are congregated together, they mutually dissipate each other's attention, so long as eye and ear are not drawn to a common goal beyond their own company. Therefore the dramatic poet, as well as the public speaker, must, from the very commencement, by strong impressions, transport his audience out of themselves; he must command their attention in a bodily shape, as it were. There is a kind of poetry which gently stirs a mind attuned to contemplation, much as soft breezes call forth accords from the Æolian harp. Such poetry, however excellent in itself, would, but for other concomitants, die away into silence on the stage. The liquid tones of the harmonica are not calculated to time and invigorate the tramp of an army. This needs ear-piercing instruments, but above all a strong rhythm, quickening the pulse, and propelling the animal life into more rapid circulation. To make this rhythm perceptible in the onward progress of a drama, is the main thing required. Let the poet once effect this, and then he may all the sooner pause in his swift career and follow the bent of his own genius. There are points in a drama, when the most elaborate and polished narrative, the most enthusiastic lyrics, the most profound thoughts and recondite allusions, the most ingenious play of wit, the most brilliant freaks of an airy antick fancy, are quite in their place, and the attuned audience, even such of them as cannot comprehend it all, shall listen to all this with eager ear, even as to a piece of music that is in unison with their tone of mind. Here the poet's great art is to avail himself of the effect of opposites, which makes it possible to produce reposeful stillness, abstracted reflection, even negligent self-abandonment of exhaustion, as decidedly as the most impetuous emotion, the most violent storm of the passions. In respect of theatrical capability, however, it must not be forgotten that something must always depend on the aptitude and propensities of the audience, and therefore varies in different nations and according to the existing grade of mental culture. Dramatic poetry is in some sense the most secular of all kinds; for it is not afraid to issue forth from the stillness of a rapt spirit into the most bustling stir of social life. The dramatic poet, more than any other, is obliged to court outward favour and loud applause. Of course, he must thus demean himself to his audience only in appearance, while in reality he is elevating them to his own ground.

In this working upon a congregated multitude the following circumstance deserves to be weighed, in order to discern that working in its full importance. In common intercourse men show each other only their outside. Mistrust or indifference withhold them from revealing to others what is within; and to speak, with any emotion and agitation, of what lies nearest our heart, would not befit the tone of polished society. The public speaker and the dramatic poet find means to break through these barriers of conventional habitual reserve. By reason of their transporting their hearers into such lively emotions that the outward signs thereof involuntarily break forth, each perceives the rest to be touched even as himself, and thus they who until now were strangers, suddenly become for the moment confidential intimates. The tears which the orator or the playwright constrains them to shed for calumniated innocence, for a hero going to death, form between them all a bond of friendship, of brotherhood. It is incredible what power there is in the visible communion of numbers to invigorate a heartfelt emotion which otherwise usually withdraws itself into privacy, or reveals itself only in the confidence of intimacy. The faith in its truth and validity is rendered irrefragable by its diffusion; we feel ourselves strong among so many who share it with us, and all hearts and minds flow together into one great irresistible stream. But upon this very account the privilege of working upon an assembled multitude is exposed to perilous abuses. As one may disinterestedly kindle their affections for what is good and noble, so another may entangle them in the nets of sophistry, and dazzle them by the glare of a false magnanimity, whose vainglorious crimes are depicted as virtue, nay, as devotion. Beneath the pleasing garb of oratory and poetry, corruption steals imperceptibly into ear and heart. But of all others, the comic poet needs to be on his guard, (seeing that by reason of his very task and destination he grazes upon the edge of this precipice,) lest he authorise the common and base elements of human nature to display themselves with unblushing effrontery. When once the sense of shame, which ordinarily keeps the baser part of our nature within the bounds of decency, is broken down by the sight of others' participation even in these ignoble appetites, complacent approbation of what is vile will soon break loose with unbridled audacity.

This power of indoctrination in good and evil has from of old (as meet it was) attracted to the Drama the attention of the legislature. Governments have sought to bend it to their objects and to guard it from abuse. Here the problem is, to reconcile that unconstrained freedom which is essential to the welfare of art and poetry, with those regards which are called for by the existing frame of government and morals. In Athens the theatre, under the patronage of religion, reached its maturity in almost unlimited freedom, and the public morality preserved it for a time from degeneracy. The inconceivably licentious comedies (as we should call them) of Aristophanes, in which the government and the people itself were unmercifully turned to ridicule, were the seal of Athenian popular freedom. Plato, on the contrary, who lived in this same Athens, and beheld the decline and fall of the art before his eyes, or at least at no great distance, was for banishing the dramatic poets altogether from his ideal republic. Few governments have deemed it necessary to subscribe to this severe sentence of excommunication; but few have seen fit to leave the theatre entirely to its own courses without any supervisal on their part. Indeed where it has been thought necessary to exercise this precaution in a previous censorship of the productions offered to be exhibited on the stage, and not merely by leaving author and actor to a subsequent responsibility, the test is hardest to apply precisely where it would be of the greatest importance, namely, to the spirit and total impression of the composition. The nature of the dramatic art requires the poet to put many sentiments into the mouths of his characters, which he nowise means to express his own approbation of; he desires to be judged in respect of his own sentiments by the context of his work as a whole. It may be that a play, tested by the several speeches, shall be quite inoffensive, and come off scatheless from all examination that goes no further than that, while, as a whole, its tendency and design are pernicious. We have lived to see, in our own times, abundance of plays—and they have had great success throughout Europe—overflowing with the ebullitions of a "good heart" and abounding in strokes of generosity, while nevertheless a keener eye cannot fail to detect the author's disguised purpose of undermining the strictness of moral principle and the reverence for all that ought to be sacred to man, the sentimentality being but a means of bribing to himself the languid soft-heartedness of his contemporaries. On the other hand, whoever would undertake the moral vindication of poor ill-famed Aristophanes, must insist upon the general scope and design of his productions, in which he approves himself at least a right-minded citizen and true patriot.

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So much concerning the importance of our object. And now a few cursory remarks upon the two contrasted species into which dramatic poetry divides itself—the *tragic* and the *comic*—and the notion upon which each is grounded.

The three principal kinds of poetry in general are the *epic*, *lyric*, and *dramatic*. All the other subordinate species are either deducible from one of these, or may be explained as a mixture of them. If we would apprehend those three leading kinds in their purity, let us go back to the form in which they manifest themselves among the Greeks. The theory is most easily applied to the history of Grecian poetry: for the latter is, so to speak, systematic; for every conception that we can derive in an independent manner from experience, it furnishes suitable examples in the most archetypal form.

It is remarkable that in epic and lyric poetry no such divergence into two contrasted species has taken place as in the Drama. It is true the ludicrous epopee (as it is called) has been erected by some into a proper species; but it is in fact an accidental variety, a mere parody of the epos, and consists in applying to petty and insignificant circumstances that solemn staidness of development which prevails in the proper epopee, and which seems to be appropriate only to grand subjects. In lyric poetry there are gradations, as the song, the ode, the elegy, but no proper contrast.

The spirit of the epic poem, as we recognise it in its father Homer, is clear, transparent collectedness of mind. The epos is a quiet representation of a march of events. The poet narrates either serious or cheerful incidents; but he narrates them with equanimity and imperturbedness of spirit, and withholds them, as already past, at a certain remoteness from the view.

The lyric poem is the musical expression of mental emotions by means of speech. The essence of the musical tone or affection of mind is when we seek to retain an excitement, be it in itself joyful or sorrowful, with complacency, nay, to perpetuate it in the soul. The feeling therefore must be previously mitigated so far as not to hurry us beyond itself in exertion to attain the pleasure or escape the sorrow; but unconcerned about the ups and downs of pleasure and pain which the future may bring, we seek to establish our permanent abode in an individual moment of our existence.

The dramatic poet, in common with the epic, deals with exterior incidents, but then he exhibits them as actual and present. In so doing he lays claim to our sympathy, in common with the lyric poet, but he is not so easily satisfied as the latter, and insists upon affecting us with joy or sorrow in a far more immediate degree and manner. He evokes all emotions which are called into exercise by the sight of the doings and fortunes of real men, but he waits until we have expended the total sum of the impressions he desires to produce, before he will harmonise those emotions into a satisfactory tone of feeling. Standing in such close proximity, as he does, to real life, and seeking to transform his figments into its realities, the equanimity of the epic poet would in him be indifference; he must decidedly avouch himself a partisan of one or other of the leading views of human life, and must constrain his hearers also to come over to his party.

To reduce it to the simplest and most intelligible expression, tragic and comic are related to each other as *earnest* and *sport.* Everybody is acquainted with these two directions of feeling from his own experience. But what their essence is, and whence their origin, it would require profound philosophic investigation to declare. Both, indeed, bear the stamp of our total nature, but earnest belongs more to its moral, sport to its animal part. The irrational beings are, properly speaking, capable neither of earnest nor of sport. They seem indeed sometimes to labour, as if they had seriously an object in view, and were consequently subordinating the present moment to one that is to succeed; at other times they play, that is to say, resign themselves in a purposeless manner to the pleasure of existence; but they have not in either case that consciousness of purpose which alone entitles the two conditions to the denomination of earnest and sport. Man alone, of all the creatures we are acquainted with, is gifted with the retrospective and prospective faculty; and this high privilege he has to purchase dearly. Earnest, in its most extended sense, is the direction of the mental powers to an object or purpose. But so soon as we take account of ourselves concerning our own doings, reason constrains us to refer this purpose to others still higher, and so on continually up to the supreme universal end and purpose of our existence: and here the Infinite, the demands of which are inherent and indefeasible in our very being, breaks in upon the view at the barriers of our finite brief existence. All that we do and work is transitory and nothinglike; still there is death in the distance, and thitherward every well or ill spent moment is conducting us. In the most fortunate case, if a person reaches the natural term of existence without calamity, still it remains that he must quit or be quitted by all that was dear to him in this world. There exists no bond of love without a separation, no enjoyment without the grief of losing it. But when we carry our eye along the relations of our existence to the very uttermost verge of possibilities, when we ponder its absolute dependence on a chain of causes and effects stretching beyond our ken, how, weak and helpless against the assaults of the enormous powers of nature and of conflicting appetites, we are cast upon the shore of an unknown world, shipwrecked, as it were, at our very birth; how we are exposed to all kinds of errors, all kinds of deceptions, any one of which may be our ruin; how, in our passions, we bear an enemy in our own bosoms; how any moment may demand of us, in the name of the most sacred duties, the sacrifice of our sweetest inclinations, and at one unexpected blow deprive us of all we have so hardly earned; how with every accession to our stores the risk of loss is multiplied, and we do but stand exposed in more parts to the malice of hostile fortune: under such contemplations there cannot but sink upon every heart that is not closed to feeling, a weight of inexpressible melancholy, to which there exists but one counterpoise, the consciousness of a destination that transcends this limitary scene of being. This is the tragic tone of mind; and when the contemplation of the possible issues from the spirit as living reality, when that tone interpenetrates and puts life and soul into a visible representation of the most striking instances of violent revolutions in man's destinies, the subjugation of the will beneath them, or of fortitude in bearing up against them, then the result is TRAGIC POETRY. Hence we are already in a capacity to explain in part, how this kind of poetry is founded in our nature, and to answer the question, how it is that we can like such melancholy representations, nay, find in them a something elevating and consolatory. Namely, it is because that tone of mind inevitably arises in all deep feeling, and Poetry, as she cannot obviate these dissonances of the inward man, must at least endeavour to present an ideal solution of them.

As earnest, carried to the highest degree, is the essence of Tragedy, so sport of Comedy. The sportive tone of mind is when in the comfortable feeling of present well-being we are fain to forget all those melancholy considerations aforesaid. In such a state of feeling, one is disposed to take all things as in play, and let them glide away lightly over the mind. Men's infirmities and perversities are then no longer a theme of discomfort and lamentation, but these strange contrasts entertain the understanding and amuse the fancy. The comic poet, therefore, must keep at a distance whatever is calculated to excite moral indignation at the actions, true sympathy in the situations, of his personages, otherwise we inevitably get into the tone of earnest. Their perverse actions he must exhibit as occasioned by the animal nature getting the upper hand in their constitution, and the incidents which befall them, as merely laughable distresses upon which no pernicious consequences will ensue. This is still the case in what *we* call Comedy, though there is some touch of earnest in it too. But the elder Comedy of the *Greeks* was altogether sportive, and thereby formed the most complete contrast to their Tragedy. Not only were the characters and situations of men conceived after a comic fashion in a picture of real life, but the whole frame of society, the government, Nature, and the world of gods, were fantastically pourtrayed with sportive freakishness of caprice.

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In the history of poetry and the fine arts among the Greeks, the prevailing and pervading law of their development is found to be, first, rigid exclusion of all heterogeneous elements; and then, strict combination of the homogeneous elements, and elevation thereof into independent harmonious oneness by interior finish. Hence it is that among them we find each species confining itself within its natural limits, and that it is so easy to discriminate the several styles. It is not only chronologically but intrinsically suitable to begin a history of art and poetry with those of the Greeks.

In the case of most of my hearers I cannot presume upon an acquaintance with the Greeks derived from study of their literature in the original language. Translations in prose, or even in verse, which, however, are no better than travesties into the modern taste, cannot possibly afford a true conception of the Grecian Drama. Truly faithful versions, aiming at a like elevation with the originals in expression and metre, have perhaps hitherto been nowhere attempted but in Germany. But though our language is extremely flexible, and in many respects like the Greek, it is like fighting with unequal weapons after all, and not unfrequently stiffness and harshness take place of the easy gracefulness of the Greek.

Besides, we are still far from having effected all that perhaps might be achieved; I know not yet of any altogether commendable translation of a Greek tragedian. But suppose the translation were ever so perfect, the discrepancy between the original and the copy as slight as possible, still the reader, from want of acquaintance with the other works of the Greeks, is disturbed by the foreignness of the subject-matter, the national peculiarities, and the numberless allusions which it requires some scholarship to apprehend; and thus distracted by the details, he cannot arrive at a pure impression of the work as a whole. So long as there are difficulties to contend with, there can be no true enjoyment of a work of art. To feel the ancients in their own way, one needs to have become naturalized and domesticated amnog them; to have, as it were, breathed Grecian air.

What, then, is the best means of winning one's way into the spirit of the Greeks, without acquaintance with their language? I say it without hesitation: *the study of the antiques,* which, if not in the originals, at least in the casts, now so common, are in some degree accessible to all. The archetypes of the human form need no commentator; their sublime meaning is imperishable, and cannot fail of being recognized through all vicissitudes of time, and in every region under heaven, wherever there exists a noble race of mankind akin to the Grecian race (as the Europeans unquestionably are); in short, wherever unkind nature has not depressed the human features too much below the pure standard, so that, habituated to their own deformity, men have become unsusceptible to genuine beauty of person. Concerning the unattainable excellence of the antiques, in the few extant remains of the first rank, there is but one voice in all civilized Europe; if ever it was not recognized, it was in times when the modern arts of design had sunk to the lowest grade of mannerism. All intelligent artists, nay, all men of feeling, bow with entranced veneration to the master-works of ancient sculpture.

The best key to open to us into this sanctuary of the beautiful, in a way of profound abstracted contemplation, is our immortal Winckelmann's *History of Art.* In the details, indeed, it leaves much to be desired, nay, is full of material errors; but the inmost spirit of Grecian art none ever fathomed so deeply. Winckelmann had quite transformed himself into an ancient, and did but seem to live in his own century untouched by its influences.

His work treats proximately only of the arts of sculpture and painting; nevertheless it contains important hints concerning the other branches of Grecian culture, and is excellently adapted to serve as an introduction to the understanding of its poetry also. Especially dramatic poetry; for as this was destined for ocular exhibition to spectators, whose eye undoubtedly exacted the highest requisitions even of the stage, there cannot be a better means of appreciating the entire dignity of the tragic spectacles, and of theatrically realizing them in our own conceptions, than to keep these forms of gods and heroes ever present to the fancy. It may sound strangely at present, but I hope to set the assertion in a clearer light in the sequel; it is in contemplating the groups of the Niobe and Laocoon that we first learn to understand the tragedies of Sophocles.

We still want a work in which the entire poetic, artistic, scientific, and social culture of the Greeks considered as a great harmonious whole, a very artist-work of nature, pervaded by a wondrous symmetry of the parts, should be delineated and traced through its connected development, in the same spirit as Winckelmann has brought to the contemplation of one of its aspects. An attempt has indeed been made in a popular book, which is in everybody's hands, I mean "The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger." This book is estimable in point of scholarship, and may be very useful to diffuse a knowledge of antiquities; but, not to censure the failure in its garb, it bespeaks more good-will to do justice to the Greeks, than competency to penetrate into their spirit. In this respect many of its statements are drawn from the mere surface of things, nay, garbled to fall in with modern notions. These are not the travels of a young Scythian, but of an old Parisian.

As before said, it is in these works of art that the preeminency of the Greeks is most incontestably recognized. Enthusiasm for their literature prevails most in England and Germany, in which countries, be it observed, the study of the Greek language has been most zealously pursued. It is strange that the French critics, although they have been most concerned in erecting the extant remains of Grecian criticism, Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian, &c. into the one only and absolute rule of taste, distinguish themselves above all others in speaking disparagingly of the poetical compositions of the Greeks; and of their dramatic literature most especially. Do but look into that much-read book, Laharpe's *Cours de la Littérature.* On the French Theatre it contains many fine remarks; but whoever should think to learn the Greeks from it would be ill-advised: its author was as deficient in well-grounded acquaintance with them, as in the sense and feeling for the study. Voltaire, likewise, often speaks in a tone of decision about the Greek Drama that does not become him; he extols or depreciates, just as it comes into his head, and according to his purpose, at the moment, of influencing the opinion of the public this way or that. So I remember to have read a cursory critique of Metastasio's upon the Greek tragedies, in which he takes these authors to task like school-boys. Racine is much more modest, and has not sinned in this respect, simply because he was the best acquainted of them all with the Greeks. The mainsprings of these unfriendly critiques may be easily divined. National and personal vanity has a hand in the matter: the authors want to do better things than the ancients, and embolden themselves to come forward with suchlike assertions, because the works of the dramatic poets have come down to us in a dead language, accessible only to scholars, and without the living accompaniment of recitation, music, scenery, costume, an acting at once ideal and truly plastic; all which were unquestionably so harmonized together on the Attic stage, and in a manner so worthy of the compositions themselves, that, could all this be now reproduced to eye and ear, these premature cavillings of an affected cleverness would be struck dumb. In respect of the theatre, they talk about "the infancy" of the art; because these poets lived some two thousand years before us, they indulge in the conceit that we must have made great progress since. With this taunt poor Æschylus especially is dismissed. Now really, if this be the infancy of the Drama, it was the infancy of a Hercules who strangled serpents in his cradle.

While I protest against that superstitious regard for the authority of the ancients, which apprehends their excellence only as frigid faultlessness, and erects them into models in such a way as to bar all possibility of further progress, and so constrain us to abandon the practice of art as altogether fruitless, I nevertheless do cherish an enthusiastic veneration for the Greeks as a people by nature gifted, above all others, with the most finished genius for art; in the consciousness of which they themselves called all other nations of their acquaintance *barbarians*, as compared with themselves, and were in some sort justified in so doing. I would fain not be like certain voyagers, who, on their return from a country to which their readers cannot travel after them, give exaggerated descriptions, relate sheer wonders, and so hazard their character for veracity. Rather will I endeavour to characterize them according to truth, as oft-repeated study has led me to discover the same, and without suppression of their defects; but especially to realize the Grecian stage and scenes to the eyes of my audience.

We shall treat first of the Tragedy of the Greeks, then of the Elder Comedy, and lastly of the Newer Comedy which thence resulted.

All these departments had in common the same theatrical arrangements: we must therefore give a cursory glance at the theatre, its architecture and decoration, that we may be enabled to form a clear conception of the mode of performance.

The stage art of the Greeks had likewise many peculiarities, common to both departments of the Drama: for example, the use of masks, though the tragic and comic were otherwise quite contrasted; the former being ideal; the latter, in the Elder Comedy at least, in the nature of caricature.

Under the head of Tragedy, we shall first speak of that which forms its generic distinction among the ancients; of the ideal nature of its representation, of the conception of destiny which predominates in it, and the chorus; lastly, of mythology as the materials of tragic poetry. Then we shall characterize, in the three extant tragedians, the different *styles;* that is to say, the necessary and essential epochs in the history of tragic art.

THIRD LECTURE.

Structure and arrangements of the Greek Theatre and Stage. Their theatrical Art. Use of Masks. Mistaken comparison of the ancient Tragedy with the modern Opera. The Lyric element of Tragedy. Essential nature of the Greek Tragedy. Its characters, ideal. Destiny, how to be understood. Source of the pleasure derived from Tragic representations. The Chorus, its meaning and purpose. Mythology, the materials of Greek Tragedy. Comparison with Sculpture.

THE term *Theatre* naturally leads us to think of our own play-houses; yet nothing can be more distinct from our theatre in its entire structure than that of the Greeks was. And if we read the Greek plays thinking of a stage and scenes like our own, this alone will be sufficient to set these compositions altogether in a false light, and warp our conceptions of the entire proceeding.

The principal authority on the subject of the Ancient Theatre, in accuracy of detail, is Vitruvius, who likewise clearly marks the important distinctions there were between the Greek and Roman theatres. But these and other statements of the ancients have been somewhat twisted out of shape by architects unacquainted with the ancient dramatists[1]; and philologists, in their turn, have blundered sadly for want of a knowledge of architecture. The ancient dramatists, therefore, still greatly desiderate that kind of illustration which treats of scenic arrangements. In some tragedies I think I have a tolerably clear conception of the matter; others present difficulties of no easy solution: but of all perplexities the greatest is to imagine how Aristophanes was acted; that witty poet seems to have brought his strange fancies before the eyes of the spectators in a manner alike adventurous and startling. Even Barthélemy's description of the Greek stage is not a little confused, and his annexed ground-plan materially incorrect; where he attempts to describe the acting of a play, as the Antigone and the Ajax, he goes completely astray. For this reason the following account of the matter may be deemed the less superfluous[1].

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[1] A remarkable instance is the "Ancient Theatre" of Palladio at Vicenza. Herculaneum, it is true, was not then discovered, and it is difficult to understand the ruins of the ancient theatres without having seen a complete one.

The theatres of the Greeks were without roof or covering above; their plays were always acted in broad day and under the open sky. The Romans indeed in later times may have screened themselves from the sun by an awning, but luxury was scarcely carried to such lengths among the Greeks. To us this seems very uncomfortable; but the Greeks were not at all soft in their habits; the mildness of the climate also should be taken into account. If a storm came on, or a pelting shower of rain, the play was stopped; and they were willing to put up with such occasional inconveniences rather than by cooping themselves up in a close musty building to bedim the sunny cheerfulness of a national religious festival; for such in fact their theatrical performances were[2]. To ceil over the stage itself, and incarcerate gods and heroes in dim unsunned apartments, would have seemed to their feelings still more inconsistent. Meet it was that an action so gloriously attesting their affinity with heaven should proceed beneath the open sky under the eyes, as it were, of the deities; for (as Seneca says) a brave man striving against calamity is a spectacle fit for gods to look upon. As for the inconvenience which some modern critics allege, namely, that the poets were hereby obliged always to lay the scene out of doors in front of the houses, and therefore to admit many improbabilities, it is not much worth considering, at least with respect to Tragedy and the Older Comedy. For the Greeks, like other southern nations at this day, lived more in the open air than we do, and therefore much was transacted in public places which among ourselves usually takes place within-doors. Besides, their scene-platform did not represent the public street, but the front-area belonging to the house, with the domestic altar on which sacrifice was made to the tutelary gods. Here therefore, at least, the women (notwithstanding the secluded life they led) and even the unmarried women might make their appearance without impropriety. Moreover the Greeks had a regular contrivance, to lay open, if need were, the interior of the scenic edifice; this was effected, as we shall presently see, by the eccyclema.

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[1] I am indebted for it, in part, to the elucidations of a learned architect, M. Genelli of Berlin, author of the ingenious Letters on Vitruvius. We have compared different Greek tragedies with our interpretation of the description in Vitruvius, and have attempted to form a conception of the acting of the plays accordingly. And I have since found it confirmed by inspection of the theatre at Herculaneum, and the two theatres, extremely small it is true, at Pompeii.

[2] They were careful to select a beautiful situation. The theatre at Tauromenium (now Taormino) in Sicily, of which the ruins are still visible, was so situated, that over the back-ground of the scenes there was a view of Ætna.

But to come to the vital point of the matter—the Greeks, with their republican feelings, deemed this publicity essential to a grave and important transaction. This was the very intent of the presence of the Chorus; which circumstance, again, of a company of people being present during much that was to be discussed in secret, has been criticised and reprehended on the score of proprieties inapplicable to the case.

Compared with our theatres, those of the ancients were projected on a scale of colossal dimensions: partly, for the accommodation of the assembled nation together with the strangers who came in multitudes to the festivals; partly, as beseeming the majesty of the spectacles to be exhibited, which were not to be looked upon but at a reverential distance. The seats of the audience were formed by ascending sweeps of steps rising from the semicircle of the orchestra, so that nearly all could see with equal convenience. Whatever diminution of effect, to the eye and ear, was occasioned by the distance, was compensated by artificial contrivances; by the masks, namely, which enlarged the features of the face, and by the cothurnus, which proportionably elevated the figure. The power of the voice was increased by means of an apparatus attached to the mask. Vitruvius also mentions certain cavities or receptacles for sound distributed about the building; on the nature of which reverberants the commentators are much at variance. In general, it may be assumed that the theatres of the ancients were constructed on excellent acoustic principles.

The lowest tier of the amphitheatre was still considerably elevated above the orchestra, and at an equal elevation over against it lay the stage. The sunken semicircle of the orchestra was unoccupied by spectators, being intended for a different purpose. Among the Romans, indeed, it was otherwise, but with their theatrical arrangements we are not at present concerned.

The stage consisted of a parallelogram extending from side to side of the theatre, and having but little depth in comparison with this width. This was called the *logeum*, or in Latin *pulpitum*, and the middle of it was the usual place for the speaking persons. Behind this central part it went inwards in a quadrangular form, but still with less depth than breadth. The space thus enclosed was called the *proscenium*. The remainder of the logeum, to the right and left of the scene, had, in front, the rail leading down to the orchestra, and at back, a wall (adorned merely in an architectural, not in a scenic fashion, and sometimes indeed quite plain,) rising to the same elevation with the uppermost tiers for the spectators.

The principle of the stage-scenery was that the chief object should occupy the background, while the openings into the distance lay on either side; just contrary to what it is with us. This also went by rule. On the left was the city to which the palace, temple, or other central object belonged; on the right, the open country, landscape, mountains, sea-coast, &c. The side-scenes were composed of triangles revolving on a pivot beneath, and thus changes of the scene were effected[4]. In the back or middle-scene, much, we may conjecture, was given bodily, which we content ourselves with painting. If the back-scene was a palace or temple, there was also an altar on the proscenium, which served for various uses in the performance.

The decoration or scenery was in most cases architectural, but might sometimes be real landscape-painting; thus in the Prometheus the scene was Caucasus, and in the Philoctetes, the desert island of Lemnos, and the rock with its cavern. From a passage of Plato it is evident that the Greeks carried the illusion of theatrical perspective to a much greater extent than, in consequence of some poor landscape pictures discovered in Herculaneum, they have had credit for.

In the stage-screen was one principal entrance and two side-doors. We are informed that by these alone the audience was sufficiently apprised with respect to an actor, at his first entry, whether he was to act a principal or inferior part; namely, because in the former case he would enter by the middle door, in the latter at one side. This, however, must be qualified with a proviso that the plan of the story must be taken into account. As the middle scene was often a palace, its royal inmates, of course principal characters, would naturally come on the stage by the central entrance; not so the menials, who dwelt in side-offices. But it does not follow that the principal personages would always enter by the middle door; for there were two other entrances, one at one end of the logeum, supposed to lead from the city; the other below in the orchestra, and connected with the logeum by a flight of steps (which steps, according to circumstances, were made to denote a variety of things); and this latter entrance, by established rule, was understood to open from the country, or from foreign parts. So far, then, the side at which an actor entered would of itself explain from whence he must be supposed to come: but the plan of the story might naturally require a principal person to enter at one or other side, if he came from the town or from abroad. The situation of these openings helps to explain many places in the ancient dramas, where persons in the middle of the logeum see some one advancing long before he comes within view of the audience.

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[4] From an annotation of Servius on Virgil we learn, that the change of scene was effected partly by revolution, partly by withdrawing. The former applies to the side scenes, the latter to the middle or back scene. The partition-wall in the middle opened, disappeared on both sides, and displayed a new set of objects within. But the scene was not always changed in all its parts at once.

Somewhere under the seats of the audience was a flight of steps called *Charon's stair;* by which, unseen of the audience, the ghosts from Hades ascended into the orchestra, and thence to the logeum by the other stair. The front brink of the logeum was sometimes taken to represent the shore of the sea. In this and other instances the Greeks turned the literal reality to account, and made scenic and extra-scenic work together in the illusion. In the Eumenides, for example, I make no question but the actual audience is twice addressed under the character of the assembled multitude of the story; first, as the crowd of Greeks gathered in front of the Delphic Temple, whom the Pythoness invites to consult the oracle; and afterwards as the multitude of Athenians convened in the Areopagus, to whom Minerva, by proclamation of a herald, enjoins silence during the trial then pending. So those frequent invocations of Heaven were doubtless addressed to the real heaven overhead; and when Electra comes on the stage, exclaiming, *O holy light, and air co-expansive with earth,* it is likely she turned herself to the then actually mounting sun. This procedure deserves to be commended. Modern critics indeed may censure this blending of the literal with the fictitious, and complain that it is prejudicial to *illusion;* but that is because they misconceive the nature of illusion, in so far as it can be the aim of art to produce it. Should a picture aim at producing illusion, strictly so called, i. e., so as to deceive the eye as if the objects were real, in that case its edges must not be allowed to be seen, and the picture must be viewed through an aperture; the frame at once declares it to be but a picture. Now, in stage-scenery it is impossible to avoid or keep out of sight what produces a like effect with the *frame;* namely, the actual setting, the wood and stone of the fabric, where it joins on with the scenes. Better, therefore, not attempt to disguise it, but exceed the limits of proper imitation, and take things for granted, relinquishing that species of illusion to which in other cases such concealment might be advantageous. In fact, it was a principle with the Greeks, with respect to every part of stage-imitation, either to require a perfect representation, or, where that was impossible, to content themselves with simple allusion and conventional assumption.

The machinery, by means of which gods were to appear aloft in air, or men to ascend towards heaven, was attached above behind the walls on either side of the screen, and thus withdrawn from the eye of the spectator. It was much used even by Æschylus: in the Prometheus he not only introduces Oceanus riding on a griffin through the air, but also the whole chorus of the Oceanides, consisting of fifteen persons at least, in a winged chariot. There were also contrivances for sinking, for thunder and lightning, for the crash or conflagration of a building, and the like.

Over the stone screen an upper story might be added, when, for instance, a tower commanding a wide prospect was to be represented. Behind the great central entrance, there was space for the insertion of the Eccyclema, which being concave in the form of a semicircle, and covered atop, represented to the spectators the objects within it as in the interior of the house. This was used for grand strokes of theatrical effect, as we see in many plays. On such occasions the folding-doors of the entrance of course stood open, or the curtain which covered it was withdrawn.

A stage-curtain, which, however, as is evident from a description in Ovid, was not dropped like ours, but lifted up from below, is mentioned by Greek as well as Roman authors; indeed, the Latin term, *aulæum*, is borrowed from the Greek. Nevertheless, I suspect the curtain was not much used at first on the Attic stage. In Æschylus and Sophocles, the stage, at the opening of the play, is evidently empty, as it again became at the close, and seems to have required no preparations which needed to be withdrawn from the eyes of the audience. In several plays of Euripides, on the contrary, and perhaps also in the Œdipus Tyrannus, the stage is peopled from the very commencement, and presents a stationary group, such as could scarcely have formed itself under the view of the audience. On such occasions a curtain might be used. Of course it covered only the proscenium, which was comparatively small, and not the logeum; on account of the great width of the latter, the use of a curtain to it would have been almost impracticable, besides that there was no occasion for it.

The chorus had its entrances below by the orchestra, and there also it usually remained, pacing to and fro during the performance of its solemn dance in the choral odes. In front of the orchestra, over-against the middle of the stage, stood an altar-like elevation with steps, and rising as high as the stage, called the *Thymele*. On this the chorus grouped itself when not singing, but participating in the action. The choragus on such occasions placed himself on the floor of the Thymele, the better to see what was passing on the stage, and to speak with the persons there present; for, although the choral ode was sung in common by all, yet when the chorus took part in the dialogue, one individual carried on the discourse as spokesman for all the rest: hence the alternation of *Thou* and *Ye* in addressing the chorus. The Thymele lay exactly in the centre of the whole building; all the measurements were made from thence, and the semicircle of the amphitheatre was described from this as its centre. It was therefore a significant circumstance, that the chorus, which was in fact the ideal representative of the audience, should have its station in the very spot to which all the radii from their seats converged.

As to the mimetic art of ancient Tragedy, it was altogether ideal and rhythmical, and must be considered from that point of view. *Ideal*, that is, it aimed, above all, at absolute perfection of grace and dignity; *rhythmical*, in regard that the play of gesticulation and modulations of the voice were more solemnly measured than they are in real life. As the Grecian sculpture went to work, with an almost scientific severity, first of all with the most universal conception, then wrought this into different but still universal characters, then invested these by slow degrees with the charms of life, and last of all descended to the individual; so also the mimetic art began first with the *idea*,—the delineation of the persons, with traits of heroic greatness, more than human dignity, and ideal beauty,—then passed on to the character, and finished with the passion, which therefore was to give way in any collision that might arise in working out the problem of satisfying all three requirements. Rather than sacrifice beauty, the Greeks would dispense with living reality of imitation: with us it is just the reverse. The use of masks, which seems strange to us, was on this view not only justifiable, but absolutely essential; and so far was it from being a make-shift, that the Greeks would not have failed to declare (and that with truth) that it would be a make-shift indeed to allow an actor with common vulgar features, or at least features bearing too much the stamp of individuality, to represent an Apollo or a Hercules; nay, they would have deemed it actual profanation. How little can an actor, even the best practised in the play of the features, alter the character of his face! And this indelible stamp of personal character is unfavourable to the pure expression of passion, inasmuch as all passion borrows a tinge from character. Nor is there any need to have recourse to the conjecture[5], that between scenes they might change their masks in order to present a more sorrowful or more joyful countenance; though even this would not have been sufficient, for the passions often alternate in the same scene, which reduces our modern critics to the necessity of patching up the further ridiculous hypothesis of masks with dissimilar halves, presenting on either side a different countenance, to be turned towards the spectators, now this way, now that, according to circumstances[6].

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[5] A conjecture I call it, though Barthélemy, in his Anacharsis, considers it a settled point. He adduces no authorities; nor do I recollect any.

[6] Voltaire, in his Essay on the Tragedy of the Ancients and Moderns, prefixed to his Semiramis, has actually gone this length! Among a multitude of alleged absurdities which he heaps together for the confusion of the admirers of ancient Tragedy, he urges this also: "aucune nation (viz. except the Greeks) ne fait paroître ses acteurs sur des espèces d'échasses, le visage couvert d'un masque qui exprime la douleur d'un côté et la joye de l'autre." Having made conscientious

No: the countenance was, from first to last, as unalterably one and the same, as we see it in the ancient masks hewn in stone. For the expression of passion there remained the glances of the eye, the gesticulations of the arms and hands, the attitudes, and, lastly, the voice. When people complain about the sacrifice of the play of the features, they do not reflect that at such a distance it would have been all thrown away.

Here we are not concerned with the question, whether the mimetic art might not have been carried to a higher degree of perfection without the masks; it may be readily allowed that it might. Cicero, it is true, speaks of the significance, the gracefulness, and delicacy of Roscius' style of playing, in just such terms as a modern connoisseur would apply to a Garrick or Schröder. But to this actor, whose excellence has passed into a proverb, I will not appeal, since it appears from a passage of Cicero that Roscius often played without a mask, and that his contemporaries preferred this. I doubt whether this was ever the case among the Greeks. The same author, however, relates that the players in general, in order to acquire a more perfect purity and flexibility of voice, (not of the singing voice merely, for then the orator would not have used this example,) perseveringly engaged in such exercises as our modern actors, even the French, who still keep up more training than others, would exclaim against as an unheard-of exaction, were it to be expected of them. For the display of dexterity in the mimetic art, abstractedly, without the utterance of words, the ancients provided in their pantomimes, which they carried to a degree of perfection quite unknown to the moderns. In Tragedy, however, strict subordination on the part of the actor was absolutely essential: the entire performance was to be animated by one spirit; and therefore not only the poetry, but

search for the authorities on which an assertion so bold, yet so incredible, could possibly be grounded, I can find nothing but a passage of Quinctilian, lib. xi. c. 3, and a still more vague allusion in Platonius (see Aristoph. ed. Kuster, Prolegom. p. 10). Both passages refer merely to the Newer Comedy, and state simply that in some characters the eyebrows were dissimilar. As to the intention of this, I shall say a word or two when I come to the Newer Greek Comedy. Voltaire, however, is without excuse; for the mention of the cothurnus leaves no doubt that he meant to speak of the tragic masks. And indeed his error could scarcely have so learned an origin. To trace the sources of Voltaire's ignorance would in most cases be an unprofitable labour. The whole of that description of the Greek Tragedy, and of the cothurnus in particular, is worthy of the scholarship of the man who boasts (in the Essay on Tragedy prefixed to his Brutus) of having brought the Roman Senate on the stage *in red mantles!*

also the musical accompaniment, the scenery, costume, and acting emanated from the poet himself. The player was merely the instrument, and his merit consisted in the accuracy with which he filled his part, not at all in arbitrary bravura and parade of his own skill.

As from the nature of writing materials in those times they had not a facility of making numerous copies, the parts were studied by means of reiterated recitation from the poet, and the chorus was practised in the same way. This was called *teaching a play*. As the poet was a musician as well, and most commonly an actor too, this must have contributed much towards making the performance perfect.

We may readily grant that the modern actor has a much more difficult task, being required to transform his own individuality without the possibility of withdrawing it altogether out of view; but the greater difficulty does not afford a genuine criterion for deciding to which mode of exhibition the preference ought to be awarded as a representation of the noble and beautiful.

As the mask invested the actor with features more strongly marked, and his voice was also strengthened by means of a contrivance attached to the mask, so the cothurnus, composed of several soles of considerable thickness, as may be seen in extant antiques of Melpomene, elevated his stature above the usual dimensions. Even the female characters were personated by men, because it was deemed that the female carriage and voice would have been inadequate to the energy which belonged to the tragic heroines.

We are acquainted with the forms of the masks from extant works of sculpture. They are at once beautiful and of manifold variety. That such variety did find place even in the tragic department, (in the comic it is understood as a matter of course,) we may be convinced by the copious glossary of Greek technical expressions for all gradations of age and character in the masks [7]. But there were other excellences of the real Grecian masks which of course could not be brought to view in the sculptured representations of them; namely, their thinness of material, delicacy of colouring, and ingenious manner of fitting. When we consider how affluent Athens was in every kind of chef-d'œuvre belonging to the arts of design, we may take it for granted that the excellence of her masks was not to be surpassed. Whoever has seen at the Roman Carnival the waxen masks which lately came into vogue, designed in the noble style, and covering not only the face, but in some measure the rest of the head, will be able to form a tolerable conception of the theatrical masks of the ancients. These carnival-masks copy to the very life, and viewed at the distance the ancient actors were seen at, the deception is complete. Like the marble antiques, they give the white of the eye, and the masker sees through an opening left for the pupil. The ancients, it would seem, occasionally went still further, and inserted an iris; for so we must conclude from the anecdote of the bard Thamyris (probably in a play of Sophocles) appearing with a dark eye. Accidental circumstances were sometimes given; for instance, the cheeks of Tyro streaming with blood from the cruel treatment of her stepmother. It is true, the use of the mask would make the head appear somewhat large in comparison with the height of the figure; but this misproportion, in tragedy at least, was compensated by the additional elevation afforded by the cothurnus.

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[7] See the Onomasticon of Julius Pollux.

The tragic figures, viewed as a whole, we cannot easily realize to ourselves with sufficient beauty and dignity. It will be well to keep the ancient Sculpture present to the mind, and perhaps it will come nearest the reality to imagine to ourselves those figures as statues in the great style, living and moving. Only, whereas Sculpture willingly dispensed with drapery in order to pourtray the more essential beauty of the figure, the plastics of the stage would of course follow the contrary principle of clothing the figure as much as possible; as well for decency sake, as because the forms of the living body would not have been sufficiently grand and beautiful to be in keeping with the face. Those deities therefore whom Sculpture always represents wholly or partially unclothed, would appear on the stage in complete drapery. Under the folds of the garments, moreover, were various contrivances for giving a semblably greater degree of strength to the forms of the limbs, and so keeping up the symmetry of the artificially enlarged form of the actor.

The great width of the stage in comparison with its shallow depth would impart to the grouping of the figures the simple and clear order of the bas-relief. We moderns prefer, on the stage, as elsewhere, to have the groups more condensed, partially concealing each other, and picturesquely retiring into the distance; the ancients on the contrary had so little partiality for perspective shortening, that even in their pictures they mostly avoided it.

The movements were regulated by the rhythm of the declamation, and in this accompaniment the object was to attain the highest possible degree of beauty and elegance. The style of the poetry required a certain repose in the manner of playing, and that all should be held together in masses, so as to present a succession of fixed plastic situations; and the actor perhaps not unfrequently remained for some time motionless in one attitude. But it must not be imagined from this that the Greeks contented themselves with a cold and feeble representation of the passions: this would ill agree with the fact that whole lines of their tragedies are often given up to inarticulate exclamations of anguish, for which our modern languages afford no correspondent expressions.

I have occasionally met with the conjecture that the delivery of the dialogue resembled our modern recitative. The only circumstance which could afford grounds for such an idea is that the Greek language, like others of the south, was pronounced with more musical inflexions than ours of the north. But in other respects, I think, their tragic declamation must have been altogether unlike recitative: on the one hand, much more measured; on the other, far removed from its studied and artificial modulations.

So, again, merely because we are told in general, that the ancient tragedy was accompanied with music and dance, it is still frequently compared with the Opera[8]: as inapplicable a comparison as could possibly be, and testifying an utter ignorance of the spirit of classic antiquity. That dance, that music, and what we call dance and music, have nothing in common but the name. In tragedy, the poetry was the main essential: all the rest existed only as accessories, and that too in the strictest subordination. In the Opera, on the contrary, the poetry is but an adjunct, a mere means of holding the rest together; it is

[8] Even Barthélemy is guilty of this error in a note on the LXXth Chapter of his Anacharsis.

almost absorbed amidst what environs it. Accordingly, the best receipt for an opera-text is, to deliver a poetic sketch, the outlines to be afterwards filled up and coloured by the other arts. This anarchy of the arts—Music, Dance, Decoration, all seeking by lavishment of their most wanton charms to outvie each other,—this it is that forms the very essence of the Opera. What sort of opera-music would that be deemed which should set the words to the simplest and merely rhythmical modulations? It is precisely in the revelry of emulation between the different arts, in the medley of their profusion, that the fantastic charm of the Opera consists. This charm would be destroyed by approximation to the severity of ancient taste in any one particular, were it but in costume; for then the lavish gaudiness of all the rest would be even insufferable. Gay, tinselled, spangled draperies are in much better keeping with the Opera; for this does away with the censure that there is in the Opera so much that is unnatural; for instance, that its heroes, in the deepest despair, make their exits with coloraturas and quavers. Why, it is a fairy world, peopled not by real men and women, but by a strange kind of singing animals. Neither is any thing lost by the Opera's being brought before us in a language which most of us do not understand: the words and sense, in such music at least, go for nothing; the only point to be considered is what language is the most vocal and melodious, with the greatest number of open vowels for the airs, and of lively accents for the recitative. It would, therefore, be as incongruous to think of approximating the Opera to the simplicity of Greek Tragedy, as it is absurd to compare the one with the other.

Set in the syllabic style of musical composition, which then at least prevailed universally in Grecian music, and with no other accompaniment than that of a single flute, the solemn choral ode (of which we may form some conception from many of our own national airs, especially our church-tunes, seemingly so artless,) certainly lost nothing in verbal distinctness. Indeed, it is not to be imagined they should have been allowed to suffer in this respect; for the choruses and the lyric odes in general are the part of ancient tragedy that *we* find most difficult to understand, and so must the contemporary hearers also. They abound in the most complicated constructions, the most daring images, and recondite allusions. How can it be imagined that the poets would have lavished on them such exquisite art, if it must all have been lost in the delivery? Such purposeless finish had nothing whatever in common with Grecian ways of thinking.

In the metres of their tragedies there prevails in general a very elaborate regularity, but by no means a stiff symmetrical uniformity. Besides the endless variety of the lyric strophes which the poet in each instance invented for the purpose, they have one metre to intimate the transition in the tone of mind from the dialogue to the lyric part, namely, the anapæsts; two for the dialogue itself, one of which, by far the most usual, the iambic trimeter, expresses the steady progress of the action; the other, the trochaic tetrameter, denotes the hurry of passion. It would lead us too far into the depths of metrical science, were we to enter, in this place, into further considerations of the structure and significance of these metres. Thus much I wished to remark, only because so much is said of the simplicity of ancient Tragedy, which however subsists only in the *general plan*, at least with respect to the two older poets; whereas in the *detail* the richest multiplicity of poetical ornament is expended. Histrionic excellence, of course, supposed a most exact correctness of delivery in the different metres: we know that the fineness of the Grecian ear was such as to animadvert upon the false quantity of a syllable even in the speech of an orator.

We come now to the essential character of Greek Tragedy. That its mode of representation is ideal is allowed. This must not be taken to mean that the personages introduced were all morally perfect. Among such, how should there be scope for that collision which the very plot of the drama requires? Infirmities there are in them, defects, nay crimes, but then their manners in general are ennobled beyond the limits of real life, and each person has assigned to him as high a degree of dignity and greatness as his part in the action will admit of. But this is not all. The ideality of the persons represented consists principally in this, that all is elevated to a higher sphere. The aim of Tragic Poetry was altogether to separate her ideals of humanity from the soil of Nature, to which the real human being is fettered as a vassal of the glebe. But how was she to effect this? Should her creation hang in air? Then she must first have absolved it from the law of gravity, divested it of all earthly materials, and therewith of its bodily existence also. How often what is praised in art as *ideality* amounts to nothing more! A creation of mere ghosts, vague, airy shadows, incapable of exerting any abiding impressiveness! But the Greeks in their poetry and fine arts succeeded in blending most perfectly the ideal with the real, that is to say, superhuman beauty with human truth, and in investing the manifestation of an idea with an energetic corporeality. They did not leave their creation to flit unsupported in empty space, but set the statue of humanity on the eternal and immovable pedestal of moral freedom; and there it should be kept unmoved by the very ponderousness of its materials, fashioned, as it was, of marble or brass, of more massive substance than the forms of real men, its towering elevation and magnificence serving but to subject it more energetically to the law of gravitation.

Freedom within, and *Necessity* without; these are the two poles of the tragic world. Each of these ideas is brought into full manifestation only by its opposition to the other. As the consciousness of an inward self-determining power elevates the human being above the unlimited dominion of impulse, of natural instinct; in a word, absolves him from Nature's guardianship: so the Necessity, which he is to recognize beside her, can be no mere Physical Necessity, but must lie beyond the world of sense in the bottomless depths of the Infinite; consequently, must exhibit itself as the unfathomable might of Destiny. Therefore, the same power extends over the world of Gods; for the gods of the Greeks are merely physical powers, and though immeasurably higher than mortal man, yet, compared with the Infinite, they rank in the same grade with him. Hence the altogether different manner in which they are introduced in Homer and the tragedians. In Homer they appear with mere chance-caprice, and can impart to the Epic Poem no higher excellence than the charm of the marvellous. In Tragedy, on the contrary, they come forward either as servants of Destiny and mediate executors of her decrees, or the gods approve themselves godlike only by asserting their freedom of action, and are involved in the same strife with Fate as man is.

This is the essence of the tragical, in the mind of the ancients. *We* are wont to call all terrible or deplorable events tragical; and true it is that Tragedy does prefer such incidents, though a melancholy termination is by no means indispensably necessary, and several ancient tragedies (for instance, the Eumenides, Philoctetes, even Œdipus-at-Colonos in some measure, not to mention a great proportion of Euripides' Plays) are wound up with a happy and cheerful termination.

But why does Tragedy select subjects so awfully repugnant to the wishes and wants of our common nature? The question has been frequently proposed, and seldom has met with a satisfactory solution.—Some have said that the pleasure we feel in such exhibitions arises from our complacent comparison of our own security and serenity with the storms and confusion brought about by the passions. But when we take a lively interest in the persons of the tragedy, we lose all recollection of self in the contemplation; if we are thinking about ourselves, it betokens that we take but a weak interest, and that the tragedy misses its aim. Others have sought it in our consciousness of moral improvement effected in us by the view of poetical justice in the reward of the good and punishment of the wicked. But the sort of person for whom these warning spectacles would indeed be wholesome, would be conscious of a base feeling of depression far removed from genuine morality, and would experience humiliation rather than elevation of mind. Moreover, poetical justice is by no means indispensable to the essence of a good tragedy; it may close with the sorrows of the righteous, and the triumph of the guilty, provided the equipoise be restored by the spectator's own consciousness, and by the prospect of futurity. But little does it mend the matter to say with Aristotle, that the design of Tragedy is to purify the passions by excitement of pity and terror. In the first place, the commentators have not been able to come to an agreement on the meaning of this proposition, and have had recourse to the most strained explanations. See Lessing's "Dramaturgy" on this subject. Lessing proposes a new explanation, and fancies he has found in Aristotle a poetic Euclid. But mathematical demonstrations are liable to no misunderstanding, and the very notion of geometrical evidence, one would think, must be quite inapplicable to the Theory of the Fine Arts. But, even supposing that Tragedy did work this moral cure in us, she does it by means of painful feelings, terror and pity; and therefore it still remains to be explained why we should feel an immediate pleasure under the operation.

Others, again, have thought it enough to answer that we are attracted to tragic exhibitions by a craving for violent excitement to rouse us from the monotony of every-day existence. Such a craving does exist, no doubt; it gave rise to beast-fights, and among the Romans to gladiatorial shows. But shall we, less hardened and more inclined to tender emotions, require to see demigods and heroes descend into the bloody arena of the tragic stage, like reprobate gladiators, merely to agitate our nerves with the spectacle of their sufferings? No; it is not the sight of suffering that forms the charm of a tragedy, or of the circus-games, or even of the beast-fights. In these we see a display of address, strength, and courage; splendid qualities these, and allied to the spiritual and moral capacities of man. The kind of satisfaction we feel in a beautiful tragedy from our sympathy with the painful situations and heart-rending sorrows it exhibits, is derived, either from the consciousness of the dignity of human nature, awakened in us by such grand exemplars; or from the trace of a higher order of things impressed on the apparently irregular course of events, and mysteriously revealed to us in these spectacles; or from both of these sources conjointly.

The true reason, therefore, why Tragedy need not shun even the harshest subject, is this: that a spiritual invisible power can be measured only by the resistance it encounters from an exterior force capable of being appreciated by the senses. The moral freedom, therefore, of man cannot reveal itself save in collision with the ordinary instincts; so long as no higher call summons it into conflict with these, it either really slumbers within him, or at least seems to slumber, since his place might suitably be filled by a mere animal being. In the conflict, and there alone, does the moral nature approve itself; and, therefore, if we must needs represent the aim of Tragedy as matter of indoctrination, be it this: that would you vindicate the pretensions of the soul to a nature intrinsically divine, your earthly being must be disregarded; that for this all sorrows must be endured, all difficulties overcome.

On all that bears on this point, I would refer to the section on the Sublime in Kant's "Critique of the Judgment" (Kritik der Urtheilskraft), which, to make it quite perfect, wants nothing but a more distinct reference to the Tragedy of the ancients;

with which this philosopher does not seem to have been particularly well acquainted.

I now come to another peculiarity which distinguishes the ancient Tragedy from our own: the *Chorus.* (We must conceive it as the personification of the thought inspired by the represented action; the incorporation into the action itself of the sympathy of the poet, considered as the spokesman of human nature.) This is its general poetical meaning, with which alone we are here concerned, and to which it is no detriment that the chorus had a local origin in the festivities of Bacchus; nor that it at all times retained among the Greeks a specific national significance, publicity being essential to the completeness of an action, according to their republican ways of thinking, as was before remarked. Now, as in their poetic inventions they reverted to the heroic age in which the monarchical constitution was yet in force, they in some measure republicanized those hero-families by introducing, as witnesses of their proceedings, either the elders of the people, or other persons who might represent something of that kind. This publicity, it is true, was not quite in keeping with the manners of the heroic age, as we learn them from Homer; but dramatic poetry handled costume and manners, as well as mythology in general, with an independent spirit, conscious of the freedoms it allowed itself.

To these feelings and these modes of thought was the Chorus indebted for its existence on the stage. (And once there, it must, for reality's sake, assume its specific character in each instance from the nature of the story exhibited. Whatever it might stand for, and whatever it might do, in the individual play, in general it represented, first, *the common national spirit*, next, *the universal sympathy of human nature.* The Chorus is, in a word, the spectator idealized. It mitigates the impression of a terrific or pathetic spectacle, by reverberating to the actual spectator a lyrical and musical expression of his own emotions, and bearing him aloft into the region of contemplation.)

Our modern critics cannot tell what to make of the Chorus; and it is the less to be wondered at, considering that even Aristotle gives no satisfactory explanation of the matter. Better is the office of the Chorus set forth by Horace, where he ascribes to it a universal voice of moral sympathy, instruction, and warning. Modern critics have been of opinion, partly, that its main use is that the stage should never be left quite empty—whereas strictly speaking it had not its place on the stage. Or else, they have condemned it as a superfluous and cumbersome appendage, being scandalized at the supposed absurdity of conducting in the presence of a considerable body of people so many transactions that require secrecy. They have also considered the general observance of the "unity of place" to rest mainly on the impossibility of changing the place without first removing the Chorus, which the poet could not do without some available pretext. Lastly, they take the Chorus to be a mere chance-remnant retained from the first beginnings of Tragedy; and because in Euripides, the last of the tragic poets, the choral odes have often, it is plain, very little connexion with the contents of the piece, and have degenerated into a mere episodical ornament, our critics even tell us that the Greeks had but one step more to make in Dramatic Art, to throw off the Chorus altogether. To refute all this shallow talk, it is sufficient merely to observe that Sophocles (there is reason to believe) wrote a prose-work "On the Chorus" against the principles of some other poets; and therefore, far from blindly following traditional prescriptions, was able and ready, like a thoughtful artist, to give an account of his doings.

Modern poets, even of the first rank, have often attempted, since the revival of the study of the ancients, to introduce the Chorus into their pieces, mostly without a correct, and especially without a vital, conception of its meaning. But we have no suitable song and dance; we have also in the construction of our theatre no proper place for the Chorus; therefore it is not likely it should ever become naturalized with us.

Indeed, with respect to our theatre, the Greek Tragedy, in its own unaltered form, is likely enough to remain for ever an exotic, to which we can scarcely promise successful growth even in the hothouse of learned art and criticism. The Greek Mythology, which forms the subject-matter of ancient Tragedy, is as foreign to the thoughts and imaginations of most spectators, as the form and manner of Grecian stage-performance. But to think of forcing into that form materials of an altogether heterogeneous nature,—an historical subject for instance,—is a precarious speculation without hope of recompense amidst the most manifest disadvantages.

Mythology, I have called in particular, the materials of Tragedy. We know indeed of two *historical* tragedies by Greek poets, Phrynichus' "Capture of Miletus," and "The Persians" of Æschylus, the latter still extant; but these single exceptions, both belonging to an epoch in which the art had not yet attained its full maturity, do but serve to establish the rule, there being so many hundred examples to the contrary. The Athenians, in sentencing Phrynichus to pay a fine of money, for having too painfully agitated them by bringing before them on the stage the history of the disasters of the day, incurred, it may be, by their own fault, however severe and arbitrary this step may appear in point of law and justice, manifested a correct understanding of the proprieties and just limits of Art. Pained by the thought of an actual and personal reality in the catastrophe which is depicted, the mind is unable to maintain that repose and collectedness which are requisite for the reception of purely tragical impressions. The heroic fable, on the contrary, always came to view from a certain remoteness, and in the light of the marvellous. Now the marvellous has this advantage, that it can in some measure be at once believed and not believed: believed, in so far as it coheres with other opinions; and yet not believed, because we never take so personal an interest in it, as we do in what bears the colours of the every-day life of our own immediate sphere. The Greek Mythology was a web of national and local traditions, alike revered as an appendage to religion, and as a prologue to history; every where kept alive among the people by ceremonies and monuments, and already elaborated for the requirements of the arts and of the higher kinds of poetry, by the diversified manner in which it had been handled by numerous epic or merely mythical poets. The tragedians, therefore, had but to engraft poetry on poetry: certain postulates, and those invaluably serviceable in regard of dignity, grandeur, and isolation from all petty detail, were granted them at the very outset. The sanctity of legend had ennobled every circumstance, even the errors and frailties, belonging to that heaven-descended long-extinct race of heroes. Those worthies of ancient times were exhibited, indeed, as beings of more than human power, but so far from possessing unerring virtue and wisdom, that they were depicted with violent and unbridled passions. It was an age of wild effervescence: the ground of morals had not yet been brought into productiveness by the cultivating hand of social order, and therefore gave birth to a beneficent and also to a pernicious offspring with the fresh vigour of prolific Nature. In such a state of things, even the monstrous, the horrible, might come to light without betokening that degenerate corruption to which they must be referred in a condition of developed law and good order, and which therefore makes us revolt from them with abhorrence. The guilty beings of mythology exist, as it were, beyond the pale of criminal jurisprudence, and are amenable to none but a higher tribunal. Some have said that the Greeks, as zealous republicans, felt a particular complacency in recalling to view those lawless deeds, which drew calamity and ruin on the families of their kings: nay, these critics almost go so far as to say that ancient Tragedy was throughout a satire on the old monarchical constitutions! If so, it would have been altogether such a party view of the matter, as would have been quite at variance with the sympathy which was called for, and consequently, with the effect that was intended. Enough to refute such an idea, to remark that those royal families, which by a linked sequence of self-requiting crimes afforded the greatest abundance of awful tragic subjects, were the Pelopidæ in Mycenæ, and the Labdacidæ in Thebes; families quite alien to the Athenians, for whose gratification the tragedies were in the first instance composed. We no where find the Attic poets labouring to bring odium upon the ancient kings of their country; on the contrary, there is their national hero Theseus, whom they invariably hold up to public veneration as a pattern of justice and moderation, the protector of the oppressed, the first lawgiver, nay, the very founder of liberty. It was also a favourite topic of popular adulation, on the part of the tragedians, to display Athens, in the very earliest times, outshining the rest of Greece in justice, humanity, and recognition of the national rights of Greece in general. That universal revolution, by which the independent sovereignties of ancient Greece were transformed into a confederacy of small free governments, had disparted the heroic age from the times of social cultivation, by a chasm beyond which but few families could trace their pedigree. This was certainly a great help to the ideal elevation of the tragic characters; the doings of individuals in after-times would not admit of a close inspection without betray-ing their weaknesses. The affairs of those old heroes, existing as they did within an entirely different circle of relations, were not to be tested by the civil and domestic morality of quite another age; sufficient was it that the feelings of the audience should revert to the original elements of human nature. Ere yet there were constitutions, ere the sense of equity had adequately developed itself, the sovereigns were their own lawgivers in a world which was still dependent on them, and an energetic will had the freest scope in both good and evil. Moreover, an age of hereditary sovereignties presented more striking instances of sudden vicissitudes of fortune than could occur under the political equality of later times. In these respects, therefore, the exalted station of the principal persons of the Drama was essential, or at least favourable, to the purposes of tragic representation; not, however, as many moderns have understood it, as though the destinies of none but such as exercise an influence on the weal or woe of numbers were important enough to excite our sympathy, nor as though intrinsic loftiness of sentiment, to call forth our respect and admiration, needed to be invested with an adventitious dignity from without. The Greek tragedians depict the destruction of the royal houses quite apart from the relation in which those houses stood to the condition of the people at large; in the *king* they exhibit the *man;* and, far from extending the purple mantle as a middle wall of separation between us and their heroes, they bid us look through its idle splendour into a bosom torn by passions. That the main essential was not so much the regal splendour as the heroic costume, is evident from those modern tragedies, in which, on the principle just alluded to, the subject is taken from kings and courts; with this difference, however, that we have the existing reality among us, which the Greek tragedians had not. Copy from the reality of the court and court-life, our dramatists cannot; for nothing has less of tragic capability: they are reduced to the alternative either of depicting a merely ideal royalty and the manners of remote ages, or of getting hampered by the restrictions of etiquette and formality,—a death-blow at once to all force of character and depth of passion! The limitations of private life would not be half so fatal.

It seems that only a few of the mythological fables were expressly fabricated for the purposes of Tragedy; as, for instance, the long-continued alternation of crime, revenge, and curse, in the house of Atreus. In the list of names of the lost dramas, we find many of which we can scarcely conceive how the fable, so far as we are acquainted with it, could have furnished matter enough to fill up the compass of a tragic whole. It is true, the poets had great latitude of choice in the many discrepant editions of the same story; and this very fluctuation of the legend allowed them to go still further, and considerably alter the circumstances of an event; so much so, that the same author shall be found at variance with himself as to the course and events of a story, in different plays. But, above all, we should form our conception of the prolific capability of mythology for tragic art from the law which we see in operation throughout the history of the mind and art of the Greeks; namely, that the tendency which predominated for the time assimilated to itself all the materials which lay within its reach. As the heroic legend, in all its manifold discrepancies, had delighted to expand itself into the reposeful breadth of detail and light multiplicity of the Epos, so it responded to the demands of the tragic poets in the earnestness, the energy, and condensed coherence then first discovered in it; and such portions as, in the sifting process of this transformation, fell out as unavailable for Tragedy, furnished materials for a half sportive, but still ideal kind of composition, in that subordinate species called the Satyric Drama.

Allow me to place the above considerations on the essence of Ancient Tragedy in a clearer light, by a comparison borrowed from the plastic arts, which perhaps is more than a mere play of fancy.

The Homeric Epos in poetry is as the bas-relief in sculpture; Tragedy as the outstanding group.

Homer's poetry sprang from the soil of legend, and still adheres to it, only partially disengaged from its parent-earth, in the same manner as the figures of the bas-relief cohere with the extraneous backing of their original block. These are but slightly raised; so in the Epos all is past and remote, nothing prominent. In the bas-relief, the favourite position is the profile; in the Epos, all is characterized in the simplest manner. In the relief-work the figures are not strictly grouped, but follow each other; so Homer's heroes come forth, in rank, as it were, one after another. It has been remarked, that the Iliad is not definitively closed into a whole, but leaves something to be supposed both before and after. So the bas-relief is without limit, it is capable of being extended in both directions; on which account the favourite subjects for the relievo of the ancients were such as admit of indefinite extension, sacrificial procession, a line of battles, and the like. Hence they applied the bas-relief to curved surfaces, as vases, or the frieze of a rotunda, where the two ends are withdrawn from the view by the curvature, and as we make the circuit, one end comes in sight, and the other disappears. Reading Homer is very like a circuit of this kind; the part before us always arrests the whole attention; we lose sight of what went before, and do not concern ourselves with what shall be in the sequel.

On the contrary, in the outstanding group, and in Tragedy, the sculpture and the poetry bring at once to view a definite and independent whole. To separate his work from the material reality, the sculptor sets it upon a pedestal, as on an ideal ground, detaching from it, withal, as much as possible, all extraneous and accidental matter, that he may fix the eye wholly on the essential objects, the figures themselves. He gives the forms their whole body and contour, despising the illusion of colours; and, by the solid and uniform masses of which he fashions them, announces a creation of no ephemeral existence, but endowed with a higher intrinsic value.

The aim of sculpture is beauty, and beauty is most advantageously exhibited in repose. This, therefore, is the requisite for the single figure: but if there be more figures than one, they must be combined into unity, must be grouped, and this can be done only by an *action*. The group exhibits beauty in motion; and then the problem is, to satisfy both requisites in the highest degree. This will be effected if, even in exhibiting the strongest bodily or mental agony, the artist shall find means so to temper the expression with a cast of manly fortitude, or of calm grandeur, or of indestructible gracefulness, that, with all the touching reality, the. lineaments of beauty shall survive unimpaired. Winckelmann's expression on this point is inimitable. He says: "Beauty was to the ancients the tongue in the balance of expression," and then describes, in this view, the groups of the Niobe and the Laocoon; the former a masterpiece in the high and severe, the other in the ornate and learned style.

In respect of these two groups, the comparison between ancient Tragedy and Sculpture is the more apposite, because both Æschylus and Sophocles are known to have produced a Niobe, and the latter a Laocoon also.

In the group of the Laocoon, the efforts of the body in enduring and of the mind in resisting are adjusted in admirable equipoise. The help-imploring children, tender objects of compassion, not of admiration, serve to direct our eyes to the father, who seems to be in vain uplifting his to the gods. The wreathed serpents present an emblem of that inevitable destiny which often so dreadfully implicates the persons of an action in one common catastrophe. And yet the beautiful symmetry, the pleasing flow of outline, are not lost in the agony of the struggle: the horror which the scene is calculated to impress upon the senses is managed with forbearance, and a mitigating breath of gracefulness is diffused over all.

In the Niobe, terror and pity are in like manner blended to perfection. The former descends, unseen, from that heaven which the mother's upturned eyes and half-parted lips at once implore and arraign. The daughter, fleeing in the agony of death to her mother's bosom, in her childish innocence can but tremble for herself—never was the indefeasible instinct of self-preservation more tenderly expressed! On the other hand, can there be a more beautiful emblem of the self-devoting magnanimity of an heroic spirit than Niobe, bending forward to receive, were it possible, in her own body the annihilating arrow? Haughtiness and indignation fade away into the most heartfelt maternal love. That the agony reaches not to mar the unearthly nobleness of her features, is because we see it to be even as it is related in that legend, so full of meaning—already, under the accumulation of woe upon woe, the life is beginning to petrify into the stony torpor. But in the presence of this woman, thus *twice* struck into marble, and yet so infinitely full of life and soul,—in the presence of this *Stone* which marks the boundary beyond which human sorrow cannot pass, the spectator melts into tears.

Yet, amidst the agitating emotions these groups inspire, a something lurks withal in their aspect which allures us to a concentrated gaze of contemplation. And so it is with ancient Tragedy. It leads us forth into the sublimest reflections, involved in the very sphere of the things it sets before us,—reflections on our existence, and the still and for ever unexpounded mystery of what it is, and why.

FOURTH LECTURE.

Progress of Tragic Art among the Greeks. Its different Styles. Æschylus. Connexion of one of his Trilogies. His other Works. Life and poetical character of Sophocles. Critique upon his tragedies, severally.

Of the boundless stores the Greeks possessed in the tragic department, and which were elicited by the public contests at the Athenian Festivals, for the rival poets always contended for a prize, only a very small proportion has come down to our times. Of their many tragedians, we possess works of only three, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, and of these but a few in comparison with the numerous productions of those authors. The extant dramas are such as the Alexandrine Critics included in their selection of authors, which they designed as a groundwork for the study of the older Grecian Literature; not that they considered their selections to be the only valuable pieces, but because in them the different styles of Tragic Art might be most prominently recognized. Of each of the two older dramatists we have seven pieces, but among these are to be found several of what the ancients testify to be their most distinguished works. Of Euripides we have a much greater number, and many of them we could gladly exchange for other lost works—Satyric Dramas, for instance, of Achæus, Æschylus, and Sophocles; or some pieces of old Phrynichus to compare with Æschylus; or of Agathon, in more recent times, whom Plato describes as weak but amiable, and who was contemporary with Euripides, but his junior.

The stories about the waggon of the itinerant Thespis, and the contests for the prize of a goat, whence, it is said, the name of Tragedy is derived, and the lees of wine with which the first improvisatory players smeared their faces, and others of the like kind, from which rude beginning, Æschylus, by one gigantic stride, elevated Tragedy to that dignified form in which she occurs in his works—we leave to the critical sieve of the antiquarian, and so proceed forthwith to the poets themselves.

The tragic style of Æschylus, (using the word *style* in the sense it bears in Sculpture, and not merely as denoting the manner of writing,) is grand, severe, and often hard; the style of Sophocles has a finished symmetry and harmonious gracefulness; that of Euripides is soft and luxuriant; lavish in his easy redundancy, he sacrifices the general effect to brilliant passages. The Fine Arts of the Greeks, which we have the opportunity of surveying in the unbroken sequence of their development, present analogies all along which will allow us to compare the epochs of Tragic Art with those of Sculpture. Æschylus is the Phidias of Tragedy, Sophocles her Polycletus, Euripides her Lysippus. Phidias wrought sublime forms of Gods, but withal, he lent them an extrinsic splendour of material, and environed their majestic repose with images of the most stormy contests in strong relief. Polycletus attained the perfection of proportions, for which reason one of his statues was called the Standard of Beauty. Lysippus distinguished himself by the ardour of his imagery, but in his time Sculpture had already receded from her original calling, and rather studied to catch the charm of the moving, living being, than aspired to reach the ideal in form.

Æschylus is to be regarded as the creator of Tragedy: in full panoply she sprang from his head as did Pallas from the head of Jupiter. He clad her with dignity, and gave her a befitting stage; he invented scenic pomp; he not only trained his chorus in the song and dance, but himself took part as an actor. It was he that first expanded the dialogue, and limited the lyric part of Tragedy, which, however, still often occupies too great a space in his plays. The characters he dashes off with a few bold, strong touches. His plots are simple in the extreme; the art of distributing an action into rich and varied members, and of portioning out its complication and disentanglement into measured gradations was reserved for others. Hence the action often comes to a stand-still, of which he makes us still more sensible by excessive protraction of his choral odes. But all his productions evidence a lofty and earnest spirit. No softer emotion except terror predominates with him; he holds up a Medusa-head before the petrified spectators. His management of Destiny is extremely harsh: she hovers over the heads of mortals in all her gloomy majesty. The cothurnus of Æschylus treads, one might say, with the ponderousness of iron; forms, sheerly gigantic, stalk in upon it. To depict mere human beings seems almost to cost him an effort of self-denial: gods he continually introduces, especially Titans, those elder Divinities, shadowing forth the gloomy powers of primeval Nature, and thrust down, long ago, into Tartarus, beneath a world at length reduced to more serene order. To match the dimensions of his personages, he would fain exaggerate the very language they speak into a gigantic vastness. Hence his rugged compounds, his overloaded epithets, and in the lyric parts the many involved constructions and great consequent obscurity. In the altogether singular strangeness of his imagery and expressions he ranks with Dante and Shakspeare. Yet in these images there is no want of that terrific grace which the ancients so generally extol in Æschylus.

He flourished precisely at the era when Grecian freedom, after its emancipation, was in its prime of vigour, and with the proud consciousness of this he seems to be thoroughly penetrated. He had lived to behold, as an eye-witness, the greatest and most glorious event of Greece, the overthrow, nay, the annihilation of the overbearing power of Persia under Darius and Xerxes, and had himself fought with distinguished bravery at Marathon and Salamis. In his *Persians* he has indirectly hymned the triumph he helped to achieve, depicting in that performance the ruin of the Persian empire, and the shameful return of the despot, with difficulty escaping to his seat of royalty. The battle of Salamis he paints in most vivid colours. The vein of a warrior runs throughout this play and the *Seven against Thebes*: indeed the poet's personal inclination to a life of war shines through both, in a manner not to be mistaken. It was a clever saying of the Sophist Gorgias, that in the great drama last-mentioned, Mars inspired the poet instead of Bacchus:—for *Bacchus* was the tutelary deity of the tragic poets, not Apollo; a circumstance which at first sight seems strange; but then we should bear in mind that Bacchus was not merely the god of wine and gladness, but also of the higher inspiration.

Among the extant works of Æschylus, we have, what is well worthy of remark, a complete *Trilogy*. The antiquarian account of the trilogies is this: that in the more ancient times the poets contended for the prize, not with a single piece, but with *three*; which however were not always connected in their subjects; to these was added a fourth, namely, a *Satyric Drama.* All were acted in one day, one after another. In relation to the tragic art, the notion of a trilogy is this: that although a tragedy cannot be indefinitely protracted, like the Homeric poem, for instance, to which entire rhapsodies have been appended—tragedy is too independent, too self-compact for this—nevertheless, there may be several tragedies formed into a great cycle or period, the connecting bond being one common destiny pervading their several actions. And the restriction to the number *three* admits of a satisfactory explanation: namely, it is *thesis, synthesis, antithesis.* The advantage of this connexion is, that from the contemplation of the conjoint histories there results a more complete satisfaction than could possibly be attained in the single action. Further, let it be observed, that the subjects of the three tragedies might either lie far apart in time, or follow each other in unbroken sequence.

The three component parts of the Æschylean Trilogy are *Agamemnon, The Choëphoræ* (or, as we should call it, Electra,) and *The Eumenides* or *Furies.* The subject of the first is Agamemnon's death by the hands of Clytæmnestra on his return from Troy. In the second, Orestes avenges his father by putting his mother to death; *facto pius et sceleratus eodem.* The deed, though urged by the most powerful motives, is revolting to the natural and moral order of things. Orestes, it is true, as a ruler, is called upon to exercise justice even upon his own family; but then he is here under the necessity of creeping in disguise into the abode of the tyrannical usurper of his throne, and of going to work like an assassin. The memory of his father is his acquittal; but however deserving of death Clytæmnestra may be, the voice of blood cries against him from within. This is represented under the form of a controversy between the gods; one party of whom approves the act of Orestes, the others persecute him, till Divine Wisdom, under the form of Minerva, balances the claims on either side, establishes peace, and puts an end to the long train of crime and vengeance which had desolated the royal house of Atreus.

Between the first and second piece a considerable interval elapses, during which Orestes grows up to manhood. The second and third, on the contrary, immediately cohere in time. Orestes, upon the murder of his mother, forthwith flees to Delphi, where we find him at the opening of the Eumenides.

In each of the first two dramas there is a visible reference to the intended sequel. In "Agamemnon," Casandra, and, at the close of the play, the chorus, predict the future requital which should come by the hands of Orestes upon the haughty Clytæmnestra and her helpmate Ægisthus. In "The Choëphorœ," Orestes has no sooner perpetrated the deed, than he falls into a perturbation; his mother's Furies begin to agitate him, and he announces his purpose of fleeing to Delphi.

That the three plays, therefore, mutually cohere, is plain; and as they were actually brought on the stage in sequence, they may be regarded as so many acts of one grand heroic drama. I mention this, in order to vindicate the practice of Shakspeare and other modern dramatists, in comprising into one drama an extensive cycle of human destinies; because the very objection that has been made to the practice is the alleged example of the ancients to the contrary.

In "Agamemnon" the author designed to exhibit a sudden downfall from the very summit of prosperity and renown into an abyss of ruin. The ruler, the hero, the commander of the banded hosts of Greece, at the very instant of his success in that most glorious achievement, the destruction of Troy, for which his fame should be re-echoed in time present and time to come, in the very act of crossing the threshold of the home for which he has so long been sighing, and amidst the fearless security of preparation for a festive banquet, is butchered, as Homer expresses it, "like an ox at his crib," slain by his perfidious wife, his throne usurped by her worthless paramour, his children consigned to banishment or helpless servitude.

With a view of giving a striking effect to so terrific a reverse of fortune, the poet was obliged in the first place to impart fresh splendour to the conquest of Troy. This he has done in the first half of the play, in a peculiar, nay, if you will, a strange, but certainly a most impressive manner, and so as greatly to arrest the imagination. It is of great importance to Clytæmnestra that she should not be taken by surprise by her husband's return. She has therefore taken measures to maintain an unbroken line of beacon-fires from Troy to Mycenæ, to announce to her the great event whenever it should take place. The play opens with the speech of a watchman, who supplicates of the gods a deliverance from his toils, since now for ten years exposed to the cold night-dews, he has seen the stars in their changeful courses passing above him, ever in vain expecting the signal: at the same time he sighs in secret over the corruption which is at work in the family of his sovereign. At this moment he beholds the wished-for beacon blazing up, and hastens to announce it to his lady. A chorus of old men appears, whose ode exhibits the war of Troy in all its fateful relations, traces it back to its origin, recalls to mind all the prophecies connected with it at the time, and the sacrifice of Iphigenia, with which the Greeks were constrained to purchase their departure on the expedition. Clytæmnestra explains to the chorus the occasion of her joyful sacrifice; presently enters the herald Talthybius, who relates all as an eye-witness, and pourtrays the spectacle of the conquered, plundered, flame-devoted city, the triumph of the host, the glory of its commander. Reluctantly however, as unwilling to mar his prayers for their prosperity by ominous tidings, he relates the mishaps which subsequently befel the Greeks, their dispersion, and the shipwreck suffered by many of them—calamities in which the wrath of the gods had begun to reveal itself. It is obvious how little the poet has observed the "unity of time;" how much, on the contrary, he has availed himself of his privilege of spiritual dominion over the things of nature, to give wings to the circling hours in their career towards the dreadful goal. Now arrives Agamemnon himself in a kind of triumphal procession; on a second chariot, laden with spoils, follows Casandra, his captive concubine, according to the laws of war in those times. Clytæmnestra greets him with a hypocritical show of joy and veneration, bids her maidens spread forth the purple carpets of costliest golden embroidery, that the foot of the conqueror may not touch the ground. Agamemnon, with wise moderation, refuses to accept this honour, which belongs, says he, only to gods; at last however he yields to her solicitations, and follows her into the palace. The chorus begins to entertain dark forebodings. Clytæmnestra returns to entice Casandra by friendly persuasion to her common destruction. She sits dumb and immovable; but scarcely is the queen departed, when seized by prophetic furor she breaks out into confused indistinct wailings; anon she reveals her foreknowledge to the listening chorus without reserve; she beholds in spirit all the atrocities which have been perpetrated within these walls; that Thyestean banquet from which the sun turned his eye away; she sees the ghosts of the mangled children look at her from the house-top. She sees also the slaughter which is in readiness for her lord, and though shuddering at the reek of death, she rushes maniac-like into the house, to meet her inevitable doom; —from behind the scenes we hear the groans of the dying Agamemnon. The doors are thrown open; Clytæmnestra stands beside the corpse of her king and husband; like an insolent criminal, she not only avouches the deed, but glories in the same, and justifies it as a righteous requital for Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia to his own ambition. Her jealousy of Casandra and guilty connexion with the worthless Ægisthus, who does not make his appearance till towards the end, after the perpetration of the deed, are scarcely touched upon as motives, and remain quite in the background. This was necessary to preserve the dignity of the subject. And indeed Clytæmnestra was not to be depicted as a frail seduced woman, but with the traits of that heroic age, so rich in bloody catastrophes, when all passions were so impetuous, and men, both in good and evil, exceeded the ordinary standard of subsequent degenerated ages. What is more revolting, what proves a deeper degeneracy of human nature than the conception of horrible crimes in the bosom of cowardly effeminacy? If the poet be at all called upon to depict such crimes, he must by no means seek to palliate them, or to mitigate our detestation of them. The sacrifice of Iphigenia, brought so immediately before us, moreover serves to obviate our feeling too much harshness and painfulness of indignation at the fall of Agamemnon. He is, at best, not guiltless; a former crime recoils on his own head. Besides, according to the religious notions of the Greeks, there was an ancient curse weighing heavily on his house. Ægisthus, the author of his overthrow, is a son of that very Thyestes on whom his father Atreus had taken so unnatural a revenge; and this fateful connexion is vividly brought before our minds by the choral odes, but especially by Casandra's prophecies.

The next piece, the Choëphoroe, I pass over for the present, reserving what I have to say of it for a comparison I mean to institute between the three dramatists, in respect of their several methods of treating one and the same subject.

In the Eumenides, as I have already remarked, the subject is Orestes' exculpation and acquittal from blood-guiltiness; it is a trial, but one in which the accusers, the advocates, and the presiding judge are gods: and its significance and manner of treatment are well in keeping with a subject so majestic. The very scenes in which it is laid brought before the eyes of the Greeks the most solemn objects they were acquainted with.

It opens in front of the far-famed Delphic temple, which occupies the back-ground; the aged Pythoness comes out in priestly attire, addresses her prayer to all the gods who erewhile presided, or still preside, over the oracle, speaks to the assembled people (the actual audience), and goes into the temple to take her place upon the tripod. She comes back full of horror, and describes what she has seen in the temple, a man stained with blood, in the attitude of a suppliant, and women with snaky hair sleeping round about him. She then leaves the stage by the entrance through which she made her first appearance. Apollo next comes forth with Orestes, in a travelling garb, and bearing a sword and olive-branch in his hands. He promises his further protection, bids him flee to Athens, and recommends him to the safeguard of Mercury, who is invisibly present; Mercury being especially the guardian of travellers and such as were obliged to move by stealth.

Orestes departs on the side appropriated as opening into foreign lands; Apollo returns into his temple, which remains open so as to display in its interior a number of female forms sleeping around on the benches. Now Clytæmnestra's apparition ascends by Charon's steps and through the orchestra to the stage. We are not to imagine her a haggard skeleton, but the form of the living woman, only pale, with the wound still open in her breast, and clad in sky-blue garments. She rouses the Furies with many taunts, and then vanishes, probably by a trap-door. They awake, and not finding Orestes, dance wildly and tumultuously about the stage, while they sing their choral song. Apollo again comes out of the temple, and chases them from his sight as hateful beings who pollute his sanctuary. Imagine him with the sublime indignant air and in the threatening attitude of the Vatican Apollo, with quiver and bow, but also clad with tunic and chlamys.

Now the scene changes: but as the Greeks on such occasions liked to go the simplest way to work, the back-scene perhaps remained unaltered, and was now supposed to represent the temple of Minerva on the Areopagus, the side-scenes being transformed into Athens and its environs. Orestes appears (by the entrance from abroad), and embraces as a suppliant the statue of Pallas in front of the temple. The chorus (according to the poet's own description, clothed in black, with purple girdles and snaky hair, the masks perhaps like Medusa-heads of terrific beauty, the age also being simply indicated according to the principles of sculpture) follows behind on foot, but henceforth through the remainder of the play remains below in the orchestra. At first the Furies had behaved themselves like beasts of prey frantic at the escape of their booty; now with calm dignity they hymn the high and terrible office they hold among mortals, demand the head of Orestes as their forfeit, and devote it with mysterious spells to endless torment. Pallas, the warrior-virgin, appears in a chariot drawn by four horses, being evoked by the prayers of her suppliant. She demands to know what he would have of her, and calmly listens to the pleadings of himself and of his adversaries; at length, after wise deliberation of the suit of either party, she assumes the office of arbitress offered to her by both. The judges are convoked and take their seats on the steps of the temple, the herald orders silence by sound of trumpet, just as in a real trial. Apollo comes forward to advocate the cause of his suppliant, the Furies in vain protesting against his interference; and now the reasons for and against the deed are debated between them in short speeches. The judges cast their ballots into the urn, Minerva a white one: all is on the utmost stretch of expectation; Orestes in an agony of suspense exclaims to his protector: *O Phœbus Apollo, what* WILL *be the issue of the strife?* The Furies exclaim in their turn: *O Night, black Mother! hast thou no eyes to see these doings?* The ballots being numbered, it appears that the black and white are equal, and thereby the accused, by Minerva's decision, is acquitted. He breaks forth into joyful thanksgiving, whilst the Furies rise in mutiny against the overbearing of these younger gods, who allow themselves to go all lengths against those of the

Titanian race. Pallas bears their wrath with equanimity, addresses them with graciousness, nay, with reverence; and these indomitable beings cannot withstand her mild eloquence. They promise to bless the land where she rules; she in return engages to allot to them a sanctuary in the Attic domain, where they shall be called the Eumenides, that is, the Benevolent Beings. The whole ends with a solemn professional circuit and hymns of blessing, while troops of children, women, and old men, in purple garments, and with torches, escort the Furies to their allotted domain.

Let us now glance back upon the entire Trilogy. In the Agamemnon, free-will has the predominance, both in the plotting and in the perpetration of the deed; the principal character is a great criminal, and the play ends with the revolting impression of audacious tyranny triumphant. I have already noticed the retrospective reference it contains to a foregoing destiny which led the way to this catastrophe.

The deed committed in the Choëphorœ was partly enjoined by Apollo, and therefore was the decree of Destiny, and partly it arose from natural impulses, Orestes' desire to avenge his father, and his brotherly affection for the oppressed Electra. The conflict between feelings the most sacred does not directly manifest itself until after the commission of the deed; and here again we are left without entire satisfaction.

The Eumenides from the very beginning occupies the very top-ground of tragic elevation; all that went before is now concentrated as into a focus. Orestes has become the merely passive instrument of Destiny. All freedom of agency has merged into the higher sphere of the gods. Pallas is properly the principal person. That collision between relations the most sacred, which often occurs in life as a problem not to be solved by man, is here exhibited as a contention in the world of gods.

And this brings me to what I have to say concerning the deep significance of the whole. The ancient Mythology in general is *symbolical,* though not *allegorical;* for the two certainly admit of being distinguished. *Allegory* is the personification of a notion, a poetical invention designed solely with that view; but that is *symbolical,* which though invented by the imagination for other purposes, or otherwise possessing an independent reality of its own, readily adapts itself to an emblematical interpretation, nay, of its own accord suggests it.

The Titans in general symbolize the dark mysterious powers of primeval nature and of the mind; the younger gods, whatsoever falls more within the sphere of consciousness. The former are more nearly allied to original Chaos, the latter belong to a world which has now begun to settle into order. The Furies denote the terrible force of conscience, so far as this rests on dark feelings and misgivings, and will not yield to grounds of reason. In vain may Orestes recall to mind all the motives which urged him to the deed,—be they ever so just, the cry of a mother's blood will not be silenced. Apollo is the god of youth, of the noble effervescence of passionate indignation, of the intrepid deed. The act therefore was his ordering. Pallas is thoughtful wisdom, justice, and moderation, which alone can compose the strife.

The very circumstance of the Furies falling asleep in the temple is symbolical; nowhere but in the sanctuary, the refuge offered by Religion, can the fugitive find repose from the torments of conscience. But scarcely has he ventured forth again into the world, when the recollection of the mother he has murdered comes upon him afresh, and awakens his torments. In the very speeches of Clytæmnestra the symbolical purport is plain; and so it is in the attributes of the Furies, their snakes, their lapping of blood. The like may be said of the horror which Apollo testifies at the sight of them. This emblematical character runs through the whole. The equipoise between the conflicting motives for and against the deed is denoted by the equally divided votes of the judges. When at last the appeased Furies are promised a sanctuary in the Athenian territory, the meaning is, that Reason must not wish to enforce her moral principles universally against involuntary instinct; there is in the human mind a boundary not to be transgressed, all contact with which must be shunned with awful reverence by every one who would preserve peace within.

So much concerning the deep philosophical meaning; which we need not be surprised at finding in this poet, of whom Cicero tells us, that he was a Pythagorean. But Æschylus had political aims as well. First of all, he designed to exalt the glory of Athens. Delphi, the religious centre of Greece,—how far does it here retire into shade! Delphi can shelter Orestes, indeed, from the first stress of persecution, but that is all; to give perfect liberation is reserved for the land of Law and Humanity. Still further, he wished (and this was the main object) to recommend as essential to the welfare of Athens, the *Areopagus*, an incorruptible but mild tribunal, in which especially the white ballot of Minerva, given in favour of the accused, is an invention which does honour to the humanity of the Athenians. The poet shows how from a portentous round of guilt proceeded an institution which became a blessing to mankind.

But, it will be asked, are not extrinsic aims like these detrimental to the purely poetical impression of the composition as a whole[1]? Certainly they are, in the way that many poets, and Euripides among them, have managed the matter. But in Æschylus, the design makes for the poetry, not the poetry for the design. He does not lower himself to a contracted reality, but elevates it into a higher sphere, and brings it into connexion with the most sublime conceptions.

In the Oresteia (so the trilogy was named) we certainly possess one of the sublimest poems that ever man's imagination soared to, and probably the ripest and most finished of all the productions of Æschylus' genius. With this agrees the chronological notice, which makes him at least sixty years old when he brought these plays upon the stage, the last dramas with which he won the prize at Athens. Nevertheless every one of his extant plays is remarkable as affording one aspect or other of his peculiar genius, or as evidencing to what degree of perfection he had brought his art at the date of its composition.

I am disposed to consider *The Suppliants* as one of his earlier works. Perhaps it belonged to a trilogy of tragedies and occupied the middle place between two others on the same mythological subject, the names of which are found in the catalogue, namely, *The Ægyptians* and *The Danaïds.* The first would describe the Danaïds fleeing from Egypt to escape the detested union with their cousins; the second, how they sought and found protection in Argos; the third would turn upon their murdering the husbands forced upon them. We are inclined to consider the two former dramas in the light of single acts introductory to the last, in which alone the action becomes properly tragical. But the tragedy of *The Suppliants,* supposing it to occupy this place, wants points of connexion with the actions supposed to precede and follow; for it forms in itself an entire satisfactory whole. The chorus in this play, instead of merely participating in the proceedings, is itself the principal person for whom our sympathy is bespoken. This circumstance in the plan of the tragedy is unfortunate; for both character and passion, both *ethos* and *pathos*, as the Greeks would phrase it, are losers by it. In the character there can be nothing marked, prominent, individual: for here are fifty young girls (such was doubtless the number of the Danaïds in the play) formed into a chorus, which as a chorus must have one voice, one soul, one character. To invest such a multitude with a common character, marked by any exclusive and interesting trait of individuality, would be absurd in the very nature of things. Over and above the universal features of human nature, it might be differenced by sex, age, and perhaps national extraction—and that is all. As to nationality, indeed, Æschylus rather meant to bespeak it for them than succeeded in so doing; he lays great stress, to be sure, on their foreign aspect and manners, but he only predicates this concerning them without making it to appear in their words and behaviour. The unanimous sentiments, resolutions, and actions of such a number of persons, all conceived and executed like the motions of a regiment under orders, have scarce the semblance of emanating spontaneously and immediately from the inner being. Again, as to *pathos*, or the working upon our feelings, our sympathy cannot be called forth in behalf of a multitude of fac-simile individuals combined into a mass, with any thing like what we feel for the fates and fortunes of a single individual with whom we are intimately acquainted by having him displayed to us in the various aspects of his character. It is more than doubtful whether Æschylus so managed the story of the third play that the Danaïd Hypermnestra, who forms the single exception, became with her pity or her love the principal object of the drama. It is more probable that the predominant interest of this play also lay in the complaints, wishes, anxieties, and prayers of the whole sisterhood, expressed in magnificent choral odes exhibiting a kind of social solemnity of action and suffering.

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[1] I do not find this intention expressly ascribed to Æschylus by any of the ancients. But it is too plain to be overlooked, especially in the speech of Minerva, at v. 680. It agrees with the account, that in the same year in which this play was exhibited, (Ol. LXXX. 1.) one Ephialtes excited the people against the Areopagus, which was the best safeguard of the old and more strict constitution. This Ephialtes was murdered one night by an unknown hand. Æschylus gained the first prize in the theatrical games, but we learn that he soon afterwards left Athens and closed his remaining years in Sicily. It may be, that though the judges gave him his due, the populace conceived an aversion to him, which induced him, without any express sentence of banishment, to quit his native city. The story of the sight of his too terrific chorus of Furies having thrown children into mortal convulsions and made women miscarry, I hold to be fabulous. A poet would scarcely have been crowned, if through his fault the festival had been profaned by such occurrences.

In the *Seven against Thebes*, again, the king and the messenger, whose speeches occupy the greatest part of the play, speak rather as officials than as interpreters of their own personal feelings. The description of the assault with which the city is menaced, and of the seven chiefs, who like heaven-storming giants have sworn its overthrow, and expose their arrogance to view in the emblems of their shields; all this is epic matter invested with tragic pomp. This long mounting preparation is worthy of the one terrific moment which ensues, where Eteocles, after preserving till then a vigilant and dauntless self-possession, and confronting the insolent foes, each at his several gate, with a patriotic hero, at last—when the seventh is described, no other than the author of the whole calamity, his own brother Polynices—is in a moment hurried away by the Erinnys of his father's curse, and resolves to confront this brother in his own person, and reckless of all the adjurations of the Chorus, and with a clear foreknowledge of the inevitable destruction, rushes to the mutual act of fratricide. Actual war and fighting is not a subject for Tragedy: from the ominous preparation the poet hurries us to the decision: the city is saved, the two competitors for the throne have fallen by each other's hands, and the whole is closed by wailings over their corpses, in which the sisters and the chorus of Theban maidens bear their part. It is worthy of remark, that Antigone's resolution not to leave her brother uninterred, in defiance of the prohibition, with which determination Sophocles begins his tragedy of this name, is interwoven with the closing scene of this play, and therefore, as in the Choëphoroe, forms a connecting point for a new and subsequent stage of the dramatic story.

I wish I could assume *The Persians* to have been composed by Æschylus merely out of a wish to comply with a strong desire which Hiero, King of Syracuse, felt of more vividly realizing to himself the grand events of the Persian invasion. Such, in fact, is the tenor of one account; but, according to another, the play had already been acted at Athens. In consequence of the choice of subject, on which we have touched above, and in its manner of handling the subject, it differs from all the extant works of this poet, and is indisputably the most imperfect. Scarcely has Atossa's dream, in the beginning of the play, raised our expectation, when, with the arrival of the very first messenger, the whole amount of the catastrophe lies before us, and no further progress is conceivable. Still, though it be no proper drama, it is a proud triumphal hymn of liberty, disguised beneath the weak and endless wailings of kindred and people over the fallen majesty of the despot. Both in this play and in the Seven against Thebes, the poet shows much wisdom in describing the issue of the war, not as accidental, in which light it almost always appears in Homer, (for in tragedy no room whatever is to be left to accident,) but as necessitated from the very first by the overweening infatuation of the one side, and the wise moderation of the other.

Prometheus Bound, again, occupied the middle place between two others, *Prometheus Fire-bringing* and *Prometheus Unbound;* if indeed we may reckon the first, which was doubtless a satyric drama, to have been part of a trilogy. Of the Prometheus Unbound we have a valuable fragment in a Latin Translation by Attius.

Prometheus Bound is an exhibition of stedfast endurance under suffering, and that, the immortal suffering of a god. Though its scene is banished to a desolate rock beside the earth-encircling ocean, this play nevertheless comprehends the world, the Olympus of the gods, and earth, the abode of man; all scarcely yet settled in secure repose over the headlong abyss of the dark primeval powers of Titanism. The notion of a Deity delivering himself up as a sacrifice has been mysteriously inculcated in many religions, in dim foreboding of the True One; but here it stands in most fearful contrast to our consolatory Revelation. For Prometheus suffers not upon an understanding with the Power that rules the world, but in atonement for his rebellion against that Power; and this rebellion consists in nothing else than his design of making man perfect. Thus he becomes a type of humanity herself, as, gifted with an unblessed foresight, riveted to her own narrow term and sphere of existence, and destitute of all allies, she has nothing wherewith to confront the inexorable powers of nature arrayed against her, but the stedfast will and the consciousness of her own sublime pretensions. Other productions of the Greek tragedians are tragedies; but this, I might say, is Tragedy herself: her inmost spirit revealed in all the prostrating and annihilating force of its austerity, the mitigation of which was reserved for others, not for Æschylus.

Exterior action there is but little in this play: from the commencement, Prometheus suffers and resolves—he resolves and suffers throughout unchanged. But the poet has contrived, in a most masterly manner, to introduce vicissitude and progress into a situation in itself irrevocably fixed, and to afford a measure of the unattainable grandeur of his sublime Titan in the circumstances which environ him. First, the silence of Prometheus during the horrible process of his fettering under the rude superintendence of Strength and Force, against whose menaces Vulcan, their instrument, can only offer an unprofitable compassion; then his lonely complainings; the visit of the femininely tender Oceanides, amidst whose timid lamentations he gives freer vent to his character, recounts the causes of his fall, and foreshows the future, which however, with wise reserve, he but half reveals: then the visit of old Oceanus, a kindred god of Titanian extraction, who, under a show of wishing to be a zealous intercessor in his behalf, counsels submission to Jupiter, and is therefore dismissed with proud disdain: next we see how Io, the frenzy-driven wanderer, comes before him, a victim to the same tyranny under which he himself lies prostrate; how he predicts the course of her yet remaining wanderings, and her final destiny, which hangs connected with his own, inasmuch as from her blood, after many generations, a saviour shall arise to deliver him: further, how Mercury, as the messenger of the universal tyrant, with domineering menaces demands of him his secret, by what means Jove shall be secured upon his throne against all the malice of fortune; how, at last, ere yet his refusal is well uttered, amidst thunder, lightning, storm, and earthquake, Prometheus, together with the rock to which he is fettered, is engulphed into the infernal world. Never, perhaps, was the triumph of subjection more gloriously solemnized, and it is difficult to conceive how in the Prometheus Unbound the poet could maintain his ground upon an equal elevation.

Generally considered, the tragedies of Æschylus are one example among many, that in art, as in nature, gigantic productions precede those of regular symmetry, which then dwindle away into delicacy and insignificance; and that poetry in her first manifestation always approaches nearest to the awfulness of religion, whatever be the shape the latter assumes amongst the various races of mankind.

An anecdote of Æschylus proves that he exerted himself to maintain this elevation, and purposely avoided that artificial polish which might lower him from this godlike sublimity. His brothers exhorted him to write a new Pæan. He answered, that "the old one by Tynnichus was better; his, compared with this, would fare as the new statues do beside the old; for the latter, with all their simplicity, are deemed godlike; but the new and elaborate works are admired indeed, but carry less of the impression of divinity." In religion, as in all things else, his daring mind carried him into extremes, and thus he came to be accused of having, in one of his pieces, betrayed the Eleusinian mysteries, and was acquitted only upon the intercession of his brother Aminias, who bared, in sight of the judges, the wounds he had received at Salamis. Perhaps it was Æschylus' persuasion that the secrets of the mysteries are implied in the communications the poet has to make to mankind, that the poet is by office a hierophant, and the gods would provide that none should profit by his revelations but they who were worthy.

The tragic style of Æschylus is doubtless unfinished, and not unfrequently extravagates into epic and lyric elements not well fused together. Abrupt, immoderate, harsh, he often is; to compose more finished tragedies after him, more perfect works of *art*, was very possible: in almost superhuman grandeur he is unsurpassed, and may perhaps ever remain so, considering that in this respect Sophocles himself, his fortunate younger rival, never came up to him. A saying of this poet concerning his predecessor, proves that he himself was a thoughtful artist. "Æschylus does what is right, but without knowing it." Simple words these, but they express the whole of what we mean, when we speak of an unconscious genius.

Sophocles, in respect of the alleged date of his birth, is about intermediate between his predecessor and Euripides, namely, at the distance of about half a generation from each; but the authorities on this point do not entirely agree. With both, however, he was contemporary through the greater part of his life. With Æschylus he often contended for the ivy-wreath of Tragedy, and Euripides he outlived, though that poet also reached an advanced age. It might seem (to speak in the spirit of ancient religion) as if a gracious Providence had singled out this man for the purpose of revealing to the human race, in his person, the dignity and blessedness of its lot, by conferring upon him all conceivable blessings of this life, in addition to all that can adorn and elevate the mind and heart. Born of wealthy and respected parentage, a free citizen of the most polished community in Greece,—this was but the pre-requisite and foundation for his destined felicity. Beauty of person and mind, and uninterrupted enjoyment of both in perfect soundness to the extreme term of human life, a most choice and finished education in the gymnastic and musical arts, so efficacious to impart, the one, energy, the other, harmony, to exquisite natural capacities:—the sweet bloom of youth, and the mature fruit of age; the possession and uninterrupted enjoyment of poetry and art, and the exercise of serene wisdom; the love and esteem of his fellow-citizens, renown abroad, and the favour of the well-pleased gods:—these are the general outlines of the life and fortunes of this pious and holy poet. It seems as if the gods—to whom, and to Bacchus in particular, as the giver of all gladness, and the civilizer of rude mankind, he devoted himself in his earliest youth, by the exhibition of tragedy at his festivals,—would have wished to make him immortal, so long did they defer his death; and, as this might not be, they loosened his life from him as gently as was possible, that he might imperceptibly exchange one immortality for the other, the long duration of his earthly existence for the deathlessness of his name. When a youth of sixteen years old, he was chosen, on account of his beauty, to lead the dance, according to the Grecian custom, accompanying it with the lyre, in the Pæan which was performed by the chorus of youths around the trophy erected after the battle of Salamis, that battle in which Æschylus had fought, and which he has depicted in such glorious colours. Thus, then, the most beautiful disclosure of his youthful bloom coincided with the most glorious epoch of the Athenian people. He held the office of general as colleague with Pericles and Thucydides, at a time when he was drawing near to old age; moreover he was priest to a native hero. In his twenty-fifth year he began to exhibit tragedies; twenty times he gained the victory; frequently the second place; the third never; in this employment he went on with increasing success till past his ninetieth year; nay, perhaps some of his greatest works belong to this period of his life. There is a tradition which tells how in consequence of his showing a tender partiality for a grandson by a second wife, he was charged by an elder son or sons with dotage and incapacity to manage his property: that in place of all other defence he simply recited to his judges his *Œdipus at Colonus*, which he had just then composed, or, according to others, the magnificent chorus in that play which sings the praises of his native Colonus: whereupon the judges, without more ado, broke up the court in admiration, and the poet was escorted in triumph to his house. If it be well established that he composed this his second piece on Œdipus at so advanced an age,—the marks of which it does in fact bear with it in its remoteness from all the harsh impetuosity of youth, in its ripe mildness,—then we have here the picture of an old-age at once most amiable and most venerable. Although the varying traditional accounts of the manner of his death have a fabulous look with them, yet in this they agree, and have also this true purport, that he was employed about his art, or something connected with it, when death fell upon him, and he expired without the touch of disease; like an aged swan of Apollo, breathing out his life in song. The story, again, of the Lacedæmonian general, who, having intrenched the burial-ground of the poet's ancestors, was twice warned by Bacchus in a vision to allow Sophocles to be there interred, I regard as true in the same sense, and all else likewise that serves to display the glorified venerableness of the man. Pious and holy I called him in his own sense of the words. But though his works breathe altogether the antique grandeur, sweetness, gracefulness, and simplicity, he is, of all the Grecian poets, the one whose feelings have most in common with the spirit of our religion.

Nature had denied him one gift only: a sonorous voice for song. He could only call forth and direct the harmonious effusions of other voices, and is therefore said to have departed from what was till then the established custom, that the poet should act a part in his own play: so that once only he made his appearance on the stage, namely in the character of the blind bard Thamyris, (another very characteristic incident, this,) playing on the lyre.

In regard that Æschylus, who had polished Tragedy from its first rudeness to the dignity of his Cothurnus, preceded him, Sophocles stands in an historical relation to that poet, in which, we grant it, the enterprises of that original master stood him in some stead, so that Æschylus appears as the projector leading the way, Sophocles the finisher following in his track. The greater skilfulness of the latter in the structure of his dramas is easily seen; the limitation of the chorus in proportion to the dialogue, the improved finish of the rhythms and of the pure Attic diction, the introduction of more persons of the drama, the richer complication of the fable, the increased multiplicity of incident and the more complete development, the more quiet sustentation of all momenta of the action and the more striking theatrical effect imparted to the decisive ones, the more perfect rounding off of the whole, even to look no further than the outside. But it is in something else, besides all this, that he outshines Æschylus, and deserved to be favoured by fortune with such a predecessor, and with the opportunity of competing in the same field with a man like him. I mean, that inward harmonious completeness of his soul, by virtue of which he fully satisfied, from inclination, every requirement of the beautiful; a mind whose free impulse was accompanied by a self-consciousness clear even to transparency. To surpass Æschylus in daring conception might be impossible: but I maintain that it is only on account of his wise moderation that Sophocles seems to be less daring, since every where he goes to work with the greatest energy; nay, perhaps with more sustained severity; as a man, who is accurately acquainted with his limits, insists the more confidently on his rights within those limits. As Æschylus delights to bear all back into the mutinies of the old world of Titanism, so Sophocles seems on the contrary to avail himself of divine interposition only when necessary; he formed human beings, as all antiquity agreed in thinking, better, that is, not more moral and faultless, but more beautiful and noble than the reality, and by taking every thing in the most human sense, he caught withal the higher significance. To all appearance he was more temperate than Æschylus in scenic ornament also, and perhaps sought more exquisite beauty, but not the same colossal pomp as his predecessor.

As characteristic of this poet, the ancients have praised that native sweetness and gracefulness, on account of which they called him the Attic Bee. Whoever has penetrated into the feeling of this peculiarity, may flatter himself that the sense for antique art has arisen within: for modern sensibility, very far from being able to fall in with that verdict, would be more likely to find in the Sophoclean tragedies, both in respect of the representation of bodily suffering, and in the sentiments and arrangements, much that is insufferably austere.

In proportion to the great fertility of Sophocles, considering that according to some accounts he wrote a hundred and thirty dramas (of which, however, the grammarian Aristophanes pronounced seventeen not to be genuine), and eighty according to the most moderate statements, little, it must be owned, has remained to us, for we have but seven of them. But here chance has taken good care of us, for among them are some which the ancients acknowledged to be his most excellent master-pieces, as Antigone, Electra, and the two on Œdipus; they have also come down to us tolerably free from mutilation, and with the text not greatly corrupted. By modern critics Œdipus-King and Philoctetes have been admired, but without reason, above all the rest; the former, for the artful complication of the plot, in which the horrible catastrophe, which keeps even the curiosity ever on the stretch (a rare circumstance, this, in the Greek tragedies), is inevitably brought on by a series of connected causes; the latter, for its masterly delineation of character, and the beautiful contrasts between the three principal figures, together with the simple structure of the piece, in which, notwithstanding there are so few persons, all is deduced from the strictest motives. But the tragedies of Sophocles, collectively, are resplendent each with its own peculiar excellencies. In Antigone we have heroism exhibited in the most purely feminine character; in Ajax the manly sense of honour in all its strength; in the Trachinian Women (or, as we should call it, the dying Hercules) the female levity of Dejanira is beautifully atoned for by her death, and the sufferings of a Hercules are depicted in a manner worthy of him; Electra is distinguished by energy and pathos; in Œdipus at Colonus there prevails a most mellow pathos, and an extreme gracefulness is diffused over the whole. To weigh the merits of these pieces against each other, I will not venture: but I own I cherish a preference for the last-mentioned, because it seems to me the most expressive of the personal character of Sophocles. As this drama is devoted to the glory of Athens and of his birth-place in particular, he seems to have laboured on it with special affection.

The least usually understood are Ajax and Antigone. The reader cannot conceive why these plays run on so long after what we are accustomed to call the catastrophe. I shall make a remark on this subject further on.

The story of *Œdipus* is perhaps, of all the fate-fables of ancient mythology, the most ingenious; yet it seems to me that others, as for instance that of Niobe, which, without any such interweaving of events, quite simply exhibit, on a scale of colossal dimensions, both human overweening, and its impending punishment from the gods, are conceived in a grander spirit. What imparts a less lofty character to that of Œdipus, is precisely the intrigue which lies in it. Intrigue, namely, in the dramatic sense of the term, is a complication arising from mutual crossing of designs and accidents, and this is evidently the case in the destinies of Œdipus, inasmuch as all that his parents and himself do in order to evade the predicted horrors carries him onward to them. But the grand and terrific significance of this fable lies in a circumstance which perhaps is generally overlooked; I mean that to the very Œdipus, who solved the enigma of human life propounded by the Sphinx, his own life remained an inexplicable enigma, until it was cleared up to him all too late in the most horrid manner, when all was lost irrecoverably. A striking image of the arrogant pretensions of human wisdom, which always proceeds upon generalities, without teaching its possessor the right application of them to himself!

To the harsh termination of the former Œdipus, the reader is so far reconciled by the suspicious and domineering character of Œdipus, that the feelings do not absolutely revolt at so horrible a fate. With this view it was necessary to sacrifice thus far the character of Œdipus, which, on the other hand, is redeemed again by his fatherly care and noble-spirited zeal for the deliverance of his people, which occasions him to accelerate his own destruction through his honest investigations after the author of the crime. It was also necessary for the sake of contrast with his subsequent wretchedness to display him, in his treatment of Tiresias and Creon, as still invested with all the haughtiness of sovereign dignity. And indeed this suspiciousness and violence of character may be observed even in his earlier proceedings; the former, in his not suffering himself to be quieted by the assurances of Polybus, when taunted as a supposititious son; the latter, in the manner of his fatal encounter with Laïus. This character he seems to have derived from both parents. The arrogant levity of Jocasta, exhibited in her mockery of the oracle as not being confirmed by the event, for which audacity she soon after consummates the penalty upon herself, this, it is true, is a feature which has not passed into the character of Œdipus: on the contrary he is honourably distinguished by the purity of mind which makes him so anxious to flee from the predicted atrocity, and by which his despair, at finding he has committed it after all, is naturally increased to the uttermost. Awful is his infatuation in not perceiving how near the whole explanation of the mystery is to himself: for instance, when he asks Jocasta "how Laïus looked in person," and she answers, "he had already grey hairs, in other respects he was not so very unlike Œdipus himself." On the other hand, here is another trait of her levity, that she should never have paid proper heed to his resemblance to her husband, by which she ought to have recognized him for her own son. Thus a closer analysis will evince the extreme propriety and significance of every trait in the delineation. Only, as it is the habit of some to extol the "correctness" of Sophocles, and especially the admirable observance of "vrai-semblance" in this Œdipus, I must remark that this very poem is a proof how much the ancient masters differ in this matter from the critics to whom I allude. Else it would surely be an extreme *inverisimilitude* that Œdipus had never yet, in all this while, informed himself of the particulars of Laïus's death; that the scars on his feet, nay, the very name he bore in consequence, never raised any suspicion in Jocasta, &c. But the ancients did not design their works for the calculating and prosaic understanding: and an inverisimilitude, which is only found out by dissection and does not appear in the sphere of the representation itself, was to them none at all.

The difference between the Æschylean and Sophoclean character no where shows itself more strikingly than in the *Eumenides* and *Œdipus at Colonus*, as both poems were composed with similar intentions. In both the object is to glorify Athens as the sacred habitation of justice and of mild humanity; and the crimes of foreign hero-families, after being visited with punishment, are to be finally expiated in this domain through a higher mediation, while it is also prophesied that lasting welfare shall thence accrue to the Attic people. In the patriotic liberty-breathing Æschylus this is effected by a judicial procedure; in the pious Sophocles, by a religious one, and this, no other than the devotion of Œdipus to death; for whom, bowed down by the consciousness of involuntary crimes and by long misery, the gods thereby as it were finally clear up his honour, as if in holding out so terrible an example in his person, they had not meant it against him in particular, but only wished to give a solemn lesson to mankind in general. Sophocles, to whom the whole of life is one continued worship of heaven, delights to throw all possible lustre on its last moment, as it were that of a higher solemnity, and thus he inspires an emotion of quite a different kind from that which is excited by the thought of mortality in general. That the agonized, the worn-out Œdipus finds rest and peace at last in the grove of the Furies, on that very spot from which every other human being flees with undisguised horror,—he, whose unhappiness arose simply from having unconsciously, and without warning from any inward feeling, done a deed at which all men shudder; in this there is a deep and mysterious meaning.

The Attic culture, prudence, moderation, justice, mildness, and magnanimity, Æschylus has more majestically exhibited in the person of Pallas; Sophocles, who delights in drawing all that is godlike into the sphere of humanity, has exhibited these same things with finer development in the character of Theseus. Whoever desires to gain a more accurate knowledge of Grecian heroism, as contrasted with that of barbarians, I would refer him to this character.

Æschylus, in order that the persecuted victim may be delivered, and that his own country may participate in the blessings, will first have the spectator's blood run cold and his hair stand on end at the infernal horror of the Furies; he will in the first place exhaust all the wrath of these goddesses of vengeance: the transition to their peaceful departure is then the more wonderful; it is as if the whole race of man were delivered from them. In Sophocles they do not themselves appear, but are kept quite in the back-ground; they are not once mentioned by their own name, but only by euphemistic designations. But the very obscurity which befits these daughters of night, and the distance at which they are kept, are favourable to a silent horror in which the bodily senses have no part. That, finally, the grove of the Furies is invested with the loveliness of a southern spring, completes the sweet gracefulness of the fiction; and if I were to select an emblem of the poetry of Sophocles from his own tragedies, I would even describe it as a holy grove of the dark goddesses of fate, where laurels, olives, and vines blend their green growth, and the songs of the nightingales ring without ceasing.

There are two plays of Sophocles, which, agreeably to the Grecian way of thinking, refer to the sacred rights of the dead and the importance of burial: in Antigone, the whole action turns upon this, and in Ajax, this alone brings it to a satisfactory conclusion.

The ideal of the female character in *Antigone* is marked by great severity; so much so, that this alone would be sufficient to give a deathblow to all those mawkish conceptions of Greek character which have lately become quite the mode. Her indignation at Ismene's refusal to take a part in her daring resolution, the manner in which she afterwards rejects Ismene, when, repenting of her weakness, she offers now at least to accompany her heroic sister to death, borders upon harshness; her silence first and then her invectives against Creon, whereby she provokes him to execute his tyrannical resolution, are a proof of unmovable manly courage. But the poet has discovered the secret of revealing the loving womanly heart in a single line, where to Creon's representation that Polynices was the foe of his country, she replies: "*Know that it is not my nature to hate with them that hate, but to love with them that love:*" οὔ τοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν· Moreover she suppresses the burst of her feelings no longer than while it might have made her firmness of purpose appear equivocal. While they are leading her off to death past recal, she pours forth her soul in the tenderest and most touching wailings over her bitter untimely death, and does not disdain—she, the modest virgin—to deplore the loss of nuptials, and unenjoyed connubial blessings. But then in not a syllable does she betray any inclination for Hæmon, nay she no where mentions this amiable youth[3]. To be still fettered to life by liking for an individual, after a determination so heroic, would have been weakness; to leave without emotion those universal gifts with which the gods make life happy would not accord with her devout sanctity of mind.

At first sight the Chorus in Antigone may seem weak, accommodating itself so unreplyingly to Creon's tyrannical orders, and not once attempting a favourable representation in behalf of the young heroine. But then it was necessary that she should stand all alone in her resolve and its execution; that she may appear in all her dignity, she must find no stay, no hold. Besides, the tame submission of the Chorus increases the impression of the irresistible force of the king's commands. So, even in their last addresses to Antigone, there must be a mixture of painful mention, that she may drain the full cup of earthly sorrows. It is quite otherwise in "Electra," where it was fit the Chorus should take the eager and encouraging part they do with the two principal characters, because there are strong moral feelings opposed to their design, while others spur them on to it, whereas in Antigone's case there is no such conflict, but she is to be restrained by merely exterior terrors.

The deed done, and the penalty endured, it yet remains that insolence should be chastised and retribution inflicted for the destruction of Antigone: nothing less than the utter ruin of Creon's whole house and his own despair can be a worthy death-offering for the sacrifice of a life so costly. Therefore the king's wife, hitherto not even mentioned, must appear quite towards the conclusion of the play, merely to hear the tale of woe and make away with herself. To Grecian feelings it would have been impossible to look upon the poem as properly closed by the death of Antigone, without any penal retribution.

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[3] Barthélemy asserts the contrary: but the line to which he refers, belongs in the more correct MSS., and indeed, evidently, from the tenor of the context, to the speech of Ismene. [With Böckh and Süvern I think that Barthélemy was right in restoring this line (570) to Antigone.—J. W. D.]

The case is similar in *Ajax*. His arrogance, for which he is punished with dishonourable frenzy, he has atoned for by the deep shame which drives him even to self-murder. Beyond this the persecution of the unhappy man ought not to go; and when some would wish to dishonour his very corpse by the refusal of burial, Ulysses interposes; that same Ulysses whom Ajax accounted his deadly foe, and to whom Minerva in the terrific introductory scene has shown, in the example of the frantic Ajax, the nothingness of mankind: he appears as the personification, so to speak, of that moderation, the possession of which would have saved Ajax from his fall.

Self-murder is of frequent occurrence in the ancient mythology, at least in the tragic transformation of mythology; but it occurs for the most part, if not in madness, yet in a state of passion, after some sudden calamity which leaves no possibility of surviving it. Such self-murders as Jocasta's, Hæmon's, Eurydice's, and lastly Dejanira's, occur only as subordinate accessories in the tragic pictures of Sophocles; the self-murder of Ajax is a deliberate resolve, a free act, and therefore worthy of being the main subject. It is not the last deadly crisis of a creeping sickliness of soul, as is so often the case in these puny modern times; still less, that more theoretical disgust of life, grounded on the conviction of its vanity, which induced many later Romans, on Epicurean as well as Stoical principles, to shorten their days. Through no unmanly faintheartedness does Ajax turn unfaithful to his rude heroism. His delirium is gone by, and so are the first comfortless feelings upon his awaking therefrom: not until after the most complete return to himself, when he measures the depth of the abyss into which his overweening, through a divine decree, has precipitated him, when he surveys his situation and finds it one of irretrievable ruin—his honour wounded by the verdict which refused him the armour of Achilles, the burst of his vindictive resentment turned aside from its aim to fall, in his infatuation, upon defenceless herds, himself, after a long and blameless career as a hero, become to his enemies a diversion, to the Greeks a mockery and an abomination, and to his honoured father, should he thus return to him, a disgrace—not until he has reviewed all this, does he conclude with himself, agreeably to his motto, "*gloriously to live, or gloriously to die,*" that only the last resource is left him. Even the pretence, perhaps the first in his life, by which he pacifies his comrades that he may execute his purpose undisturbed, must be imputed to him as strength of mind. His infant son, the future comfort of his own bereft parents, he commits to Teucer's guardianship, and dies, like Cato, not before he has set in order the affairs of all who belong to him. As Antigone in her womanly tenderness, so he in his wild fashion, seems in his last speech to feel yet the glory of the sunshine, from which he is departing. His rude courage disdains compassion, and excites it all the more irresistibly. What a picture of an awakening from the tumult of passion, as the tent opens, and in the midst of the slaughtered herds he sits on the ground, bewailing himself!

As Ajax, in an indelible sense of shame, flings away his life in the haste of a vehement resolve, so *Philoctetes* bears its wearisome burden through years of suffering with persevering endurance. As Ajax is ennobled by his despair, so is Philoctetes by his constancy. Where the instinct of self-preservation is not brought into conflict with any moral motive, it must needs display itself in all its strength. Nature has furnished with this instinct all things that breathe, and the energy with which they repel from their life the encounter of all inimical powers, is a proof of their excellence. It is true, in the presence of that human community which has thrust him out, and left dependent on their superior power, Philoctetes would have no more wished to live than Ajax did. But he finds himself alone with Nature face to face; he desponds not because her countenance is to him so forbidding, but forces his way in spite of all to the motherly bosom of that loving nurse. Banished to a desert island, tortured by an incurable wound, lonely and helpless as he is, his bow procures him sustenance from the birds of the wood, the rock bears soothing medicinal herbs, the fountain offers a fresh beverage, his cave ensures a shelter and coolness in the summer, in the frost of winter the noon-day sun or a fire of kindled boughs warms him, even the raging attacks of his bodily pain must needs at last spend themselves and relax into refreshing slumber. Ah! the sophisticating refinements, the burdensome languorous superfluity,—these are the things that make men indifferent to the value of life: strip it of all borrowed accessories, overload it with suffering, so that scarcely the naked being remains, and still shall its sweetness flow from the heart with every pulse through all the veins. Poor unfortunate! Ten years he has stood it out, and he lives still, he clings still to life and to hope. What heartfelt truth speaks in all this! But what affects us most deeply on behalf of Philoctetes is the circumstance, that thrust out from society by an abuse of power, as soon as society again approaches him he has to encounter its second more deadly evil, falsehood. The anxiety the spectator feels lest he should be robbed of his bow, would be too painful, were there not a foreboding from the very first that the open straightforward Neoptolemus will never be able to act out to the end the deceitful part he has learned with such repugnance. Not without reason does the sufferer turn away from mankind to those inanimate companions with whom the instinctive craving for society has made him intimate. He calls upon the island and its volcano to bear witness to this new wrong, he thinks his beloved bow feels pain at being wrested from him; at last he bids farewell, with pathetic emotion, to his hospitable cave, the fountains, even the surge-beaten rock from which he had so often gazed out in vain upon the sea. So loving is the undissipated mind of man.

With respect to Philoctetes' corporeal sufferings and the manner in which they are visibly exhibited, Lessing in his "Laocoon" controverts Winckelmann; and Herder, again, in his Sylvæ Criticæ (Kritische Wälder) takes part against Lessing. Both upon this occasion have made many otherwise apt remarks, but we must agree with Herder that Winckelmann was right in saying that Sophocles' Philoctetes suffers like Laocoon in the famous group; that is to say, with the suppressed agony of an heroic soul never altogether succumbing.

The Trachinian Women seems to me so far inferior in value to the other extant plays of Sophocles, that I wished to find something to favour the conjecture, that this tragedy was composed in the age, indeed, and in the school of Sophocles, but by his son Iophon, and was by mistake attributed to the father. There are several suspicious circumstances not only in its structure and plan, but even in the style of writing; different critics have already remarked, that the uncalled-for soliloquy of Dejanira at the commencement has not the character of the Sophoclean prologues. Even if, in the general structure, the maxims of this poet are observed, it is but a superficial observance; the profound mind of Sophocles is missing. But as the genuineness of the poem seems never to have been called in question by the ancients, and moreover Cicero confidently quotes the sufferings of Hercules from this drama, as from a work of Sophocles, we must perhaps content ourselves with saying, that the tragedian has in this one instance remained below his usual elevation.

And here a general question arises, which may engage the attention of the critic much more in relation to the works of Euripides: how far the invention and execution of a drama must exclusively emanate from one individual, that he may be considered its author. In Dramatic Literature there are numerous instances of plays composed by several persons jointly. Euripides is known to have availed himself of the help of a learned attendant, Cephisophon, in respect of the details in the composition of his plays; perhaps he laid the plan also in conjunction with him. It seems, at all events, that schools of Dramatic Art had at that time arisen, as indeed they usually do, when poetical talents are called into exercise by public competition, and in great abundance and activity: Schools of Art, which contain scholars so excellent and of such congenial spirit, that the master may entrust them with a part of the composition, nay, even of the plan, and still without any disparagement to his fame, give his name to the whole. Such was the nature of the schools of painters in the sixteenth century, and everybody knows what acuteness of discrimination it requires to make out, for instance in many pictures of Raphael, how much of the work properly emanates from the artist whose name it bears. Sophocles had trained his son Iophon to the tragic art, and therefore might easily receive assistance from him in the actual labour of composition, especially as the tragedies which were to contend for the prize must be finished and rehearsed by a fixed time. Again, in his turn, he might work passages of his own here and there into plays designed by his son, and it was but natural that the poems so resulting, as they exhibited traits of the master-mind which could not be mistaken, would soon obtain currency under the more illustrious name.

FIFTH LECTURE.

Euripides. His excellencies and defects. Deterioration of Tragic Poetry through him. Comparison of the Choëphoroe of Æschylus, the Electra of Sophocles, and that of Euripides. Critical examination of the remaining works of Euripides. The Satyric Drama. Alexandrine Tragedians.

Consider Euripides apart by himself, and without taking his predecessors into the comparison, single out many of his better works, and particular passages in others, and he must be allowed extraordinary encomiums. But take him in his historical connexion with the art, look at each of his works as a whole, and, further, at the general scope of his endeavours, as it is collectively manifested in his extant productions, and one cannot but severely arraign him in a multitude of respects. Of few writers can so much good and evil be said with truth. He was a genius of infinite parts and great versatility of mind: but in him an abundance of splendid and amiable qualities were not reduced to order by that lofty earnestness of spirit, nor yet by that severe artist-like wisdom, which we reverence in Æschylus and Sophocles. Therefore is he so unequal; many times he has charmingly beautiful passages, at other times he sinks into downright mediocrity. With all his failings, he possesses an admirable ease and a certain insinuating charm.

Thus much I thought necessary to premise, else on account of what is to follow I might be accused of inconsistency, having lately in a short French Essay laboured to develope the superior excellency of a certain play of Euripides in comparison with Racine's imitation. There I fixed my attention upon an individual work, and indeed one of this poet's best: here I start from the most general points of view and the highest requisitions of the art; and that my enthusiasm for ancient Tragedy may not seem blind and excessive, I must justify it by keen examination into the symptoms of degeneracy and decay.

Perfection in art and poetry may be likened to the summit of a steep hill, where an uprolled load cannot long maintain its position, but presently rolls down again irresistibly on the other side. This, in accordance with the laws of gravity, takes place quickly and with facility, and one can comfortably and indolently look on while it is doing, for the mass does but follow its natural propensity; whereas the laborious up-hill effort is in some measure a painful spectacle. Hence it is that paintings, for instance, belonging to the age of declining art, please the eye of the uninformed much better than such as preceded the æra of perfection. The genuine connoisseur, on the contrary, will hold the paintings of Zuccheri and others, who set the fashion when the great schools of the sixteenth century were degenerating into empty superficial mannerism, to be infinitely inferior, in intrinsic value, to the works of a Mantegna, Perugino, and their contemporaries. Or conceive of the highest perfection of art as a focus. At equal distances on either side the collected rays occupy equal spaces; but then on the one side they are converging towards a common effect, on the other they diverge continually even to total dissipation.

We have besides a special reason for visiting the aberrations of this poet with unsparing castigation, in the fact that our own age labours under similar faults to those which earned for Euripides so much favour, if not exactly esteem, among his contemporaries. We have lived to see a host of plays, in matter indeed and form immeasurably inferior to those of Euripides, but bearing this affinity to them, that by weakly and sometimes even tender emotions they bribe the feelings to a favourable verdict in their behalf, while their general tendency is to make people downright moral freethinkers.

What I shall say on this subject is for the most part by no means new. Although by the moderns Euripides has been not unfrequently preferred to his two predecessors, has found more readers, admirers, and imitators than they, whether it be that people are more attracted to him by his greater affinity to the views and sentiments of modern times, or that they have been led astray by a misunderstood expression of Aristotle's, it nevertheless admits of being shown, that many of the ancients, and some even of Euripides' own times, formed the same judgment of him as myself. In the "Anacharsis" you find this mixture of praise and blame at least hinted at, though its author is cautious of saying every thing, his object being to exhibit the productions of the Greeks in every department under the most advantageous light.

We have some caustic expressions of *Sophocles* concerning Euripides: though the former was so far removed from every thing like the petty jealousy of authorship, that he went into mourning for his rival's death, and upon occasion of a play which he brought out soon after, did not allow his actors the usual ornament of the wreaths. The charges which *Plato* brings against the tragic poets, that they too much surrendered men to the dominion of the passions, and effeminized them by putting immoderate lamentations into the mouths of their heroes, I hold myself justified in referring to Euripides in particular, because in regard to his predecessors the allegations would be too evidently without foundation. *Aristophanes'* decisive attacks upon him are well known, but have not always been duly appreciated and understood. *Aristotle* adduces much important censure, and when he calls Euripides *"the most tragic poet,"* he nowise ascribes to him the greatest perfection of tragic art in general, but he intends, by that expression, the effect which is produced by disastrous terminations; for he adds directly after, "although he does not manage the rest well." Lastly, the *Scholiast upon Euripides* gives many concise and stringent criticisms upon individual plays; among which, perhaps, some judgments of the Alexandrine critics may have been preserved; those critics, one of whose number, Aristarchus, merited by the solidity and acuteness of his critical powers, the high distinction, that his name is proverbially used as a designation of a judge of art.

In Euripides we find the essence of ancient Tragedy no longer pure and unmixed; its characteristic features are already more or less obliterated. We stated these to consist particularly in the idea of Destiny therein predominant, the ideal nature of the representation, and the significance of the Chorus.

The notion of Destiny he received, indeed, in course from his predecessors, and inculcates the belief in it according to tragic usage. Nevertheless Destiny is seldom in Euripides the invisible spirit of the entire poem, the fundamental thought of the tragic world. We have seen that this idea admits of being conceived upon a severer or milder hypothesis; that the midnight terrors of Destiny brighten up, in the course of an entire trilogy, even into indications of a wise and merciful Providence. But Euripides has drawn it down from the region of the Infinite; and inevitable Necessity, under his hands, not unfrequently degenerates into the caprice of Chance. Hence he can also no longer apply it to its proper purpose, namely, to heighten by the contrast therewith the moral freedom of man. How few of his plays turn upon a stedfast resistance to the decrees of Destiny, or an equally heroic submission to them! His personages suffer for the most part, because they must, not because they will.

The mutual subordination between ideal elevation, character, and passion, which we find observed in this sequence by Sophocles and the Grecian sculpture, Euripides has just reversed. To him, passion is the main thing; then he provides for character; and if these endeavours leave him any further scope, he attempts now and then to superinduce greatness and dignity, but more frequently amiableness.

We have already admitted that the persons of the drama cannot be all alike faultless, because in that case hardly any collision could ensue between them, and therefore no complication could find place. But Euripides, as Aristotle expresses it, has often drawn his persons gratuitously vile; for instance, Menelaus in the Orestes. There were great crimes reported of many old heroes in the traditions hallowed by the popular belief; but Euripides palms upon them mere petty villanies of his own arbitrary invention. In fact, he makes it no business at all of his to exhibit the race of heroes as towering in its majestic stature above the present day; rather he labours to fill up or bridge over the gulph that lay between his contemporaries and that wondrous olden time, and to spy upon the gods and heroes of the further side in their night-attire: a species of observation against which no greatness, it is said, can stand proof. He takes familiar liberties with them; he draws the supernatural and fabulous, not into the sphere of human nature, (a proceeding which we extolled in Sophocles,) but into the limits of the imperfect individual. This is what Sophocles meant, when he said that "*he* drew men such as they ought to be, *Euripides* such as they were." Not that his own personages could always be set up as models of blameless behaviour; his expression referred to ideal sublimity and gracefulness of character and manners. It is Euripides' darling object to be perpetually reminding his audience: "See! these persons were human beings subject to the very same infirmities, acting upon the very same motives as you, as the meanest among you." Therefore, he depicts quite *con amore* the weak points and moral failings of his persons; nay, makes them display them openly for themselves in naïve confessions. They are often not merely common, but make their boast of it as if this was just as it ought to be.

The Chorus, in his treatment of it, becomes for the most part an extra-essential piece of finery: its odes are often quite episodical, devoid of reference to the action, rather shining than sublime and truly inspired. "The Chorus," says Aristotle, "must be regarded as one of the actors and as a part of the whole: it must co-operate in the action: not as Euripides, but as Sophocles manages it." The elder comedians enjoyed the privilege of introducing the Chorus at times conversing in their name with the audience: this was called a Parabasis, and was, as I shall hereafter show, in strict accordance with the spirit of this kind of drama. But though this procedure is by no means tragic, Euripides frequently, by Julius Pollux's account, did the same in his tragedies, and in this so forgot himself, that in the Danaïds he made a chorus of women use grammatical inflexions which belong only to the male sex.

Thus has this poet at once abolished the essence of Tragedy, and marred the beautiful symmetry of its exterior structure. He generally sacrifices the whole to the parts; and in these, too, he aims rather at foreign charms than genuine poetic beauty.

In the accompanying music he adopted all the innovations invented by Timotheus, and chose those harmonies which were most suitable to the softness of his poetry. In the same manner he proceeded in his treatment of the metres: his versification is luxuriant, and runs into anomaly. The same diffluent and emasculated character would undoubtedly appear, upon deeper investigation, in the rhythms of his choral odes likewise.

Every where he lays on, even to overloading, those merely corporeal charms, which Winckelmann calls "adulation of the gross external sense:" all that is exciting, striking; in a word, all that produces a lively effect, without real substance for the mind and the feelings. He labours for effect to a degree in which it cannot be allowed even to the dramatic poet. Thus, for instance, he does not lightly let slip an opportunity of bringing his personages into a sudden vain panic; his old men are everlastingly bemoaning the infirmities of age, and, in particular, they totter up the steps from the orchestra to the stage, which were frequently used to represent the slope of a hill, sighing at the fatigue. He always wants to be pathetic, and for this he not only violates propriety, but sacrifices the coherence of his work. He is strong in his pictures of misfortune, but he often claims our compassion, not for inward pain of mind, or at any rate for a sustained and manly endurance of pain, but for mere bodily wretchedness. He delights in reducing his heroes to beggary, makes them suffer hunger and want, and come upon the stage with all the outward signs of it, clad in rags and tatters, for which Aristophanes so pleasantly takes him to task in the "Acharnians."

Euripides had frequented the schools of the philosophers: (he was a disciple of Anaxagoras; not, as many have erroneously said, of Socrates, with whom he was only connected by acquaintance:) hereupon he indulges his vanity in making perpetual allusions to all sorts of philosophemes; in my opinion, in a very imperfect manner; for one would never learn the doctrines from his expressions, unless one knew them beforehand. For him it is too vulgar to believe in the gods after the simple manner of the people; he therefore takes every opportunity of insinuating something of an allegorical interpretation, and would have us know that his own piety is, to say the truth, of a very equivocal complexion. We may distinguish in him a twofold personage: the *poet*, whose works were dedicated to a religious solemnity, who stood under the patronage of religion, and therefore was bound in his turn to honour it; and the would-be-philosopher *sophist*, who studied to overlay those fabulous marvels of religion from which he derived the subjects of his plays, with his own sceptical and liberalizing opinions. While he is shaking the foundations of religion, on the other hand he plays the moralist: to make himself quite popular, he applies to heroic life maxims which held good only for the social relations of his own times. He scatters right and left a multitude of moral apothegms, in which he incessantly repeats himself, and which are mostly trite, and not seldom fundamentally false.

With all this parade of morality, the scope of his works, and the impression they produce on the whole, is sometimes very immoral. There is a pleasant anecdote of his having introduced Bellerophon with a vile encomium on wealth, in which he preferred riches to all domestic joys, and at last said, "If Aphrodite (who bore the epithet *golden*) be indeed glittering as gold, she well deserves the love of mortals:" which, it is said, so revolted the audience, that they raised a great outcry, and would have stoned both actor and poet; but Euripides sprang out, and called to them, "Only wait for the end, it will go with him accordingly." So, it is said, that when he was reproached for making his Ixion talk altogether too horribly and blasphemously, he justified himself by saying, he "ended the play, however, by binding him round the wheel." But even this shift of poetical justice, to make up for represented villany, is not available in all his tragedies. The wicked not unfrequently come off free, lies and other villanies are openly taken under protection, especially when he can manage to palm them upon some supposed noble motive. So likewise he has very much at command that seductive sophistry of the passions, which can lend a plausible semblance to every thing. The following verse is notorious for its excuse of perjury; seeming, in fact, to express the *reservatio mentalis* of the casuists:—

ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος.

Taken in its context, indeed, this verse, for which Aristophanes assails him with such manifold ridicule, may be justified: but the formula, for all that, is a good-for-nothing one, on account of the possible abuse in the application. Another verse of Euripides, "For a kingdom, it is worth while to do wrong; in other cases, it is well to do right," was frequently quoted by Cæsar, with the like purpose of making a wrong use of it.

Euripides was reproached even by the ancients with his seductive allurements to sensual love. For instance, it must excite disgust, when Hecuba, to induce Agamemnon to avenge her on Polymestor, reminds him of the joys he has received from Casandra, his captive concubine: she would purchase revenge for a murdered son, at the expense of the avowed and approved degradation of a living daughter. This poet was the first to make the wild passion of a Medea, the unnatural lust of a Phædra, the main subject of his dramas: whereas it is easy to conceive from the manners of the ancients, why the passion of love, which among them was much less dignified by tender feelings than among ourselves, occupies but a subordinate place in the older tragedies. Notwithstanding this importance which he attaches to the female characters, he is notorious for his hatred of women; and it is not to be denied that he brings forward a multitude of moral sayings on the frailties of the female sex, and the superiority of the male, together with many observations drawn from the experience of domestic life: with all which he perhaps thought to make his court to the men, who formed a considerable part, if not the whole, of his public. We have on record a sarcastic expression of Sophocles', and an epigram by him, in which he attributes the pretended misogymy of Euripides to his experience of their seducibility in the course of his own illicit amours. In Euripides' delineation of female character one may observe much susceptibility even for the higher charms of female modesty, but no genuine esteem.

The independent freedom in the treatment of the fables, which was one of the privileges of Tragic Art, in Euripides frequently degenerates into unrestrained caprice. It is well known that the fables of Hyginus, which vary so much from the common mythology, are in part extracts from his plays. As he often overthrew all that was hitherto known and usual, there consequently arose a necessity for his prologues, in which he notifies the posture of affairs, upon his assumption, and announces what course they are now to take. Lessing, in his "Dramaturgy," has expressed the singular opinion, that this betokens an advance in Dramatic Art, seeing that Euripides trusted wholly to the effect of situations, without reckoning upon the tension of curiosity. But I cannot see why the uncertainty of expectation should not have its place among the impressions which a dramatic poem aims at producing. As for the objection, that in this respect the poem would only please the first time, because when we are once acquainted with the whole we know the termination beforehand, it is easily dismissed: if the representation be truly powerful, it will so rivet the spectator every moment, that what he before knew he again forgets, and is excited to an equal stretch of expectation. Moreover, these prologues make the openings of Euripides' plays very monotonous; it looks very inartificial for a person to come forward and say, "I am such an one; so and so has already happened, and what comes next is as follows." One might liken this method to the labels proceeding from the mouths of the figures in old paintings, which nothing but the quaint simplicity of style can excuse. But then the rest should correspond, which is by no means the case in Euripides, whose personages speak in the newest mode of the day. In his prologues, as well as in his denouements, he is very liberal with unmeaning appearances of the gods: gods, whose only elevation above mankind consists in hanging aloft in a machine, and who might certainly be well spared.

It was the practice of the elder tragedians to combine all together in great masses, and mark off the more quiet and the more excited parts of the dialogue in strong contrast: the speeches breaking off, where the parley or debate becomes more agitating, from their usual tenor into an alternation of single verse and verse, in which frequently question and answer, objection and refutation, accusation and recrimination, whiz from side to side like arrows. This method of contrast Euripides carries to excess. One-while, to make the dialogue animated as he thinks, he spins out his monostichs to an immoderate length, and in so arbitrary a manner that one half of his lines might be left out and nobody miss them: another-while you shall have him dilating himself into interminable harangues, where he sets himself to show off his rhetorical powers in clever argumentations or pathetic effect. Many scenes in this poet have quite the form of a law-proceeding, where you have two persons as parties in the suit wrangling with each other, or pleading before a third person as judge, not confining themselves to the matter in hand, but fetching as wide a reach as possible, impeaching their opponent and justifying themselves, and that, with all the adroitness of bar-pleaders, and not seldom with the windings and subterfuges of pettifogging sycophants. Thus he sought to make his poetry entertaining to the Athenians by its resemblance to their daily favourite employment of pleading or trying causes of law, or at least hearing them tried. On this account Quintilian specially recommends him to the young orator, who (says he) may learn more from the study of this poet than from the elder tragedians; which no doubt is correct in its way. But such a recommendation, it is clear, is no great commendation: for although eloquence may have its place in the Drama, provided that it come within the capacity of the supposed speaker and that his aim require it, yet to put rhetoric in the place of the simple and straightforward utterance of the feelings is any thing but poetical.

Euripides' style of writing on the whole is too little condensed, though it contains occasionally very felicitous images and ingenious turns: it has neither the dignity and energy of the Æschylean, nor the chaste gracefulness of the Sophoclean style. In his expressions he often affects strangeness and singularity, but presently relapses into commonness; the tone of the discourse often becomes very familiar, and descends from the elevation of the Cothurnus to the level ground. In this respect, as also in the approximation to the ludicrous in his manner of describing many characteristic peculiarities (for instance, the awkward carriage of the infatuated Pentheus in his female attire, the voracity of Hercules, and his boisterous demands on the hospitality of Admetus), Euripides is a precursor of the New Comedy, towards which he manifestly verges, in that under the name of the heroic age he often depicts existing reality. Menander has even expressed a distinguished admiration for him, and declared himself his scholar; and of Philemon we have a fragment full of such extravagant admiration, that it seems almost meant in joke. "If the dead," says either he, or one of his characters, "had indeed any feeling, as some people think they have, I would hang myself to see Euripides." To this veneration on the part of the latter comedians, the sentiments of the elder comedian Aristophanes, his contemporary, form the most striking contrast. This poet unweariedly and inexorably persecutes him: he was, one might say, ordained to be his perpetual scourge, that none of his extravagances in morals and art might go unpunished. Although Aristophanes, as a comedian, stands in the relation of a parodist to the tragic poets in general, yet he no where attacks Sophocles, and even where he lays hold of Æschylus on that side of his character which certainly may excite a smile, his veneration for that old master is evident, and he every where contrasts his gigantic vastness with the petty delicacy of Euripides. In him he has exposed with infinite cleverness and good sense, the quibbling sophistry, the rhetorical display and philosophical cant; the immorality and debauching softness, the excitement of mere animal emotion. As our modern judges of poetry have for the most part set Aristophanes down as no better than an exaggerating slanderous buffoon, and had no notion of eliciting from his sportive mummeries the truths which lie beneath, it is no wonder they have given small heed to his voice.

But after all, it must be remembered that Euripides was nevertheless a Greek, and contemporary too with many of Greece's most famous names in politics, philosophy, history, and the fine arts. If, when compared with his predecessors, he must rank far below them, he in his turn appears great beside many modern poets. He is particularly strong in his delineations of a soul diseased, misguided, franticly abandoned to its passions. He is excellent where the subject leads mainly to pathos and urges no higher claims; still more so, where the pathos itself requires moral beauty. Few of his works are without passages of ravishing beauty. Indeed, it is by no means my intention to deny him astonishing talent: I only affirm that it was not coupled with a mind supremely reverencing the strictness of moral principle and the sacredness of religious feelings.

The relation which Euripides bears to his two great predecessors will be set in the clearest light by a comparison between their three plays, which happily are still extant, upon the same subject, namely, Clytæmnestra's death by the avenging hand of Orestes.

The scene of Æschylus' Choëphoræ is laid in front of the royal palace; the tomb of Agamemnon appears on the stage. Orestes enters with his trusty Pylades, and opens the play (which unhappily is somewhat mutilated at the beginning) with a prayer to Mercury and a promise of revenge to his father, to whom he consecrates a lock of his hair. He sees a procession of females clad in mourning attire issuing from the palace; and thinking he recognizes his sister among them, he steps aside with Pylades, to reconnoitre them before he shows himself. The Chorus, consisting of captive Trojan maidens, in a speech accompanied by gestures of woe, reveal the occasion of their mission to Agamemnon's tomb, namely, a frightful dream of

Clytæmnestra's: they add their own dark presentiments of vengeance impending over the blood-guilty pair, and bewail their lot in being obliged to serve unrighteous lords. Electra consults the Chorus whether she shall do the bidding of her hostile mother, or pour out the offering in silence, and then by their advice she too addresses a prayer to infernal Mercury and the soul of her father, for herself and the absent Orestes, that he may appear as the avenger. During the pouring out of the libation, she and the Chorus make a lament for the departed hero. Presently, discovering the lock of hair, of a colour resembling her own, and foot-prints round about the tomb, she lights upon the conjecture that her brother has been there; and while she is beside herself with joy at the thought, he steps forward; and makes himself known. Her doubts he completely overcomes by producing a garment woven by her own hand; they abandon themselves to their joy; he addresses a prayer to Jupiter, and makes known how Apollo, under most terrible menaces of persecution by his father's furies, has called upon him to destroy the authors of Agamemnon's death, in the same manner as they had destroyed him, namely, by subtilty. Now follow odes of the Chorus and Electra, consisting partly of prayers to the deceased king and to the infernal deities, partly calling to mind all the motives to the act enjoined upon Orestes, and, above all, the murder of Agamemnon. Orestes inquires about the vision which induced Clytæmnestra to send the offerings, and is informed that she dreamed she had a child in the cradle, which child was a dragon which she laid to her breast, and suckled with her own blood. He, then, will be this dragon; and he explains more particularly how he will steal into the house as a disguised stranger, and take both Ægisthus and herself at unawares. With this intention he departs, accompanied by Pylades. The subject of the ensuing ode is, the boundless audacity of mankind, and especially of women in their unlawful passions; which it confirms with dreadful examples from mythic story, and shows how avenging Justice is sure to overtake them at last. Orestes, returning as a stranger with Pylades, craves admission into the palace; Clytæmnestra comes out, and being informed by him that Orestes is dead, at which tidings Electra makes a show of lamentation, she invites him to enter and be her guest. After a short prayer of the Chorus, enters Orestes' nurse, and makes a lament for her nursling; the Chorus inspires her with a hope that he yet lives, and advises her to send Ægisthus, for whom Clytæmnestra has dispatched her, not with, but without, his body-guard. As the moment of danger draws near, the Chorus offers a petition to Jupiter and Mercury that the deed may prosper. Ægisthus enters, holding conversation with the messenger, cannot yet quite persuade himself of an event so joyful to him as Orestes' death, and therefore hastens into the house, where, after a short prayer of the Chorus, we hear his dying cry. A servant rushes out, and gives the alarm before the door of the women's abode, to warn Clytæmnestra. She hears it, comes out, calls for a hatchet to defend herself; but as Orestes without a moment's delay advances upon her with the bloody sword, her courage fails, and most affectingly she holds before him the breast at which she, his mother, suckled him. Hesitatingly he asks counsel of Pylades, who in a few lines urges him on by the most powerful considerations: after a brief dialogue of accusation and self-vindication, he drives her before him into the palace to slay her beside the corpse of Ægisthus. The Chorus, in a solemn ode, exults in the consummated retribution. The great doors of the palace are thrown open, and disclose, in the chamber, the slain pair laid together on a bed. Orestes orders the servants to unfold, that all may see it, the long trailing garment in which his father, as he drew it on and was muffled in its folds, received the murderous stroke of the axe: the Chorus beholds on it the stains of blood, and breaks out into lamentation for Agamemnon's murder. Orestes, feeling that his soul is already becoming confused, avails himself of the time that is still left to vindicate his act: he declares that he will repair to Delphi, there to be purified from his blood-guiltiness, and forthwith flees, full of horror, before his mother's Furies, whom the Chorus does not yet see, and deem a phantom of his brain, but who leave him no more rest. The Chorus concludes the play with a reflection on the scene of murder thrice repeated in that royal house since the Thyestean banquet.

The scene of Sophocles' *Electra* is also laid in front of the palace, but without Agamemnon's tomb. At day-break enter as from abroad, Pylades, Orestes, and his keeper, who on that bloody day had been his preserver. The latter gives him instructions, as he introduces him to the city of his fathers: Orestes replies with a speech upon the commission given him by Apollo, and the manner in which he means to execute it, and then addresses a prayer to the gods of his native land, and to the house of his fathers. Electra is heard sobbing within; Orestes wishes to greet her immediately, but the old man leads him away to present an offering at the grave of his father. Electra comes out; in a pathetic address to heaven she pours forth her griefs, and, in a prayer to the infernal deities, her unappeased longing for revenge. The Chorus, consisting of virgins of the land, approaches to administer consolation. Electra, alternating song and speech with the Chorus, makes known her unabatable sorrow, the contumely of her oppressed life, her hopelessness on account of Orestes' many lingerings, notwithstanding her frequent exhortations, and gives faint hearing to the encouraging representations made by the Chorus. Chrysothemis, Clytæmnestra's younger, more submissive, and favourite daughter, comes with a grave-offering, which she is commissioned to bear to her father's sepulchre. An altercation arises between the sisters concerning their different sentiments: Chrysothemis tells Electra that Ægisthus, now absent in the country, has come to the severest resolutions respecting her; to which the other bids defiance. Then she proceeds to relate how Clytæmnestra has had a dream that Agamemnon was come to life again, and planted his sceptre in the floor of the house, whence there sprang up a tree that overshadowed the whole land; whereby she was so terrified, that she commissioned her to be the bearer of this grave-offering. Electra advises her not to regard the commands of her wicked mother, but to offer at the tomb a prayer for herself, her brother and sister, and for the return of Orestes to take vengeance: she adds to the oblation her own girdle and a lock of her hair. Chrysothemis promises to follow her advice and departs. The Chorus augurs from the dream that retribution is nigh, and traces back the crimes committed in this house to the arch-sin of its first founder, Pelops. Clytæmnestra chides her daughter, to whom, however, perhaps from the effect of the dream, she is milder than usual: she justifies what she did to Agamemnon; Electra attacks her on that score, but without violent altercation on either side. After this, Clytæmnestra, standing beside the altar in front of the house, addresses her prayer to Apollo for welfare and long life, and secretly for the destruction of her son. Now enters the keeper of Orestes, and, in the character of messenger from a Phocian friend, announces the death of Orestes, entering withal into the most minute details, how he lost his life at the chariot-race in the Pythian games. Clytæmnestra scarcely conceals her exultation, although at first a touch of maternal feeling comes over her, and she invites the messenger to partake of the hospitality of her house. Electra, in touching speeches and songs, abandons herself to her grief; the Chorus in vain attempts to console her. Chrysothemis returns from the tomb overjoyed, with the assurance that Orestes is near at hand, for she has found there the lock of his hair, his drink-offering, and wreaths of flowers. Electra's despair is renewed by this account; she tells her sister the dreadful tidings which have just arrived, and calls upon her, now that no other hope is left them, to take part with her in a daring deed, and put Ægisthus to death; this proposal Chrysothemis, not possessing the courage, rejects as foolish, and, after a violent altercation, goes into the house. The Chorus bewails Electra now so utterly desolate; Orestes enters with Pylades and some servants who bear the urn which, it is pretended, contains the ashes of the dead youth. Electra prevails upon him by her entreaties to give it into her hands, and laments over it in the most touching speeches; by which Orestes is so overcome, that he can no longer conceal himself: after some preparation, he makes himself known to her, and confirms the discovery by showing her the signet-ring of their father. She gives vent, in speech and song, to her unbounded joy, until the old man comes out, rebukes them both for their imprudence, and warns them to refrain themselves. Electra with some difficulty recognizes in him the faithful servant to whom she had entrusted Orestes for preservation, and greets him thankfully. By the old man's advice, Orestes and Pylades hastily betake themselves with him into the house to surprise Clytæmnestra while she is yet alone. Electra offers a prayer in their behalf to Apollo: the ode of the Chorus announces the moment of retribution. From within the house is heard the shriek of the dismayed Clytæmnestra, her brief entreaties, her wailings under the death-blow. Electra, from without, calls upon Orestes to finish the deed: he comes out with bloody hands. The Chorus sees

Ægisthus coming, and Orestes hastes back into the house to take him by surprise. Ægisthus inquires about the death of Orestes, and from Electra's equivocal replies is led to believe that his corpse is within the house. He therefore orders the doors to be thrown open to convince those among the people who bore his sway with reluctance, that there is no more hope from Orestes. The middle entry is thrown open, and discloses in the interior of the palace a covered body lying on a bed. Orestes stands beside it and bids Ægisthus uncover it: he suddenly beholds the bloody corpse of Clytæmnestra, and finds himself lost past redemption. He desires to be allowed to speak, which, however, Electra forbids. Orestes compels him to go into the house, that he may slay him on the selfsame spot where Ægisthus had murdered his father.

The scene of Euripides' *Electra* lies, not in Mycenæ, but on the borders of the Argolic territory, in the open country, in front of a poor solitary cottage. The inhabitant, an old peasant, comes out, and in the prologue tells the audience how matters stand in the royal house; partly what was known already, but moreover, that not content to treat Electra with ignominy and leave her unwedded, they had married her beneath her rank to him; the reasons he assigns for this procedure are strange enough, but he assures the audience he has too much respect for her to debase her in reality to the condition of his wife. They are therefore living in virgin wedlock. Electra comes out, before it is yet day-break, bearing on her head, which is shorn in servile fashion, a pitcher with which she is going to fetch water; her husband conjures her not to trouble herself with such unwonted labours, but she will not be kept from the performance of her housewifely duties, and the two depart, he to his work in the field, she upon her errand. Orestes now enters with Pylades, and in a speech to his friend states that he has already sacrificed at his father's grave, but that he does not venture into the city, but wishes to look about for his sister, (who, he is aware, is married and lives hereabout on the frontier,) that he may learn from her the posture of affairs. He sees Electra coming with the water-pitcher, and retires. She strikes up a song of lamentation over her own fate and that of her father. The Chorus, consisting of rustic women, comes and exhorts her to take part in a festival of Juno, which she however, in the dejection of her sorrow, and pointing to her tattered garments, declines. They offer to lend her a supply of holiday gear, but she is fixed in her purpose. She espies Orestes and Pylades in their lurking-place, takes them for robbers, and is about to flee into her cottage; upon Orestes coming forth and stopping her, she thinks he is going to kill her; he pacifies her and gives her tidings that her brother lives. Hereupon he inquires about her situation, and then the whole matter is drilled into the audience once more. Orestes still forbears to make himself known, but merely promises to do Electra's commission to her brother, and testifies his sympathy as a stranger. The Chorus think this too good an opportunity to be lost of gratifying their own ears also with a little news from town; whereupon Electra after describing her own miserable condition depicts the wanton and insolent behaviour of her mother and Ægisthus: this wretch, she says, capers upon Agamemnon's grave and pelts it with stones. The peasant returns from his work, and finds it not a little indecorous in his wife to be gossiping with young men; but when he hears they are the bearers of intelligence from Orestes, he invites them into his house in the most friendly manner. Orestes, at sight of this worthy man, enters into a train of moral reflections, how often it does happen that the most estimable men are found in low families, and under an unpromising exterior. Electra reproves her husband for inviting them, knowing as he does that they have nothing in the house; he is of opinion that even were it so, the strangers would goodnaturedly put up with it; but a good housewife can always manage to get together all sorts of dishes, her stores will surely hold out for one day. She sends him to Orestes' old keeper, and former preserver, who lives hard by in the country, to bid him come and bring along with him something for their entertainment. The peasant departs with saws upon riches and moderation. Off flies the Chorus into an ode upon the expedition of the Greeks against Troy, prolixly describes all that was graven on the shield of Achilles which his mother Thetis brought him, but winds it up however with the wish that Clytæmnestra may be punished for her wickedness.

The old keeper, who finds it right hard work to climb up-hill to the house, brings Electra a lamb, a cheese, and a skin of wine; hereupon he falls a weeping, not forgetting, of course, to wipe his eyes with his tattered garments. In replying to Electra's questions, he relates how at the grave of Agamemnon he had found traces of an oblation together with a lock of hair, and therefore he conjectures that Orestes has been there. Hereupon ensues an allusion to the mode of recognition used by Æschylus, namely by the resemblance of the hair, the size of the foot-marks, the garment, which are demonstrated, all and several, to be absurd. The seeming improbability of the Æschylean anagnorisis perhaps admits of being cleared up; at all events one may easily let it pass; but a reference like this, to another author's treatment of the same subject, is the most annoying interruption, the most alien from genuine poetry that can possibly be. The guests come out; the old keeper reconnoitres Orestes with a scrutinizing eye, knows him, and convinces even Electra that it is he, by a scar on his eyebrow received from a fall in his childhood—so this is the superb invention for which Æschylus' is to be cashiered!—they embrace, and abandon themselves to their joy during a short ode of the Chorus. In a lengthy dialogue, Orestes, the old man, and Electra concert their plans. Ægisthus, the old man knows, has gone into the country to sacrifice to the Nymphs: there Orestes will steal in as a guest and fall upon him by surprise. Clytæmnestra, for fear of evil tongues, has not gone with him: Electra offers to entice her mother to them by the false intelligence of her being in childbed. The brother and sister now address their united prayers to the gods and their father's shade for a happy issue. Electra declares she will make away with herself if it should miscarry, and for that purpose will have a sword in readiness. The old man departs with Orestes to conduct him to Ægisthus, and afterwards to betake himself to Clytæmnestra. The Chorus sings the Golden Ram, which Thyestes stole from Atreus by the help of the treacherous wife of the latter, and how he was punished for it by the feast made for him with his own children's flesh, at the sight of which the Sun turned out of his course: a circumstance, however, concerning which the Chorus, as it sapiently adds, is very sceptical. From a distance is heard a noise of tumult and groans, Electra thinks her brother is overcome, and is going to kill herself. But immediately there comes a messenger, who, prolixly and with divers jokes, relates the manner of Ægisthus' death. Amidst the rejoicing of the

Chorus, Electra fetches a wreath with which she crowns her brother, who holds in his hand the head of Ægisthus by the hair. This head she in a long speech upbraids with its follies and crimes, and says to it, among other things, "it is never well to marry a woman with whom one has lived before in illicit intercourse; that it is an unseemly thing when a woman has the mastery in the family," &c. Clytæmnestra is seen approaching, Orestes is visited by scruples of conscience concerning his purpose of putting a mother to death, and concerning the authority of the oracle, but is induced by Electra to betake himself into the cottage there to accomplish the deed. The queen comes in a superb chariot hung with tapestry, and attended by her Trojan female slaves. Electra would help her to descend, but this she declines. Thereupon she justifies what she had done to Agamemnon by reference to the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and requires her daughter to make her objections; all which is in order to give Electra an opportunity of holding a captious, quibbling harangue, in which, among other things, she upbraids her mother with having sat before her mirror, and studied her toilette too much while Agamemnon was away. Clytæmnestra is not angry, although Electra plainly declares her purpose of putting her to death if ever she should have the power; she inquires about her daughter's confinement, and goes into the cottage to perform the ceremonies of purification. Electra accompanies her with a sarcastic speech. Then we have a choral ode upon retribution, the cry of the murdered woman within the house, and the brother and sister return stained with blood. They are full of remorse and despair at what they have done, afflict themselves by repeating to each other their mother's lamentable speeches and gestures; Orestes will flee into foreign lands, Electra asks "who will marry me now?" The Dioscuri, their uncles, appear in the air, vituperate Apollo for his oracle, command Orestes, in order to secure himself from the Furies, to go and have himself tried by the Areopagus; they also prophesy his further destinies. They then ordain a marriage between Electra and Pylades, her first husband to be taken with them to Phocis and handsomely provided for. After reiterated wailings, the brother and sister take a life-long farewell of each other, and the play comes to an end.

It is easy to perceive, that Æschylus has grasped the subject on its most terrific side, and borne it back into the domain of the gloomy deities, in which he so much delights to take up his abode. Agamemnon's grave is the murky centre, whence the avenging retribution emanates; his gloomy ghost, the soul of the whole poem. The very obvious exterior imperfection, of the play's dwelling too long on one point without perceptible progress, becomes in fact a true interior perfection: it is the hollow stillness of expectation before a storm or earthquake. It is true there is much repetition in the prayers, but their very accumulation gives the impression of a great unheard-of purpose, to which human powers and motives alone are inadequate. In the murdering of Clytæmnestra and in her heart-rending speeches, the poet, without disguising her crimes, has gone to the utmost verge of all that he had a right to demand of our feelings. The crime which is to be punished is kept in view from the very first by the tomb, and at the conclusion is brought still nearer to the eye of memory by the unfolding of the fatal garment: thus Agamemnon, even after full revenge, is murdered, as it were, afresh before the mental eye. Orestes' betaking himself to flight betrays no undignified remorse or weakness; it is only the inevitable tribute which he must pay to offended Nature.

How admirably Sophocles has managed the subject I need only remark in general terms. What a beautiful preface he has made, in those introductory scenes to that mission of Clytæmnestra's to the tomb with which Æschylus begins at once! With what polished ornament he has invested the whole, for example in the story of the games! How skilfully he husbands the pathos of Electra—first, general expressions of woe, then, hopes derived from the dream, their annihilation by the intelligence of Orestes' death, new hopes suggested by Chrysothemis only to be rejected, and, last of all, the mourning over the urn! The noble spirit of Electra is finely set off by the contrast with her tamer sister. Indeed the poet has given quite a new turn to the subject by directing the interest principally to Electra. A noble pair he has made of this brother and sister; allotting to the female character invincible constancy and devotedness, the heroism of endurance; to the male, the beautiful vigour of a hero's youthful prime. To this the old man in his turn opposes thoughtfulness and experience: the circumstance that both poets leave Pylades silent is an instance how greatly ancient art disdained all useless redundancy.

But what especially characterizes the tragedy of Sophocles, is the heavenly serenity amid a subject so terrific, the pure breath of life and youth which floats through the whole. The radiant god Apollo, who enjoined the deed, seems to shed his influence over it; even the day-break at the opening of the play is significant. The grave and the world of shades are kept afar off in the distance; what in Æschylus is effected by the soul of the murdered monarch, proceeds here from the heart of the living Electra, which is gifted with equal energy for indignant hatred and for love. Remarkable is the avoidance of every gloomy foreboding in the very first speech of Orestes, where he says, he feels no concern at being thought to be dead, so long as he knows himself to be alive in sound health and strength. Nor is he visited either before or after the deed by misgivings and compunctions of conscience; so that all that concerns his purpose and act is more sternly sustained in Sophocles than in Æschylus; the terrific stroke of theatrical effect in the person of Ægisthus, and the reserving this person to await an ignominious execution at the end of the play, is even more austere than any thing in Æschylus' play. The most striking emblem of the relation the two poets bear to each other is afforded by Clytæmnestra's dreams: both are equally apt, significant, ominous; Æschylus' is grander but horrible to the senses; that of Sophocles, terrible and majestically beautiful withal.

Euripides' play is a singular instance of poetical or rather unpoetical obliquity; to expose all its absurdities and contradictions would be an endless undertaking. Why, for instance, does Orestes badger his sister by keeping up his incognito so long? How easy the poet makes his labour, when, if any thing stands in his way, he just shoves it aside without further ceremony—as here the peasant, of whom, after he has sent up the old keeper, nobody knows where he is all this while! The fact is, partly Euripides wanted to be novel, partly he thought it too improbable that Orestes and Pylades should dispatch the king and his wife in the midst of their capital city; to avoid this he has involved himself in still grosser improbabilities. If there be in the play any relish whatever of the tragic vein, it is not his own, it belongs to the fable, to his predecessors, and to tradition. Through his views it has ceased at least to be a tragedy; he has laboured every way to lower it down to the level of a "family-picture," as the modern phrase is. The effect attempted in Electra's indigence is sad claptrap: he betrays the knack of his craft in her complacent ostentation of her own misery. In all the preparatives to the deed there is utter levity of mind and want of inward conviction: it is a gratuitous torturing of one's feelings that Ægisthus with his expressions of goodnatured hospitality, and Clytæmnestra with her kindly compassion towards her daughter, are set in an amiable point of view, just to touch us in their behalf: the deed is no sooner accomplished but it is obliterated by a most despicable repentance, a repentance which is no moral feeling at all, but a mere animal revulsion. Of the calumniations of the Delphian oracle I shall say nothing. As the whole play is annihilated thereby, I cannot see for what end Euripides wrote it at all, except it were that a comfortable match might be got up for Electra, and that the old peasant might make his fortune as a reward for his continency. I could only wish Pylades were married out of hand, and the peasant fingered a specified sum of money told out to him upon the spot in hard cash: in that case all would end to the audience's satisfaction like a common comedy.

Not to be unjust however, I must add the remark, that the Electra is perhaps of all Euripides' extant plays the very vilest. Was it rage for novelty that led him here into such vagaries? No doubt it was a pity that in this subject two such predecessors had forestalled him. But what forced him to measure himself with them, and to write an Electra at all?

Of the plays of Euripides, which have come down to us in greater number, we can only briefly touch upon some few points.

On the score of its morality, perhaps, none is so much to be praised as "*Alcestis.*" Her resolution to die, and her leave-taking of her husband and children, are painfully beautiful. Even the forbearance shown in not allowing the heroine to speak after her return from the infernal world, in order not to draw aside the mysterious curtain which veils the condition of the dead, deserves to be highly appreciated. Admetus, it is true, and especially his father, with their selfish love of life, are much sacrificed; Hercules, also, shows himself at first blunt even to rudeness, afterwards more noble and worthy of himself, and at last jovial, where he jokes with Admetus, and brings him his veiled wife as a new bride.

Iphigenia in Aulis is a subject particularly adapted to Euripides' liking and powers: the thing required here was to excite a soft emotion for the innocent youth and childlike manners of the heroine. Iphigenia, however, is very far from being an Antigone; Aristotle remarks that the character is not well sustained: "Iphigenia imploring," says he, "is altogether unlike Iphigenia offering up herself a willing sacrifice."

Ion also is one of the most charming pieces, on account of its delineations of innocence and priestly sanctity in the boy whose name it bears. It is true, in the course of the complication of the plot, there is no lack of improbabilities, makeshifts, and repetitions; and the unravelling of the plot by means of a lie, in which gods and men are confederate against Xuthus, can hardly be satisfactory to our feelings.

As pictures of female passions and the aberrations of a soul diseased, *Phædra* and *Medea* are deservedly praised. The play, in which the former is introduced, is splendid with the sublime heroic beauty of Hippolytus; moreover it recommends itself in the highest degree by its observance of propriety and moral strictness in so hazardous a subject. This, however, is perhaps not so much the merit of the poet himself as of the delicacy of his contemporaries; for the Hippolytus which we have, is, according to the Scholiast, a second and remodelled edition, in which what was offensive and reprehensible in the earlier play is amended[1].

The opening of "*Medea*" is excellent: her desperate situation is, by the conversations of her nurse and the keeper of her children, and by her own lamentations behind the scenes, announced with heart-rending pathos. So soon as she comes forth, the poet takes pains to cool us down by the many general and common-place reflections he puts into her mouth. Still smaller does she appear in the scene with Ægeus, where being at the point to take a dreadful revenge on Jason, she first makes sure of a place of refuge, nay, wants but little of putting in a word for a new connexion. This is not the daring criminal, who has reduced the powers of nature into servitude to her wild passions, and speeds from land to land like a desolating meteor; that Medea, who, forsaken by all the world, can still be sufficient for herself. It could be nothing but complaisance to Athenian antiquity that persuaded Euripides to interpolate his poem with this frigid scene. Except in this instance, he has strikingly described in one and the same person the mighty enchantress, and the woman weak in the relations of her sex. Most deeply touching are the visitations of motherly tenderness in the midst of her arming herself for the horrible deed. Only she announces her intention prematurely and too distinctly, instead of cherishing it as a confused dark presentiment. When she does carry it into execution, one would think the impulse to revenge herself upon Jason must be already satisfied by the cruel death of his young wife and her father, and the new motive, namely, that Jason would infallibly destroy his children, and, therefore, she must forestall him, will not bear examination. For just as she carries away their corpses on her dragon-chariot, she might also have rescued the children alive. But perhaps this may be justified by the confusion of mind into which she is plunged by the crime she has perpetrated.

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[1] The learned and acute Brunck tells us, that Seneca composed his play of the name on the plan of the earlier Hippolytus of Euripides, called the Veiled Hippolytus: but as he cites no authority or coincidence of fragments in proof of the assertion, it may for aught that appears be mere conjecture. Be that as it may, I doubt whether even Euripides in the condemned play could have had so immoral a scene as that of Phædra's declaration of love, which Racine has adopted from Seneca without scruple.

Perhaps it was such pictures of universal woe, of the downfall of flourishing families and states from the greatest majesty into the deepest distress, nay, into utter annihilation, as Euripides has presented us with in the *Troades*, that obtained for him from Aristotle the name of *the most tragic of poets*. The concluding scene, where the captive ladies, assigned by lot as slaves, leaving Troy blazing and crashing behind them, turn towards the ships, is grand indeed. For the rest, however, a play could scarcely have less *action* in the energetic sense of the word: it is a series of situations and incidents having no other bond of connexion than that of a common origin in the capture of Troy; but they do not in the least tend to a common goal. The accumulation of helpless suffering, in which all is passive succumbence, without so much as an offer at resistance on the part of the will and sentiments, wearies one at last and exhausts one's compassion. The greater the struggle to avert a calamity, the stronger impression it makes when it bursts forth after all. But when so little ceremony is used, as here in Astyanax's case—for Talthybius' speech obviates even the slightest attempt at rescuing him,—the spectator soon reconciles his mind to the issue. In this way Euripides often commits himself. In the uninterrupted demands upon our compassion in this play, the pathos is not duly husbanded: for instance, Andromache's lament over her living son is far more affecting than Hecuba's over her dead one. It is true, the effect of the latter was aided by the spectacle of the little corpse on Hector's shield. In fact, Euripides reckoned a good deal upon ocular excitement: thus Helen, by way of contrast to the captive ladies, appears in splendid attire, Andromache on a car piled up with spoils, and I have no doubt that at the end of the play all the scenes were in a blaze. In the painful trial of Helen all pathos is marred by idle wrangling, and nothing comes of it, for in spite of Hecuba's accusation, Menelaus abides by the resolution he had come to at the beginning. The defence of Helen may be found about as entertaining as Isocrates' sophistical encomium upon her.

Euripides was not content to have made his muffled *Hecuba* roll in the dust and whine a whole play through; he has likewise produced her in another tragedy, which takes its title from her, as the standing capital figure of the woe. The two actions of this play, the sacrifice of Polyxena, and the vengeance taken on Polymestor for his murder of Polydorus, have nothing in common with each other except their relation to Hecuba. The first half has great beauties of that description in which Euripides is pre-eminently successful: images of tender youth, womanly innocence, and magnanimous resignation to an early violent death. A human sacrifice, that triumph of barbarian superstition, is represented as completed, suffered, and looked upon with that Hellenism of sentiment which so early effected the abolishment of such sacrifices among the Greeks. But the second half destroys these softer emotions in a most revolting manner. It is filled up with the vindictive cunning of Hecuba, the stupid avarice of Polymestor, and the miserable policy of Agamemnon, who dares not himself call the Thracian king to account, but plays him into the hands of the captive women. Nor is it by any means consistent, that Hecuba, aged, feeble, and sunk in sorrow, should afterwards evince so much presence of mind in the exercise of her revenge, and such a glibness of tongue in her accusation and insulting of Polymestor.

Another example of two perfectly distinct actions in the same tragedy occurs in "*Hercules Distracted.*" The first is the distress of his family during his absence, and their delivery from it by his return: the second, his remorse at having, in a sudden frenzy, murdered his wife and children. The one follows, indeed, after the other, but by no means from the other.

"*The Phœnician Women*" is rich in tragic incident, in the common sense of the word: the son of Creon precipitates himself from the wall for the salvation of the city; Eteocles and Polynices fall by each other's hands, Jocasta by her own hand over their corpses; the Argives drawn up in array against Thebes are destroyed in battle, and Polynices remains unburied: lastly, Œdipus and Antigone are thrust out into exile. But the Scholiast, after thus enumerating the incidents, notices in how arbitrary a manner the poet goes to work. "This play," he says, "is beautiful as a theatrical spectacle, because, in fact, it is full of filling-up matter foreign to the purpose. Antigone, gazing down from the walls, has nothing to do with the action; and Polynices enters the city under warranty of a truce, without any thing coming of it. After all the rest, the banished Œdipus and a wordy ode are tacked on to no purpose." This criticism is severe, but to the point.

Not at all more lenient is that on *Orestes*:—"This play is one of those which produce a great effect on the stage, but in respect of the characters, it is extremely bad; for, except Pylades, they are all good-for-nothing." Again: "It winds up in a manner that would be more suitable to a comedy." The play does, in fact, open most agitatingly. Orestes, after the murder of his mother, lies on a bed, sick with anguish of soul and madness; Electra sits at his feet; she and the Chorus tremble for his awaking. But afterwards all takes a perverse turn, and ends with violent strokes of stage-effect.

Less wild and extravagant is a play in which the fates of Orestes are further followed up, "*Iphigenia in Tauris;*" but then it is almost uniformly mediocre in its representation both of character and of passion. The mutual recognition between the brother and sister, after such occurrences and doings, and under such circumstances—Iphigenia, who once trembled before the altar, herself about to devote her brother to the like fate—excites only a passing emotion. Their flight also does not particularly set our interest on the stretch: the artifice by which Iphigenia brings it about is readily believed by Thoas, and not until after they are both rescued does he seek to make resistance, but he is immediately appeased by one of the usual divine interpositions. This contrivance is so common and so trite in Euripides, that in nine out of his eighteen tragedies a god must needs swing himself down just to untie the knot.

In "*Andromache*" Orestes appears for the fourth time. The Scholiast, in whose remarks we think we recognize mostly decisions of important ancient critics, pronounces this to be a second-rate play, in which he commends only occasional passages. Of the plays on which Racine has based his free imitations, it is certainly the least excellent; and therefore the French critics have here an easy game to win, when they labour to disparage the Grecian predecessor, from whom their Racine, in fact, derived little more than the first idea of his tragedy.

"*The Bacchants*" exhibits the tumultuous enthusiasm of the Bacchanalian worship with great impressiveness to the bodily senses and much living reality. Pentheus' stiff-necked unbelief, his infatuation and terrible punishment by the hand of his own mother, form a bold picture. Its effect on the stage must have been extraordinary. Imagine the Chorus, with hair and garments flying, tambourines, cymbals, &c., in their hands, as one sees the Bacchanalians represented on bas-reliefs, rushing pell-mell into the orchestra, and executing their inspired dance to a wild din of music; which in other cases was quite unusual, as the choral odes were sung and danced with no other accompaniment than a flute, and with a solemn step. And here indeed this luxuriance of ornament, which Euripides every where studies, was for once in its right place. When therefore certain modern critics rank this piece very low, I cannot help thinking they do not rightly know what they are about. On the contrary, I cannot but admire the harmony and unity which appear in its composition, qualities that one so rarely meets with in this poet; his abstinence from all foreign matter, so that all the effects and motives flow from a common source, and concur towards a common end. Next to the Hippolytus, I would assign to this play the first rank among the extant works of Euripides.

"*The Heraclidæ*" and "*The Suppliants*" are mere *occasional tragedies*, called forth by the occurrences of the day, and surely could only succeed as topics of adulation to the Athenians. They celebrate two heroic exploits of Athens, on which the panegyrists, who are ever blending fable with history (for instance, Isocrates), lay astonishing stress: their affording the children of Hercules, the ancestors of the Lacedæmonian kings, an asylum from the persecution of Eurystheus; and their forcing the Thebans, whom they had conquered in a war on behalf of Adrastus, king of Argos, to permit the interment of the Seven Chieftains and their hosts. "The Suppliants" we know to have been exhibited during the Peloponnesian war, just when the Argives had closed a treaty with the Lacedæmonians: this piece then was intended to remind them of their ancient obligations to Athens, and to show how little success the Argives had reason to expect in this war. "The Heraclidæ" was unquestionably written with the like view in reference to Lacedæmon. Of the two, however, which are both planned entirely upon the same pattern, "the Suppliants" (so named from the mothers of the slain heroes) has by far the most poetical value: "the Heraclidæ" is but a fainter impression, as it were. Theseus, it is true, in the former play, does not appear in an amiable light at first, where he so long-windedly, and perhaps unjustly, upbraids poor Adrastus with his errors before he helps him; the disputation between Theseus and the Argive herald on the comparative merits of the monarchical and democratic constitution, may fairly be dismissed from the stage to the schools of the rhetoricians: Adrastus' moral panegyric also on the fallen heroes is very much out of keeping. I am persuaded Euripides here meant to draw the characters of some Athenian generals who had fallen in some battle or other. Dramatically considered, the passage, even then, is not to be justified; but, without some such object in view, it would have been but too vapid to bring forward those heroes of the Herculean age, a Capaneus who defied the very heavens, to praise them for their civic virtues. How apt Euripides was to travel out of his subject in allusions to people and things quite foreign to the matter in hand, and even allusions to himself, we see from a speech of Adrastus, where, *a-propos* to nothing at all, he says, "It is not fair that the poet, while he delights others by his works, should himself get discomfort." Nevertheless, the funeral laments and Evadne's swanlike song are touchingly beautiful, although this personage quite unexpectedly jumps into the play. Literally jumps into it, for, without having been once mentioned before, she makes her appearance first on the rock, and then flings herself from it upon the burning pile of Capaneus.

"The Heraclidæ" is a very poor play: its termination, in particular, is bald. Of Macaria's sacrifice (which is really accomplished) not a syllable do we hear more: as the resolution seems to cost even her no conquest over herself, so neither do the others use much ceremony with her. The Athenian king Demophon does not come on again, no more does the marvellously rejuvenized Iolaus, the comrade of Hercules, and keeper of his children; Hyllus, the noble-spirited Heraclide, is not forthcoming; so at the end there remains nobody but Alcmene, who keeps up a stout altercation with Eurystheus. Such inexorable rancorous old women Euripides seems to depict with special relish: twice has he turned Hecuba to account in this way, first pitting her against Helen, and in another play with Polymestor. It may be remarked in general, that the constant recurrence of the same topics, artifices, and motives, is a sure indication of mannerism. In this poet's works we have three instances of women offered in sacrifice, and all three affecting by their self-devoting resignation, Iphigenia, Polyxena, and Macaria; the voluntary deaths of Alcestis and Evadne belong in some measure to the same class. Suppliants imploring protection are another favourite subject of his, because they distress the spectator with anxiety lest they should be torn by force from the sanctuary of the altar. His interpositions of deities at the conclusion of his plays I have counted up before.

The most amusing of all tragedies is "Helen;" quite a romantic spectacle, full of marvellous adventures and personages, which are evidently much better suited to Comedy. The fabrication on which it is founded is, that Helen lived concealed in Egypt (so far went the assertion of Egyptian priests), while Paris carried off a phantom in her shape, for which thing of air Greeks and Trojans fought ten years long. By this evasion the heroine's virtue is rescued, and Menelaus who (to make good the ridicule Aristophanes flings upon Euripides' mendicant heroes) enters in tatters and as a beggar, is set quite at ease. But this is a species of improvement upon mythology which makes it like the tales in the Thousand and one Nights.

"Rhesus" (for which the Eleventh Book of the Iliad lent the materials) is a play to which modern philologists have devoted whole dissertations to prove it not genuine. Their opinion is that the play contains a multitude of improprieties and contradictions, and is therefore unworthy of Euripides. This inference is questionable. What if the defects they reprehend arise from the untoward nature of the subject itself, a nocturnal feat of arms, and were well-nigh unavoidable when once the poet had thought fit to choose such a subject for his play? In fact, the question as to the genuineness of a work turns much less upon its merits or demerits, than upon the point of fact, whether it evidences the style and peculiarities of the alleged author. The Scholiast in a few words goes to the root of the matter in quite a different way: "Some have held this piece not to be a genuine production of Euripides, because it exhibits more of the Sophoclean style. Nevertheless in the Didascaliæ it is superscribed as genuine, and the accuracy in regard of the phenomena of the starry heavens betokens the hand of Euripides." I think also I understand what is here meant by the "Sophoclean style," which indeed I find, not in the plan of the whole, but in single passages. Therefore, if Euripides' claim to the work must be negatived, I would conjecture the author to have been some eclectic imitator, but rather of the school of Sophocles than of Euripides, and indeed only a little posterior to either. This I infer from the familiar style of many of the scenes, Tragedy verging at that time towards the drama of common life: for afterwards in the Alexandrine age it fell into the opposite extreme, into bombast.

The Cyclops is a satyric drama. This was a composite variety of tragic poetry, as we have already mentioned in passing. The necessity of a relaxation of the spirits after the engrossing earnestness of Tragedy seems to have given rise to this kind of drama, and indeed to the afterpiece in general. The Satyric Drama never occupied the ground alone, but was thrown in by way of appendage to several tragedies together, and likewise, so far as all conjecture goes, was always considerably shorter. Its outward cut was like that of Tragedy, the materials were also mythological. The distinctive badge was a chorus composed of satyrs, which accompanied with lively songs, gesticulations, and antics, such adventures of the heroes as in themselves had a touch of mirthfulness (as is the case with many in the Odyssee, for the germ of this, as of so many other species of poetry, is to be found in Homer), or at least were susceptible of a ludicrous turn. The proximate occasion was afforded by the festivals of Bacchus, at which the Satyr's-mask was a common mummery. In mythological stories, which Bacchus had nothing to do with, these his constant attendants could be introduced only in a kind of arbitrary manner, and yet not altogether without propriety. As Nature in her original freedom seemed to Grecian fancy to teem every where with a marvellous progeny; the wild landscapes, where the scene of these plays was commonly laid, far from the cultivation of civilized towns, might allowably be peopled with these sylvan beings and enlivened by their animal frolics. The composition of demigods with demibeasts formed a diverting contrast. How the poets managed them, we have an example in "*The Cyclops.*" It is not unentertaining, though its actual contents are little more than we already had in the Odyssee; only the jokes of Silenus and his crew turn out rather coarse at whiles. We must confess indeed, that to us the chief value of this work is its rarity, being the only extant one of its kind. Without doubt Æschylus, in his satyric plays, jested more daringly and with more matter in his merriment;—for instance, when he introduced Prometheus bringing down fire from heaven to rude lumpish man;—and Sophocles, as one may conjecture even from the few extant specimens, more gracefully and decently; as, for example, where he introduced the goddesses contending for the prize of beauty, or Nausicaa affording her protection to the shipwrecked Ulysses. It is a speaking trait of the light easy character of Grecian life, which knew nothing of stiff dignity, and, artist-like, admired aptness and gracefulness even in the most insignificant particulars, that in this play entitled

"Nausicaa," or "The Washerwomen," in which (as Homer relates) the princess, after the washing is done, amuses herself with a game of ball with her maidens, Sophocles himself played at ball, and gained great applause for his graceful adroitness in this exercise. The great poet, the revered citizen of Athens, the man who perhaps had been a general, came publicly forward in woman's clothes, and as on account of the weakness of his voice he certainly did not play the leading part of Nausicaa, took the secondary and perhaps mute character of a maid, to impart to the exhibition of his work the slight ornament of bodily agility.

With Euripides, so far as we are concerned, the history of ancient Tragedy comes to an end, though there were many subsequent tragedians, for instance Agathon, whom Aristophanes describes to us as all fragrant with perfumes, and crowned with flowers, and into whose mouth Plato, in his Symposium, puts a speech composed in the taste of the sophist Gorgias, full of the most exquisite elegancies and tautological antitheses. He was the first to forsake mythology, as the natural materials of the drama, and sometimes wrote tragedies with purely fictitious names (this is noticeable as forming a transition to the New Comedy), one of which was called "The Flower," and probably therefore was neither seriously touching nor terrible, but idyllic and pleasing.

The Alexandrine scholars also took to manufacturing tragedies; but if we may form a judgment from the only extant one, Lycophron's "Alexandra," which consists of an interminable monologue, full of vaticination and lumbered with obscure mythology, these productions of a would-be-poetical dilettantism were utterly lifeless, untheatrical, and every way flat and unprofitable. The creative power of the Greeks in this department was so completely defunct, that they were obliged to content themselves with repetition of the old masterpieces.

SIXTH LECTURE.

The Old Comedy explained as forming the complete antithesis to Tragedy. Parody. The Comic Ideal, the exact converse of the Tragic. Sportive caprice. Allegorical and especially Political meaning. The Chorus and its Parabases. Aristophanes. His character as a poet. Description and critique of his extant works.

We leave Tragic Poetry, to occupy ourselves with a diametrically opposite species, the *Old Comedy*. Amid its striking dissimilarity we shall, however, perceive a kind of symmetry in the contrast, and certain relations of the one to the other, which serve to exhibit the essence of both in a clearer light. In forming a judgment of the Old Comedy, we must, in the first place, dismiss from our thoughts all considerations of that which among the moderns is called Comedy, and indeed bore the name among the Greeks themselves at a later period. These two differ, not in mere accidents (as for instance in the introduction of real persons by name in the Old Comedy), but essentially and diametrically. We must also take care not to regard the Old Comedy as the rude beginnings of the more cultivated species of later times[1], as many have been led to do by its unbridled freedom; on the contrary, this is the genuine type of the species, and the newer variety, as I shall show in due course, is Comedy let down to prose and reality.

The Old Comedy may be most rightly conceived as forming the thorough antithesis to Tragedy. This was perhaps the meaning of that assertion of Socrates', mentioned by Plato at the end of his Symposium. He relates, namely, how, after the other guests were dispersed or had fallen asleep, Socrates was left awake with only Aristophanes and Agathon; and, while he drank with them out of a large bowl, constrained them to confess, however unwillingly, that it is the province of one and the same man to excel alike in tragic and comic poetry, and that the tragedian by virtue of his art is a comedian also. This contradicted both the prevailing opinion, which entirely separated the two kinds of talent, and all experience, inasmuch as no tragedian had ever even attempted to shine in comedy, nor conversely: and, therefore, it could only relate to the abstract essence of the thing. At another time the Platonic Socrates says (again speaking of comic imitation), "all contrasted things whatsoever cannot be properly understood but by and through each other; the serious, therefore, not without the ridiculous." Had it pleased the divine Plato, in working out that dialogue, to communicate his own or his master's thoughts upon these two kinds of poetry, the following investigation might doubtless have been dispensed with.

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[1] This is the general purport of Barthélemy's section in the Anacharsis on the Old Comedy, one of the poorest and most bungling of his works. It is in the pitiable overweening of ignorance, that Voltaire (among others, in his philosophical dictionary, Art. *Athée*) passes sentence of condemnation upon Aristophanes, and that most of the modern French critics have followed his example. But the basis of all the nonsensical opinions of the moderns on this subject, and their heavy prosaic manner of viewing it, may be found in Plutarch's parallel between Aristophanes and Menander.

One aspect of the relation of comic to tragic poetry may be comprehended under the idea of *parody.* But this parody is an infinitely stronger one than that of the mock-heroic poem, because the subject parodied had, by means of its stage-representation, quite another kind of reality and bodily presence in the mind itself to what the Epos had, which related stories of the olden time as past, and receded with them into remote antiquity. The comic parody was brought out just when the thing parodied was fresh in people's recollection, and even the circumstance of its being exhibited on the same stage on which people were wont to see its serious antitype must needs add to the effect. Moreover, the parody extended not merely to single passages, but took in the entire form of tragic poetry; and doubtless not only the poetry, but the very music and dance, the gesticulation, costume, and scenery were all parodied. Nay, in so far as the tragic stage-art followed in the train of sculpture, the comic parody was aimed at this too: that is to say, it took the ideal forms of the gods, and transformed them into caricature, yet in such a way as they might be easily recognized[2]. Now the more strikingly the productions of these several arts impress the bodily senses, the more the Greeks in their popular festivals, their worship, and solemn processions were surrounded by and intimate with that noble style which was adopted in tragic poetry, the more irresistibly ludicrous must have been the effect of that universal parody of the arts which was contained in Comedy.

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[2] As an example of this, I refer to the well-known vase-painting, in which Jupiter and Mercury, about to ascend by a ladder into Alcmene's chamber, are represented as comic masks. [Winckelmann, *Mon. Ined.* P. I. No. 190.—J. W. D.]

But this conception does not comprise the essence of the matter; for parody always presupposes a relation to the thing parodied, and a dependence on it. But the Old Comedy is just as independent and original a species of poetry as Tragedy is, and stands on the same elevation with it; that is, it proceeds just as far beyond matter-of-fact reality into the domain of the free creative fancy.

Tragedy is the highest earnestness of poetry, Comedy is altogether sportive. Now earnestness, as I showed in the Introduction, consists in the direction of the mental powers to an aim or purpose, and the limitation of their activity thereby. Its opposite, therefore, consists in the seeming absence of purpose and the removal of all limits in the exercise of the mental faculties, and is the more complete, the more unreservedly these faculties are exercised thereupon, and the more lively appearance there is of purposeless mirth and unrestrained caprice. Wit and jesting may be used in a sportive manner, but both are consistent also with the severest earnestness, as is proved by the later Roman Satires, and the old Greek Iambi, in which these arts served the purpose of indignation and hatred.

Modern Comedy, it is true, exhibits what is amusing in characters, in the contrasts of situations, and combinations of them, and is comic in proportion as a want of all aim predominates in it; cross-purposes, mistakes, vain efforts of ridiculous passion; and, in proportion as all at last resolves itself into nothing: but notwithstanding all its fun, the form of representation is in itself earnest, that is, regularly tied down to a certain purpose. In Old Comedy, on the contrary, it is sportive; a seeming aimlessness and arbitrary caprice prevails throughout; the entire poem is one big jest, which again contains within itself a whole world of separate jests, each of which seems to maintain its own ground, and not to trouble itself about the rest. In Tragedy, to make my meaning plain by a comparison, you have the monarchical constitution in force, but as it existed among the

Greeks in the heroic age, without despotism; all willing attachment to the dignity of the heroic sceptre. Comedy, on the contrary, is democratic poetry; the principle here is, rather to put up with the confusion of anarchy, than to circumscribe the universal freedom of all intellectual powers, all purposes, and even individual thoughts, sallies, and allusions.

Whatever is dignified, noble, and great in human nature admits only of an earnest manner of representation; for the person who represents it feels that it stands to himself in a relation of superiority, and it therefore becomes binding upon him. The comic poet, consequently, must exclude all this from his representation, must transport himself beyond it, nay, deny it altogether, and idealize human nature in the opposite sense to the tragedian, namely, into the ugly and vile. But as little as the tragic ideal can be considered a collection of models of all possible virtues, so little does this converse ideality consist in an accumulation, surpassing all reality, of moral crime and degeneracy; but rather in that dependence upon the animal part of human nature, in that want of freedom and self-subsistence, that unconnectedness and inconsistency of the inner being, from which all folly and absurdity proceed.

The earnest ideal is the unity and harmonious amalgamation of the sensual man with the spiritual, as it may be most clearly recognized in sculpture, where the perfection of form becomes but the emblem of spiritual perfection, and of the highest moral ideas, where the body is quite penetrated by the spirit, and spiritualized even to glorious transfiguration. The sportive ideal, on the contrary, consists in the perfect harmony and unison of the higher nature with the animal, as the ruling principle. Reason and understanding are represented as voluntary slaves of the senses.

Hence necessarily arises that which has given so much offence in Aristophanes: namely, his frequently reminding us of the base necessities of the body, his unseemly description of the animal instinct, which, in spite of all the fetters that morality and decency attempt to lay upon it, is for ever breaking loose before one is aware. If we consider what it is that on our comic stage infallibly produces the effect of the ludicrous, and can never be worn out, we shall find that it is precisely these irrepressible stirrings of the sensual nature in collision with the claims of the higher nature: cowardice, childish vanity, garrulity, greediness, laziness, and the like. Thus, for instance, lechery in infirm old age is the more ridiculous, as it shows that it is not the mere instinct of the animal, but that the reason has only served to extend disproportionably the dominion of sensuality; and by drunkenness the real man in some measure transports himself into the condition of the comic ideal.

But we must not be so misled by the circumstance that the ancient comedians introduced living characters upon the stage with all circumstantiality and by name, as to infer that they actually did represent definite individuals. For such historical personages in the Old Comedy have always an allegorical meaning; they represent a genus: and as their features were caricatured in the masks, so were their characters in the representation. Nevertheless, this constant allusion to proximate realities, which went not only to the length of the poet's conversing in the person of the chorus with the audience in general, but even to pointing the finger at individual spectators, was very essential to this kind of poetry. For as Tragedy loves harmonious unity, so Comedy lives and moves in a chaotic profusion, she studies the most motley contrasts and perpetual cross-purposes. All that is most strange, unheard-of, nay, impossible in the incidents, she therefore tacks on with whatever is most local and special in the surrounding reality.

The comic poet, like the tragic, transports his characters into an ideal element; not however into a world where Necessity, but into one where the caprice of the inventive wit bears despotic sway, and the laws of reality are suspended. He is therefore authorized to devise the action as audaciously and fantastically as possible; it may be even unconnected and absurd, if it be but adapted to exhibit a set of comic relations and characters in the most glaring light. In this last respect, the work certainly may, nay, must have a main object, else it will want keeping: and in this regard the comedies of Aristophanes may be shown to be completely systematical. But that the comic spirit may not evaporate, this same object must be turned into fun, and the impression apparently done away by mixing up all sorts of out of the way matters. Comedy in its earliest age, viz. under the hands of its Doric founder Epicharmus, borrowed its materials principally from the mythic world.

Even in its mature age it seems not wholly to have renounced this choice, as we see from the titles of many lost plays of Aristophanes and his contemporaries; and afterwards, in the intermediate epoch between the Old and New Comedy, it returned, for particular reasons, to the old sources in preference to others. But as the contrast between matter and form is here in its proper place, and nothing could form a stronger opposite to the thoroughly sportive character of the representation, than that which is the most important, the most serious concern of man, and altogether a business: it was natural that public life, the State, should become the proper subject of the Old Comedy. It is political through and through; private and family life, above which New Comedy never rises, the Old introduces only in a cursory manner, and in reference to public life. The Chorus, therefore, is essential to it, as in some measure representing the public: it can by no means be explained as a chance-relic from the local origin of the Old Comedy; a weightier reason might be found, without going further, even in the circumstance that it serves to complete the parody on the tragic form. At the same time, it contributes to the expression of festal mirth, of which Comedy was the most unrestrained effusion. For at all national and religious festivals of the Greeks choral odes were performed, accompanied with dances. The comic chorus at times transforms itself into such a voice of public rejoicing, for instance, when the women, who are solemnizing the Thesmophoria, in the piece thence named, in the midst of the most mad-brained revelry strike up their melodious hymn, just as at the real festival, in honour of all its presiding deities. Upon such-like occasions the poet expends such pure and native lyrical effusions, that the passages might be transplanted into a tragedy with no alteration whatever. On the other hand, there is this deviation from the tragic model, that there are often several choruses in a comedy, which sometimes are present at the same time, and sing responsively to each other; at other times they come on alternately, and drop off without any relation to each other. But the most remarkable peculiarity of the Comic Chorus is the *Parabasis*, an address of the Chorus to the audience in the poet's name, and as his deputy, and this without the least relevance to the subject of the play. Sometimes he extols his own merits, and ridicules his rivals; sometimes, by virtue of his privilege as an Athenian citizen to speak upon the public affairs in every assembly of the people, he puts forward serious or droll motions for the common weal. Properly speaking, the Parabasis is at variance with the essence of dramatic representation; for, according to this, the poet ought to disappear behind his dramatis personæ; and the latter also ought to speak and act just as if they were by themselves, and not to take any perceptible notice of the audience. All tragic impressions, therefore, are inevitably destroyed by such kind of intermixtures; but to the mirthful tone of mind such designed interruptions or intermezzos are welcome, even though they be in themselves more serious than the subject of the comedy, because, when one is in this key, one does not choose to subject one's-self to the constraint of a mental occupation, which, by keeping itself up, comes to look like a task. The invention of the Parabasis might in part be occasioned by the comedians not having so much matter as the tragedians for filling up the intervals of the action, when the stage was empty, with sympathizing and enthusiastic odes. But it also accords with the nature of the Old Comedy, in which not only the subject, but the entire treatment of it is mirthful. This unlimited supremacy of mirth and fun manifests itself even in this, that the very form of the drama is not kept up altogether in earnest, and that its law is momentarily suspended; just as in a merry disguise the masquerader sometimes allows himself to take off his mask. Even to the present day there are traces of the same thing in our comedy and farce, in those allusions, hints, and winks at the pit, which are often so successful, though many critics unconditionally reprobate them.

If we were required to comprise in few words the aim and design of tragic and comic poetry, we should say: As Tragedy, by painful emotions, elevates us to the most dignified views of human nature, being (so Plato expresses it) "the imitation of the most beautiful and excellent life;" so Comedy, from an altogether jocular and degrading way of looking at every thing, calls forth the most petulant unrestrained gaiety.

Of the Old Comedy we have but one author, and therefore cannot edge our estimate of his worth by comparison with other masters. *Aristophanes* had many predecessors: *Magnes, Cra-*

tinus, *Crates*, and others: he was one of the latest comedians, for he outlived the Old Comedy. Nevertheless, we have no reason to believe that in him we see it in its decline, as we do that of Tragedy in the last tragedian; but probably this species of the drama was yet on its rise, and he its most finished poet. For it went quite otherwise with the Old Comedy than it did with Tragedy; the latter died a natural, the former a violent death. Tragedy ceased because it seemed to be exhausted, because it was forsaken, because people could no longer raise themselves to its elevation. Comedy was deprived, by a despotic decree, of that unrestricted freedom on which it depended for its very existence. Horace apprises us of this catastrophe in few words. "In the rear of these (Thespis and Æschylus) followed the Old Comedy, not without great merit: but liberty fell into vicious abuses, and into a violence which deserved to be checked by law. The law was passed, and the Chorus was reduced to disgraceful silence, being deprived of the right to do mischief." Towards the end of the Peloponnesian war, when a few individuals, in violation of the constitution, had possessed themselves of the sovereign power at Athens, it was ordained that any person who was attacked by the comic poets might lodge a complaint against them; it was forbidden to introduce real personages, to make them recognizable by masks, and so forth. Hence arose the "*Middle Comedy*," as it is called. The form was still pretty much the same, and the representation, if not exactly allegorical, was at least in the manner of parody. But the essence was done away, and this variety of the drama, of course, could not but be insipid, as it could no longer be seasoned with the salt of personal ridicule. The attractiveness consisted in the very circumstance of the surrounding reality's being idealized in a jocular manner; that is, exhibited as the maddest perversity; and how was it possible for even general misconduct in state affairs to be satirically censured, when it was forbidden to offend a single individual? Therefore, I cannot agree with Horace in his opinion, that the restraint was occasioned by the abuse. The Old Comedy flourished as long as Athenian freedom did; it was the same circumstances and persons that suppressed both. So far was Aristophanes from having occasioned Socrates' death by his calumniation of him; (as many for want of historical knowledge affirmed; "The Clouds" was composed many a long year before;) that on the contrary it was the same despotic constitution of the republic that alike put Aristophanes' jocose reproofs to silence, and punished the earnest ones of the incorruptible Socrates with death. We do not find that Aristophanes' persecuting attacks did Euripides any harm; the people of Athens saw and admired both that poet's tragedies, and the parody of them upon the same stage; they would have all the most diverse mental endowments to thrive undisturbed beside each other in the enjoyment of equal rights. Never did a sovereign, and yet such was the Athenian people, more good humouredly listen to the strongest truths, nay, allow himself to be laughed at to his face. Even if the abuses of government were none the better for it, it was at least something considerable that an unsparing exposure of them was tolerated. Aristophanes, it should be added, every where shows himself a zealous patriot; he attacks the powerful demagogues, the very same individuals whom the earnest Thucydides depicts as so pernicious: he counsels measures of peace in that intestine war which was irretrievably destroying the welfare of Greece; he recommends the simplicity and strictness of ancient manners. So much concerning the political bearing of the Old Comedy.

But Aristophanes, I hear it said, was an unmannerly buffoon. Very well: along with the rest of his qualities, he was that too; and we are by no means disposed to justify it in him, that with his great advantages he should let himself down to this: whether it were that he was led to do so by coarse propensities of his own, or that he thought it necessary to win the mob, that he might have it in his power to tell the people such bold truths to their faces. At least he makes it his boast, that he did not court the laughter of the multitude so much as his competitors did, by mere indecent buffoonery, and that in this respect he brought his art to perfection. In respect of those peculiarities which make him so offensive to us, it behoves us, if we would not deal unfairly with him, to place ourselves in his times and judge him from that point of view. The ancients had upon certain subjects quite another and a much freer doctrine of morals than we have. This arose from their religion, which was a real elementary worship, and had hallowed many public ceremonies which grossly violate decency.

Moreover as in consequence of the great seclusion of their women [3] the men were almost always together, a certain coarseness entered into the language of conversation, as under such circumstances is always wont to be the case. In modern Europe, since the age of Chivalry, women have given the tone to social life, and to the homage paid to them we owe it, that a nobler decorum has become prevalent in language, the fine arts, and poetry. Lastly, the old comedian, who took the world as he found it, had in fact before his eyes a very great corruption of morals.

The most honourable testimony in favour of Aristophanes is that of the sage Plato, who, in an epigram, says, "the Graces chose his soul for their abode," who read him continually, and sent "The Clouds" to the elder Dionysius, (although in that very play not only the web of the Sophists was pulled to pieces, but Philosophy itself was attacked and his master Socrates,) signifying to him, that from this play he might acquaint himself with the Athenian Republic. By this he could scarcely mean that the play was a specimen of the unbridled democratic freedom which prevailed at Athens, but he meant it as a testimonial of the poet's profound knowledge of the world, his thorough insight into the entire mechanism and working of the civil constitution. Plato has also very strikingly characterized him in his Symposium, where he makes him hold a discourse upon love, which Aristophanes, who to be sure was very far from all lofty enthusiasm, expounds quite as an affair of the senses, but with an invention alike bold and ingenious.

The motto of a pleasant and shrewd adventurer in Goethe,

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[3] Hereupon arises the question so much contested among antiquarians, whether the Greek women were allowed to be present at dramatic representations in general, and at such comedies in particular. With respect to Tragedy, the question I think may be answered in the affirmative with certainty, for if women never visited the theatre on such occasions, the story told about the chorus of the Eumenides could not even have been invented with any degree of probability. To this may be added a passage of Plato, (de Legg. II. 658. D.) where he speaks of the partiality cultivated women have for tragedy. Lastly, among the technicalities of the theatre, Julius Pollux gives us the Greek word for a *spectatress*. As to the Old Comedy, on the contrary, I should be disposed to deny it. Its indecency indeed is of itself no decisive proof; for at the public festivals the women had to tolerate many an indecent exhibition. But among so many addresses to the spectators as are to be found in Aristophanes, and even among those in which he distinguishes them according to their respective ages, &c., no mention occurs of *spectatresses*, and the poet would scarcely have let slip such a handle for jokes. The only passage, to my knowledge, from which it might be concluded that women were present is *Pax*, v. 963—967, but it is still doubtful, and I refer it to the consideration of the critics.

"mad, but clever!" might be applied to the plays of Aristophanes. Here one best comprehends why Dramatic Art in general was dedicated to Bacchus: it is the intoxication of poetry, the Bacchanalia of fun. For mirth will maintain its rights as well as the other faculties; therefore different nations have set apart certain holidays for merry folly, their Saturnalia, their Carnival, &c., that once satisfied to their hearts' content, they might keep sober and quiet all the rest of the year, and leave the coast clear for gravity. The Old Comedy is a general masquerade of all the world, beneath which there passes much that the common rules of propriety do not allow, but at the same time much that is diverting, clever, and even instructive comes to light, which would not have been possible but for the momentary breaking up of these barricadoes.

Be it so, that Aristophanes was vulgar and corrupt in his personal propensities, that his jests are often offensive to good manners and good taste, yet in the plan and working-out of his fictions as a whole, it is not possible to refuse him the praise of the carefulness and masterly skill of the finished artist. His language is infinitely graceful, the purest Atticism reigns in it, and he carries it with inimitable execution through all tones, from the most familiar dialogue to the lofty flight of the Dithyrambic Ode. It is not to be doubted that he would have also succeeded in the more serious poetry, when one sees how at times he lavishes it away with a capricious wantonness, only to annihilate its impression the very next moment. This exquisite elegance becomes the more attractive from the contrast, since on the one hand he takes in the rudest expressions of the people, the dialects, and even the broken Greek of barbarians; while on the other hand the same arbitrary caprice, which he brought to his views of universal nature and the human world, he also applies to language, and by composition, by allusion to personal names or imitation of a sound, coins the strangest words imaginable. His versification is not less artful than that of the tragedians, he uses the same forms, but otherwise modified: it being his object, not to be impressive and dignified, but light and versatile; with all this seeming irregularity he observes the laws of quantity no less strictly than they do. As I cannot help recognizing in Aristophanes' exercise of his single but varied and versatile art the richest development of almost every poetical talent, so the extraordinary capacities of his hearers, which may be inferred from the nature of his works, are at every fresh perusal a matter of astonishment to me. Accurate acquaintance with the history and constitution of their country, with public events and proceedings, with the personal circumstances of almost all remarkable men of the day, might be expected from the citizens of a democratic republic. But besides all this, Aristophanes required from his audience much poetical culture; especially they had to retain in their memories the tragic masterpieces almost word for word, in order to understand his parodies of them. And then the light and covert irony, the unexpected sallies, the strangest allusions, often just barely hinted by a mere twist of a syllable,—what a quick and ready wit it required to snatch all this in passing! We may boldly assume, that in spite of all the commentaries which have come down to us, in spite of all the learning which has been accumulated on these plays, one half of the wit of Aristophanes is still a dead letter to us. Nothing but the incredible clearheadedness of an Athenian audience makes it conceivable, how these comedies, which, with all their buffoonery, do nevertheless at bottom bear upon the most important relations of human life, could form a popular diversion. One feels disposed to envy the poet who might reckon upon such a public as this, but to be sure this was a perilous advantage. An audience that understood so easily, could not easily be pleased. Aristophanes complains of the too fastidious taste of the Athenians, with whom his most admired predecessors went out of favour, the moment even a slight falling-off of their powers was visible. On the other hand he says that the rest of the Greeks, as connoisseurs of Dramatic Art, were not worth thinking of. All the geniuses in this line strove to shine at Athens, and here too their competition was compressed within the narrow period of a few festivals, where the people always wanted to see something new, and plenty of it too was got up for them. The prizes (on which every thing depended, as there was no other means of gaining publicity) were adjudged after a single performance. It may be imagined therefore to what a pitch of perfection this was carried under the directing care of the poet. Now take into account further, the thorough finish and completeness of all the ancillary arts, the extreme clearness of delivery (both in the dialogue and the singing part) of the most elaborate poetry, and upon so large and splendid a stage, and all this gives one an idea of a theatrical treat, the like of which the world has perhaps never witnessed since then.

Although among the extant works of Aristophanes we have some of his earliest, yet they all bear the marks of equal maturity. But he had long been preparing himself in silence for the exercise of his art, which he represents to be the most difficult of all; nay, out of modesty (or as he expresses it, like a young girl who having given birth to a child in secret entrusts it to the care of another) he at first had his labours brought out under another person's name. His first appearance without this disguise was in "*The Knights*," and here at his very outset he evidences the daringness of a comedian, with a vengeance, by risking a desperate assault upon the public opinion. His object in this play was nothing less than the ruin of Cleon, who, after Pericles, stood at the head of all state affairs, a promoter of the war, a worthless ordinary person, but the idol of the infatuated people. The only persons Cleon had against him were those more wealthy men of property who formed the class of Knights: these Aristophanes weaves into his party in the strongest manner by making them his Chorus. He had the prudence no where to name Cleon, but merely to describe him so that he could not be mistaken. Yet for fear of Cleon's faction, no mask-maker dared to make a copy of his face; the poet therefore resolved to play the part himself, merely painting his face. It may be conceived what tumults the performance excited among the collected populace; yet the bold and skilful efforts of the poet were crowned with success: his piece gained the prize. He was proud of this feat of theatrical heroism, and more than once mentions with complacency the herculean courage displayed in this first attack upon the mighty monster. Scarcely any of his comedies is more political and historical, it also carries with it an almost irresistible force of rhetoric in excitement of indignation; it is a very stage philippic. Yet it seems to me by no means the best in respect of pleasantry and startling invention. It may be, the thought of the too actual danger in which he stood, gave the poet a more earnest tone than was suitable to a comedian, or that the persecution he had already undergone from Cleon provoked him to vent his wrath in a manner but too Archilochian. It is only after the storm of sarcastic abuse has somewhat spent itself, that droller scenes follow, and droll they are in a high degree, where the two demagogues, the dealer in leather (that is to say, Cleon,) and the dealer in sausages, by adulation, by oracle-quoting, and by dainty tid-bits vie with each other in currying favour with the old dotard Demus, that is, the personified People: and the play ends with an almost touchingly joyous triumph, where the scene changes from the Pnyx, the place of the popular assemblies, to the majestic Propylæa, and Demus, wondrously restored to second youth, comes forward in the garb of the Old Athenians, and along with his youthful vigour has recovered the old feelings of the days of Marathon.

Barring this assault upon Cleon, the other plays of Aristophanes are not so exclusively aimed at individuals, only Euripides excepted, whom he is continually singling out. Taken altogether they have a general, and mostly a very important object, which the poet, with all his roundabout ways, his digressions, and odd medleys, never loses sight of. "Peace," the "Acharnians," and "Lysistrata," under various turns advocate a termination of the war; the *Ecclesiazusæ*, or Women in Parliament, the *Thesmophoriazusæ*, or Women keeping the Feast of the Thesmophoria, and *Lysistrata*, along with other references by the bye, make fun of the relations and manners of the female sex. *The Clouds* ridicules the metaphysics of the Sophists; *the Wasps*, the mania of the Athenians for lawsuits and trials; *the Frogs* treats of the decline of Tragic Art; *Plutus* is an allegory on the unfair distribution of wealth. *The Birds*, seemingly the most purposeless of all, is for that very reason one of the most delightful plays.

"Peace" opens in an extremely bold and sprightly manner: the peace-loving Trygæus' ride to heaven on the back of a dung-beetle, in the manner of Bellerophon: War, a wild giant, who with his comrade Riot is the sole inhabitant of Olympus, in the stead of all the other gods, and there pounds the cities in a huge mortar, in which operation he uses the most famous generals as his pestles; the Goddess of Peace buried in a deep well, whence she is hauled up with ropes by the united exertions of all the nations of Greece: all these inventions, which are alike ingenious and fantastic, are calculated to produce the most pleasant effect. But afterwards the fiction does not sustain itself upon an equal elevation: nothing more remains but to do honour to the restored Goddess of Peace by sacrifices and feastings, during which the pressing visits of such persons as found their advantage in the war form indeed a pleasant entertainment, but not a satisfactory conclusion after a beginning that promised so much. We have here one example among many, that the Old Comedians not only changed the scenes in the intervals while the stage was empty, but even when an actor was still in sight. The scene here changes from a spot in Attica to Olympus, Trygæus the while hanging aloft in air upon his beetle, and anxiously calling out to the machine-manager to take care not to break his neck for him. His subsequent descent into the orchestra denotes his return to earth. The liberties taken by the tragedians, according as their subject might require it, in respect of the "unities of place and time," about which the moderns make such silly ado, it was possible to overlook: but surely the boldness with which the old comedian subjects these mere externalities to his humorous caprice is so striking as to force itself upon the most purblind observer: and yet in none of the treatises upon the constitution of the Greek stage has it been properly attended to.

The Acharnians, a play of an earlier date[4], seems to me much more excellent than "Peace," on account of the continual onward progress and the ever-heightening wit, which at last ends in downright bacchanalian uproar. Dicæopolis, the honest citizen, enraged at the lying pretexts with which the people are bamboozled, and all propositions of pacification thwarted, sends an embassy to Lacedæmon, and concludes a separate peace for himself and his family. Now he returns into the country, and in spite of all assaults, makes an enclosure before his house, within which there is peace and open market for the neighbouring people, while the rest of the country suffers from the discomforts of the war. The blessings of peace are exhibited in a manner the most palpable for hungry maws; the burly Bœotian brings his fat eels and poultry for sale, and nothing is thought of but feasting and revelling. Lamachus, the famous general over the way, is summoned by a sudden inroad of the enemy to the defence of the frontier; Dicæopolis, on the contrary, is invited by his neighbours to partake of a feast to which each brings his own scot. Preparations military, and preparations culinary, now proceed with equal vigour and dispatch on both sides; there they fetch the lance, here the spit; there the armour, here the wine-can; there they clap the crest on the helmet, here they pluck thrushes. By and by, Lamachus returns with cracked head and crippled foot, supported by two comrades; on the other side, Dicæopolis, drunk, and led by two good-natured damsels. The lamentations of the one are continually mimicked and mocked by the jolly speeches of the other; and with this contrast, carried up to the very climax, the play ends.

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[4] In the Didascaliæ, it is dated a year before the Knights. It is, therefore, the first of the extant plays of Aristophanes, and the only remaining one of those which he brought out under a borrowed name.

Lysistrata bears so evil a character, that one must tread lightly and quickly in one's mention of it, as when one passes over hot embers. The women, according to the poet's invention, have taken it into their heads to compel their husbands, by a severe resolution, to make peace. Under the guidance of their clever chieftain, they organize a conspiracy for this end through all Greece; and at the same time get possession, in Athens, of the fortified Acropolis. The terrible plight the husbands are reduced to by this separation, occasions the most ridiculous scenes: ambassadors come from both the belligerent parties, and the peace is concluded with the greatest dispatch, under the direction of the sensible Lysistrata. In spite of all the mad indecencies the play contains, its purpose, divested of these, is on the whole very innocent: the longing for the pleasures of domestic life, which were so often interrupted by the absence of the men, shall, it is suggested, put an end to this unhappy war, which is ruining all Greece. In particular, the honest bluntness of the Lacedæmonians is inimitably hit off.

The Ecclesiazusæ; another gynæcocracy, but much more corrupt than the former. The women, disguised as men, steal into the public assembly, and, by means of this surreptitious majority, ordain a new constitution, in which there is to be a community of goods and wives. This is a satire upon the ideal republics of the philosophers with laws like these; Protagoras had projected such before Plato's time. This play, in my opinion, labours under the same faults as "Peace:" the introduction, the private gathering together of the women, their previous rehearsal of the masculine part they were to act, the description of the assembly,—all this is treated in a masterly style; but towards the middle the action sticks fast. Nothing remains but to show the perplexities arising from the different communities, especially from the community of women, and the appointment of the same rights in love for the old and ugly, as for the young and beautiful. These perplexities are diverting enough, but they turn too much upon one continually-repeated joke. In fact, the old allegorical Comedy is generally exposed to the danger of sinking in its progress. When one sets out with turning the world topsy-turvy, the strangest individual incidents will result, of course; but they are apt to appear petty, compared with the decisive strokes of fun in the commencement.

The Thesmophoriazusæ has a proper intrigue, a knot which is not untied till quite at the end; and in this it possesses a great advantage. Euripides, on account of the well-known misogyny of his tragedies, is impeached and sentenced to condign punishment at the festival of the Thesmophoria, at which only women might be present. After a vain attempt to excite the effeminate poet Agathon to this hazardous enterprize, Euripides disguises his brother-in-law Mnesilochus, a man already advanced in years, in the garb of a woman, that in this shape he may plead his cause. The manner in which he does it renders him suspected; he is detected to be a man; he takes refuge at an altar, and, to secure himself still more from their persecution, he snatches a child from the arms of a woman, and threatens to kill it if they do not let him alone. As he is about to throttle it, it turns out to be only a wine-skin dressed up in child's clothes. Now comes Euripides, under various forms, to rescue his friend: one while he is Menelaus, who finds his Helen in Egypt; then he is Echo, helping the chained Andromeda to complain; then again Perseus, about to release her from her bonds. At last he frees Mnesilochus, who is fastened to a kind of pillory, by disguising himself as a procuress, and enticing away the beadle who has him in custody, a simple barbarian, by the charms of a flute-playing girl. These parodied scenes, composed almost in the very words of the tragedies, are incomparable. Every where in this poet, the instant Euripides comes into play, you may lay your account with having the cleverest and most cutting ridicule: it is as if the mind of Aristophanes possessed quite a specific talent for comically decomposing the poetry of this tragedian.

"The Clouds" is a very well-known play; but yet, for the most part, has not been properly understood and appreciated. It is intended to show, that in the propensity to philosophical subtleties martial exercises were neglected; that speculation only serves to shake the foundations of religion and morality; that by sophistical sleight, in particular, all justice was turned into quibbles, and the weaker cause often enabled to come off victorious. The Clouds themselves, as the Chorus of the play (for such beings the poet turns into persons, and, no doubt, dressed them out strangely enough), are an allegory upon those metaphysical notions, which do not rest on the ground of experience, but hover to and fro, without definite form and substance, in the region of possibilities. Indeed, it is one of the principal forms of Aristophanic wit, to take a metaphor literally, and so place it before the eyes of the spectators. We say of a person who has a propensity to idle, unintelligible dreams, that he walks in air; and so here we have Socrates at his first appearance actually descending from the air in his basket. Whether this be suitable to him in particular, is another question: but we have reason to believe, that the philosophy of Socrates was very idealistic, and not so much confined to popular and practical utility as Xenophon would have us believe. But why did Aristophanes embody the metaphysics of the Sophists in the person of Socrates, himself in fact a decided antagonist of the Sophists? Perhaps there was personal dislike at bottom; one must not attempt to justify him on this score, but the choice of the name does not deduct from the excellence of the fiction. Aristophanes pronounces this to be the most elaborate of all his works, though in this expression, indeed, he must not be taken exactly at his word. He unhesitatingly gives himself upon every occasion the most unbounded encomiums; this, too, seems to be an element in the freedom of Comedy. For the rest, "the Clouds" was unfavourably received at its performance; it twice competed for the prize without success.

"The Frogs," as I said before, is directed against the decline of Tragic Art. Euripides was dead, so were Sophocles and Agathon: none but second-rate tragedians remained. Bacchus misses Euripides, and determines to fetch him back from the infernal world. In this he imitates Hercules, but, though equipped with that hero's lion-hide and club, he is very unlike him in character, and as a dastardly voluptuary, affords much to laugh at. Here one may see the audacity of the comedian in the right point of view; he must have a fling at even the guardian god of his own art, to whose honour the play was exhibited. It was thought the gods understood fun as well, if not better, than men. Bacchus rows himself over the Acherusian lake, where the frogs pleasantly greet him with their unmelodious "quack, quack." The proper Chorus, however, consists of the Shades of the Initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries, and wonderfully beautiful odes are put in their mouth. Æschylus has heretofore occupied the tragic throne in the lower world, but now Euripides wants to thrust him off it. Pluto proposes that Bacchus should decide this great quarrel; the two poets, the sublimely wrathful Æschylus, the subtle, vain Euripides, stand opposite each other, and submit specimens of their art; they sing, they declaim against each other, and all their peculiarities are characterized in masterly style. At last a balance is brought, on which each lays a verse; but let Euripides rack himself ever so much to produce ponderous lines, a verse of Æschylus instantly jerks up the scale of his antagonist. At last the latter gets tired of the contest, and tells Euripides he may mount into the balance himself with all his works, his wife, children, Cephisophon, and all, and he will lay against them only two verses. Bacchus, in the meantime, has become a convert to Æschylus, and though he had sworn to Euripides that he would take him back with him from the lower world, he sends him about his business with an allusion to his own verse from the Hippolytus, "My tongue hath sworn, but Æschylus is the man for me." Æschylus accordingly returns to the living world, and resigns the tragic throne to Sophocles during his absence.

The remark which I made upon occasion of the "Peace," concerning changes of scene, may be repeated with respect to "the Frogs." The scenes at first lies in Thebes, of which place Bacchus and Hercules were natives. Afterwards the stage, though Bacchus has not left it, changes at once into the hither shore of the Acherusian lake, represented by the sunken space of the orchestra, and not until Bacchus lands at the other end of the logeum does the scenery change to the Infernal Regions, with the palace of Pluto in the background. Let not this be taken for mere conjecture; the ancient Scholiast testifies as much expressly.

"The Wasps" is in my judgment the weakest of Aristophanes' plays. The subject is too confined, the mania it exhibits appears as a strange weakness without satisfactory general significance, and in the treatment it is spun out too long. In this instance, the poet himself speaks modestly of his means of entertainment, and will not promise immeasurable laughter.

On the contrary, "The Birds" sparkles with the most daring and rich invention in the province of the fantastically marvellous: it is a joyous, winged, gay-plumed creation. I cannot agree with the ancient critic, who conceives the main purport of the work to consist in the most universal, most undisguised satire on the corruption of the Athenian state, nay, of all human society. Rather say, it is a very harmless hocus-pocus, with a hit at every thing, gods as well as man, but without any where pressing towards any particular object. All that was remarkable in the stories about birds in natural history, in mythology, in the lore of augury, in Æsop's Fables, or even in proverbial expressions, the poet has ingeniously drawn into his sphere; he goes back as far as the Cosmogony, and shows how first black-winged Night laid a wind-egg, whence lovely Eros with golden pinions (beyond all doubt a bird) soared aloft, and then gave birth to all things. Two runagates from the human species find their way into the domain of the birds, who are determined to avenge themselves upon them for the many hostilities they have suffered from man; the captives save themselves by proving to demonstration, that the Birds are pre-eminent above all creatures, and advise them to collect their scattered powers into one enormous State; thus the marvellous city, Cloudcuckootown (Νεφελοκοκκυγία) is built above the earth; all sorts of unbidden guests, priests, poets, soothsayers, geometers, lawgivers, sycophants, want to feather their nests in the new state, but are bid go their ways; new gods are ordained, of course after the image of birds, as mankind conceived theirs as human beings; the frontier of Olympus is walled up against the old gods, so that no savour of sacrifice can reach them, whereby they are brought into great straits, and send an embassy, consisting of the voracious Hercules, Neptune, (who in the usual phrase, swears "By Neptune!") and a Thracian god who is no adept at Greek, but talks an odd gibberish: these, however, are compelled to put up with whatever terms the Birds please to offer, and to the Birds is left the sovereignty of the world. However like a farcical fairy-tale all this may seem, there is nevertheless a philosophical significance in thus taking, for once in a while, a sort of bird's-eye view of the sum of all things, seeing that most of our conceptions are true only for a human station of view after all.

The ancient critics pronounced *Cratinus* strong in keen straightforward satire, but deficient in pleasantry and humour: also that he wanted skill to develop a striking plot to the best advantage, and to fill up his plays with the proper detail. *Eupolis,* they tell us, was diverting in his mirth, and ingenious in covert insinuation and double-meaning, so that he had no need of Parabases to say all that he wished; but he wanted satiric power. Aristophanes, they add, in a happy medium, unites the excellencies of both; satire and merriment being blended together in his poetry most completely, and in the most attractive proportions. From these statements I hold myself justified in assuming that of the plays of Aristophanes, "The Knights" is most in the style of Cratinus; "The Birds," in that of Eupolis; and that he had their respective manners immediately in view, when he composed these plays. For though he boasts of his independence and originality, and of his never borrowing any thing from others, yet there could not fail to be a reciprocal influence at work among such distinguished contemporaries. If this statement be well grounded, we have to deplore the loss of Cratinus' works, perhaps rather on account of their bearing upon the history of Athenian manners, and the insight they would have afforded us into the Athenian constitution; and Eupolis', rather in respect of the comic form.

Plutus is a new edition of an earlier work of Aristophanes, but in its extant form one of his latest. In respect of its essence, it belongs to the Old Comedy, but in sparingness of personal satire, and in its pervading lenity of tone, it seems to verge towards the Middle Comedy. The Old Comedy, indeed, received its death-blow from a formal enactment, but even before that event it was perhaps every day becoming more hazardous to exercise the democratic privilege of the old comedian in its full extent. We are even told, (but probably only on conjecture, for others have denied the story,) that Alcibiades had Eupolis drowned on account of a play which that poet had directed against him. Against such perils no zeal in the cause of Art will stand its ground: it is but fair that one whose calling it is to amuse his fellow-citizens should at least be secure of his life.

SEVENTH LECTURE.

Whether there existed a Middle Comedy, as a distinct species? Origin of New Comedy, or Comedy in the Modern sense of the word. It is a mixed species. Its prosaic side. Is versification essential to Comedy? Subordinate species. The Play of Character, and the Play of Intrigue. The Comic of observation, the Comic of self-consciousness, and the Comic of caprice. Morality of Comedy. Plautus and Terence, in defect of the originals which they imitated, taken into consideration, and characterized. Motive of the Attic Comedy derived from manners and society. Portrait-statues of two comedians.

Between the Old and New Comedy, the ancient critics assume the existence of a Middle Comedy. Its distinctive features are differently assigned. By one, its peculiarity is said to be merely that it abstains from personal satire and introduction of real persons; by another, that it has no Chorus. The introduction of real persons was never an indispensable requisite. In several plays of Aristophanes, we find personages nowise historical, but purely fictitious, with expressive names, in the manner of the New Comedy; and personal satire is applied only at whiles. The right to this was indeed essential to the more ancient species, as I have already shown, and by the loss of the privilege the poets were incapacitated from giving a comic representation of public life and state-affairs. But so soon as they confined themselves to private life, the significance of the Chorus was at an end. Yet there was also an accidental circumstance that led to the abolition of the Chorus. It was a great expense to furnish and to instruct the band of choristers: now as Comedy, together with its political character, had lost also its festal dignity, and was degraded into a mere amusement, the poet no longer found any rich patrons who would have undertaken to furnish the Chorus.

Platonius assigns a third criterion of the Middle Comedy. The comedians, he says, by reason of the danger there was in meddling with political subjects, had directed their satire against all serious poetry, whether epic or tragic, to expose its absurdities and contradictions. Of this kind, he tells us, was "Æolosicon," one of Aristophanes' latest works. The description comes to the notion of Parody from which we set out in our account of the Old Comedy. Platonius names as an example of this kind, Cratinus' *Ulysses*, a parody on the Odyssee. But in the order of time, no play of Cratinus, whose death Aristophanes mentions in his "Peace," could belong to the Middle Comedy. And was that play of Eupolis, in which he described what we call Lubberland or Utopia, any thing but a parody on the poetical legends of the golden age? And in Aristophanes, not to mention the parodies on so many tragic scenes, are not the Heaven-journey of Trygæus, and the Hell-journey of Bacchus, ludicrous imitations of the achievements of Bellerophon and Hercules as celebrated in Epos and Tragedy? It would be vain, therefore, to seek a real boundary-line in the restriction to parody. In a poetical point of view, the only essential criteria of the older species are sportive caprice and allegorical significance in the representation. Where these appear, we would assign a work to the Old Comedy, in whatever age, and under whatever circumstances it might be composed.

As it was a mere negation that gave rise to the New Comedy; namely, the abolition of the political freedom of the Old; it is easy to conceive, that there might be an interval of hesitation and search after a substitute, before a new form of the art was developed and established. Therefore, one might assume many species of the Middle Comedy, many intermediate gradations between the New and Old, as has been done by some of the learned. Historically considered, indeed, this is but reasonable; but in a critical point of view, a transition from one species to another does not itself constitute a species.

We therefore proceed forthwith to the New Comedy, or that kind of poetry, which, among us, bears the name of Comedy. I think we shall form a more correct conception of it, if we view it in its historical connexion, and explain it as a mixed and secondary species according to its different elements, than we should by taking it for an original and pure species, as those do, who either do not concern themselves at all with the Old Comedy, or regard it only as a rude commencement. What makes Aristophanes so infinitely remarkable, is, that in him we have a kind of poetry, of which no other example is to be found in the world.

New Comedy, indeed, in a certain point of view, may be described as Old Comedy tamed down: but in speaking of works of genius, tameness does not usually pass for praise. The loss incurred in the interdict laid upon the old unrestricted freedom of mirth, the New Comedians sought to compensate by throwing in a touch of earnestness borrowed from Tragedy, both in the form of representation and the connexion of the whole, and likewise in the impressions they aimed at producing. We have seen how tragic poetry, in its last epoch, lowered itself from its ideal elevation, and came nearer to common reality, both in the characters and in the tone of the dialogue, but especially as it aimed at conveying useful instruction on the proper conduct of civil and domestic life in all their several emergencies. This utilitarian turn Aristophanes has ironically commended in Euripides[a]. Euripides was the precursor of the New Comedy; the poets of this species admired him especially, and acknowledged him for their master. Nay, so great is this affinity in tone and spirit between Euripides and the poets of the New Comedy, that apophthegms of Euripides have been ascribed to Menander, and *vice versa.* On the other hand, we find among the fragments of Menander maxims of consolation, which remarkably rise into the tragic tone.

New Comedy, therefore, is a mixture of sport and earnest. The poet no longer makes a joke of poetry and the world, he does not abandon himself to an enthusiasm of fun, but he seeks the sportive character in his subjects, he depicts what is laughable in human characters and situations. But his work is no longer intended to come forward as a pure creation of his fancy, but to be verisimilar, that is, to seem real. The above assigned *Comic Ideal* of human nature must therefore be examined anew under this restrictive law of composition, and we must define the different varieties and gradations of the Comic accordingly.

The highest tragic earnestness, as I have shown, is in all cases ultimately based upon the Infinite; and the subject of Tragedy is properly the contest between the finite exterior being and the infinite interior capability. The mitigated earnestness, on the contrary, of New Comedy, does not pass beyond the sphere of experience. Here in place of Destiny comes Chance, for the latter is just the empirical conception of the former, considered as that which is not under our control. And accordingly we find among the fragments of the Comedians many expressions about Chance, as we do in the tragedians about Destiny. To unconditional Necessity, nothing but moral freedom could be opposed; as for Chance, the individual must use his wits, and turn it to his own advantage as he may. Therefore the whole moral of Comedy is, just like that of the Fable, the doctrine of prudence. In this sense, an ancient critic has expressed the whole sum of the matter with incomparable brevity: "Tragedy is a running away from life, or making an end of it; Comedy, its regulation."

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[a] Ran. 971—991.

In Old Comedy the representation is a fantastic jugglery, a merry vision of a dream, which, at last, in respect of all but the general meaning, resolves itself into nothing. On the contrary, in New Comedy, the representation subjects itself to earnestness in its form. It rejects all that is contradictory, and by which itself would be abolished. It endeavours after strict coherence, and has in common with Tragedy a formal complication and unravelling of the plot. Like Tragedy, it connects the incidents as cause and effect, except that it takes the law of this connexion as it exists in experience, without referring it, as Tragedy does, to an idea. As Tragedy aims at contenting the feelings at last, so New Comedy seeks to terminate in at least an apparent resting-point for the understanding. This is, we may remark in passing, not the easiest task in the world for the comic poet: the contradictions, the confused medley of which has amused us during the continuance of the play, must be adroitly shoved aside at its conclusion: if he really balances them, if he makes his fools rational, and reforms or punishes his villains, the mirthful impression is done away.

Such then, pretty nearly, are the comic and tragic elements of New Comedy, or Comedy in general, in the modern sense of the term. But besides these, there is a third element, which, in itself, is neither comic nor tragic, no, nor even poetical. I mean, portrait-like truth. The ideal and the caricature in art, as in dramatic poetry, lay claim to no other truth, than that which lies in their significance; they are not intended to seem real, as individual beings. Tragedy moves in an ideal world, Old Comedy in a fantastic one. As New Comedy sets bounds to the creative activity of the fancy, it must offer compensation for this to the understanding, and this compensation consists in the verisimilarity (the understanding being judge) of the objects represented. By this, I do not mean a calculation as to the rare or frequent occurrence of the incidents portrayed (for unless it be allowed to represent those rarer incidents as occurring within the limits of every-day life, comic amusement would perhaps be quite impossible), but I mean individual truth. New Comedy must be a true picture of existing manners, its tone must be local and national: and even admitting that we see comedies acted, which belong to other times and nations, yet we shall discover this in them and value it. By portrait-like truth, it is not meant that the comic characters must be altogether individual. The poet may select the most striking features of different individuals of a species, and combine these into a certain completeness, if he do but invest them with sufficient peculiarity to have individual life, and not to come forward as examples of a partial conception. But in so far as Comedy depicts social and domestic life in general, it is a portrait: on this its prosaic side, it must modify itself according to time and place, while the comic motives, in respect of their poetical basis, are always the same.

The ancients themselves acknowledged the New Comedy to be a strict copy of reality. The Grammarian Aristophanes, penetrated by the sense of this, exclaimed with a somewhat studied but ingenious turn of expression, "O Life, and Menander, which of you copied the other?" Horace tells us, that some doubted whether Comedy be a poem or not, because neither in the subject nor in the diction is there the same emphasis and elevation as in other kinds of poetry, and the language is distinguished only by its metre from that of common conversation. But, objected others, even Comedy does sometimes raise its tone, for instance, when an angry father reproaches a son for his extravagances. This answer Horace rejects as insufficient. "Would Pomponius," he says with a sarcastic application, "come off with milder reproaches, if his father were living?" In order to solve this doubt, we must attend to those particulars, in which Comedy goes beyond common reality. In the first place, it is a simulated whole, composed of accordant parts by artificial proportion. Moreover, the subject exhibited is treated according to the stipulations of theatrical representation in general; all that is foreign and distracts the attention is eliminated, all that is essential to the matter in hand is compressed into swifter progress; the whole, namely, both the situations and the characters of the persons, is invested with a clearness, which the vague undecided outlines of reality seldom possess. This is the poetical element in the form of Comedy; the prosaic principle lies in the matter, in the required assimilation to something individual, something exterior.

Here we may as well settle at once the much mooted question, whether versification be essential to Comedy and a comedy written in prose always somewhat defective. Many have answered this question in the affirmative, on the authority of the ancients, who, it must be owned, had no prose compositions destined for the theatre; though this may partly have been owing to accidental circumstances; for instance, the great extent of their stage, where verse and its more emphatic delivery contributed to audibility. These critics forgot that Sophron's Mimes, so much admired by Plato, were written in prose. And what were these Mimes, if we may form a conception of them from the account that some of the Idylls of Theocritus were hexametrical imitations of them? They were pictures of real life, in dialogues, wherein all appearance of poetry was avoided as much as possible. Now this appearance there is even in the coherence and connexion of a drama, and therefore such coherence and connexion is not admitted into these Mimes: they are detached scenes, where all follows each other as much by chance and without preparation, as the events which the hours of a work-day or holiday bring with them. What is lacking in dramatic tension of interest is supplied by the mimic character, that is, by the most exact copy of those individual singularities in manners and language, which are produced by national character in its most local determinations, and further, by sex, age, condition, occupation, and so forth.

Even in versified Comedy, the language must, in its choice and combination of words, be not at all or little more than imperceptibly removed from that of common conversation; those licences of poetical expression, which are indispensable in other kinds of poetry, are forbidden here. The versification, without injuring the natural, unconstrained, and even careless tone of common conversation, must seem to present itself spontaneously. The emphasis it gives is not to contribute to the elevation of the persons as in Tragedy, where it, along with the unusual sublimity of language, makes a sort of spiritual cothurnus for them. In Comedy the verse must only serve to produce greater ease, aptness, and gracefulness in the dialogue. Whether, therefore, it is more advantageous to versify a comedy or not, will depend upon this consideration—whether it is more suitable to the particular subject in hand, to give the dialogue those perfections of form, or to adopt into the imitation all rhetorical, grammatical, and even physical imperfections in people's manner of expressing themselves.

As we have explained the New Comedy to be a composite species formed out of comic and tragic, poetic and prosaic elements, it is evident that this species may include a variety of subordinate species, according as one or the other element preponderates. If the poet plays in sportive humour with his own inventions, the result is a farce; if he confines himself to the ludicrous in situations and characters, avoiding as much as possible all admixture of serious matter, we have a pure comedy; in proportion as the earnest tone prevails in the scope of the entire composition, and in the sympathy and the moral judgment which are called forth, it assumes the character of the instructive or affecting comedy; and from this but a step remains to the tragedy of common life. About these last-mentioned species a great stir has often been made, as if they were quite new and important inventions; specific theories have been constructed for them, &c. Thus Diderot with his "lachrymose drama," which has since been so much decried: there was nothing new in it but just what was a failure,—the far-fetched affectation of nature, the pedantry of family life, the lavishment of pathos. Did we still possess all the comic literature of the Greeks, we should undoubtedly find there the types of all these species, except that the serene Grecian spirit never fell into a fatal contractedness, but arranged and tempered all in wise proportions. Have we not, even among the few that remain to us, Plautus' *Captives*, which may be called a pathetic drama;

Terence's *Hecyra*, a true family-picture, while *Amphitryo* borders upon the bold caprice of the Old Comedy, and *the Menæchmi* is a wild play of intrigue? Do we not find in all Terence's plays serious, passionate, nay touching passages? Only recollect the first scene of *Heautontimorumenos*. From our point of view, we hope to find a suitable place for all. We see here no separate species, but merely a graduated scale, marked by transitions more or less observable, in the tone of the representation.

Nor can we suffer the current distinction between Plays of Character, and Plays of Intrigue, to pass without limitation. A good Comedy must always be both, otherwise it will want either body or life; only, to be sure, sometimes the one may preponderate, sometimes the other. The development of the comic characters requires situations that bring them into contrast, and these result from nothing else but the cross-purposes and accidents, according to the explanation I have already given of intrigue in the dramatic sense. What is meant by intrigue in common life, every one knows, namely, the leading others, by cunning and dissimulation, to one's own under-hand purposes, without their knowledge, and against their will. In the drama, both these significations coincide, for the cunning of the one becomes a cross-accident for the other.

When the characters are only slightly indicated, no more than is just necessary to form a ground for the actions of the persons in this or that case; when, also, the incidents are so accumulated that they leave little room for display of character; when the plot is so drawn out to a point, that the motley tangle of misunderstandings and embarrassments seems as if it must be loosened every moment, and yet the knot is every moment drawn tighter: such a composition may well be called a play of intrigue. The French critics have made it the fashion to rank this kind of play much below what they call the play of character, perhaps because they make it too much of a consideration, how much of a play the play-goer may retain in his memory and carry home with him. It is true, the play of intrigue does in a manner resolve itself at last into nothing; but why should not one be allowed sometimes just to divert one's self ingeniously without any ulterior object in view? Much inventive wit is certainly requisite for a good comedy of this kind; besides the entertainment derived from the ingenuity laid out upon it, the strange legerdemain also may have a great charm for the fancy, as many Spanish comedies prove.

It is objected to the play of intrigue, that it deviates from the natural course of things; that it is improbable. Surely the former may be admitted without the latter. The unexpected, the extraordinary, the singular even to incredibility, all this indeed the poet brings before us; he often allows himself even to premise a huge improbability, such as the resemblance of two persons, or a disguise which is not seen through; but then all the incidents that subsequently arise must have the appearance of truth, there must be a satisfactory account given of the circumstances through which the affair takes so marvellous a turn. As in respect of that which takes place, the poet gives us only a light play of wit, we take him the more strictly to task as to the How.

In comedies which aim more at delineation of character, the characters must be artfully grouped so as to bring the one to light by means of the other. This is apt to degenerate into a too systematic regularity, where each character is symmetrically matched with its opposite, and the whole receives an unnatural appearance. Nor are those comedies much to be praised, in which all the rest of the characters are introduced only to put one principal character to the full extent of his probation, as it were; above all, when what they are pleased to call the character consists of nothing but an opinion or a habit (for instance, L'Optimiste, Le Distrait), as if an individual could subsist thus in a single quality, and must not of necessity be defined on all sides.

What the mirthful ideal of human nature is in Old Comedy I have already explained. But as the representation given by New Comedy is required to resemble a definite truth, it cannot, as a general rule, allow itself the studied and capricious exaggeration of the Old Comedy. It must therefore seek other sources of comic amusement, which lie nearer the serious province, and these it finds in a more thorough-going delineation of character.

In the characters of Comedy, there is either the *Comic of observation*, or the *knowingly and confessedly Comic.* The former has place in the finer Comedy, the latter in low Comedy or Farce. I will explain myself more clearly.

There are ludicrous qualities, follies, obliquities, which the possessor himself is not aware of, or if he at all remarks, is anxious to conceal, because they might injure him in the opinion of others. Such people therefore do not give themselves out for what they are; their secret only gives them the slip, either unawares or against their will, and if the poet depicts such persons, he must lend us his own excellent talent for observation, that we may understand them properly. His art consists in making the character appear through slight hints and stolen glimpses, and yet so placing the spectator that he cannot fail to make the remark, however fine it may be.

There are other moral faults which the person that labours under them notes in himself with a kind of complacency, nay, perhaps even makes it a principle not to rid himself of them, but to nourish and cherish them. Of this kind is all, that, without selfish pretensions or hostile inclinations, arises merely from the preponderance of the animal being. With this there certainly may be connected a high degree of understanding, and if the person turns this against himself, makes merry at his own cost, avows his faults, but seeks to reconcile other people to them by putting them into mirthful garb, the result is the knowingly and avowedly Comic. This species always presupposes a sort of inward duality in the person, and the superior half, which exposes and makes fun of the other half, has in its tone and occupation a near affinity to the comic poet himself. He sometimes altogether transfers his office to this representative, by making him industriously overcharge the exposure he makes of himself, and come to an understanding with the audience, that he and they are to turn the other characters into ridicule. In this case there results the *Comic of caprice*, which generally produces a great effect, however much the critics may depreciate it. Here the spirit of Old Comedy is at work; the privileged merrymaker of almost all stages under different names, who fills his part at one time in a fine and ingenious, at another in a coarse and clownish manner, has inherited somewhat of the licentious enthusiasm and therewithal of the privileges of the free Old Comedian; a certain proof that the Old Comedy, which we have described as the original species, was not a Grecian peculiarity, but that its very being is grounded in the nature of the thing itself.

To keep the audience in a mirthful tone of mind, the comic representation must hold them as much as possible aloof from all moral appreciation of the persons, and all true interest in what befalls them, for together with both these earnestness infallibly comes in. But how does the poet contrive to steer clear of all excitement of the moral sense, when the actions exhibited are certainly such as cannot but call forth sometimes indignation and contempt, sometimes veneration and affection? He transfers all into the province of the understanding. He confronts men with each other, merely as physical beings, just to measure their powers on each other, of course their intellectual powers as well, nay, these especially. In this respect, Comedy is most nearly allied to Fable: as Fable introduces us to rational beasts, so Comedy to human beings serving the animal instincts with their understanding. By the animal instincts, I mean sensuality: or still more generally expressed, self-love. As heroism and devotion exalt into the tragic character, so the comic persons are finished egotists. Let this be taken with the proper limitation: not that Comedy does not also delineate the social propensities, but that it represents them as arising from the natural endeavour after our own happiness. When once the poet gets beyond this, he falls out of the comic tone. He does not direct our feelings to observe how noble or ignoble, innocent or corrupt, good or vile, the acting persons are; but whether they are dull or clever, dexterous or clumsy, foolish or sensible.

Examples will set the matter in the clearest light. We have an involuntary and immediate veneration for truth, and this belongs to the innermost motions of the moral sense. A malignant lie, which threatens to do mischief, fills us with the highest indignation, and belongs to Tragedy. But why are cunning and deceit allowed to be so excellent a comic motive, provided they do not serve a malicious purpose, but merely self-love, just to extricate one's self from a difficulty, or to gain a certain object, and no dangerous consequences are to be apprehended? The deceiver has already quite left the sphere of morality, truth and untruth are in themselves indifferent to him, he regards them only as means; and so we entertain ourselves only with observing what amount of shrewdness is necessary to serve the turn of so unexalted a character. Still more pleasant sport it is, when the deceiver is caught in his own snare; for instance, when he wants to tell a lie, and has a bad memory. On the other hand the mistake of the person who is deceived, so far as it is not seriously dangerous, is a comic situation, and the more so, in proportion as this malady of the understanding proceeds from previous abuse of the mental powers, from vanity, folly, obliquity. But above all, when deceit and mistake are completely at cross-purposes, and are increased twofold, the one by the other, there will be excellent comic situations. For instance, two persons meet with the intention of deceiving each other, but each is warned beforehand, gives no credence, but only pretends to do so, and thus both go off deceived only in respect of their expectation of success in deceiving. Or, again, suppose one wishes to deceive the other, but tells him the truth unawares; the other is suspicious, and falls into the mistake merely from being too anxious to guard himself against deceit. In this way a kind of Grammar of Comedy might be composed, in which it might be shown how individual motives are entangled with each other, with continually increasing effect, up to the most artificial complications. So it might also be shown that the complexity of misunderstandings, which forms a comedy of intrigue, is by no means so contemptible a part of comic art as is maintained by the champions of the fine-spun play of character.

Aristotle describes the ludicrous, as an imperfection, an impropriety, which does not really tend to do any harm. Excellently said! for the moment we feel a real compassion for the persons, all is over with the mirthful tone of feeling. Comic misfortune ought to be merely an embarrassment which is to be set right at last; at most a deserved humiliation. To this end belong certain corporeal means of education for grown persons, which our finer or at least more lenient age would fain banish from the stage, whereas Molière, Holberg, and other masters have made diligent use of them. Comic effect arises from its being made intuitively clear, that the disposition depends on things external: they are motives turned into a tangible shape. These chastisements in Comedy form the counterpart to a violent death suffered with heroic endurance in Tragedy. Here the sentiments remain unshaken amid all the terrors of annihilation; the man perishes, but he holds fast his principles: there the corporeal being remains unhurt, but then sudden revolutions of sentiment are expressed.

Now if comic representation must needs set the spectator in quite another station of view than that of moral appreciation, with what right can moral instruction be demanded of Comedy, on what grounds can it be expected? On closer examination of the moral maxims of the Greek comedians, we shall find they are altogether precepts of experience. But it is not from experience that we learn our duties, of which conscience gives us an immediate conviction; experience can only enlighten us as to what is profitable or detrimental. The fact is, comic instruction does not concern itself with the merits of the object, but confines itself solely to the fitness of the means. It is, as I have already said, the doctrine of prudence, the morality of consequences, and not that of motives. This, the only genuine morality, is essentially allied to the spirit of Tragedy.

Many philosophers, accordingly, have reproached Comedy with its immorality; as Rousseau, with much eloquence, in his Epistle on the Drama. No doubt the aspect of the real world is any thing but edifying; but then it is nowise held up in Comedy as a pattern for imitation, but as a warning. In the doctrine of Morals, there is an Applied or Practical Part: it might be called the Art of Living. A person that has no knowledge of the world, is in danger of making quite a wrong application of moral principles to particular cases, and so, with the best intentions, may occasion mischief to himself and others. Comedy is intended to sharpen our wits in discriminating persons and situations; it makes us more clever, and this is its true and only possible morality.

So much for the determination of the general conceptions which must be our clue in our examination of the merits of the individual poets. On the little that has come down to us of the New Comedy of the Greeks in fragments and through the medium of Roman imitations, I can comprise what I have to say in few words.

The Greek Literature was immeasurably rich in this department: the catalogue of the lost comedians, most of whom were very prolific, and of the names of their works, so far as we are acquainted with them, forms no inconsiderable dictionary.

Although New Comedy unfolded itself, and flourished only in the short interval between the end of the Peloponnesian War and Alexander's first successors, the stock of plays certainly amounted to thousands; but time has made such havoc with this superabundance of talented works, that nothing remains to us except, in the original, a number of detached fragments, in many cases so disfigured as to be unintelligible, and in the Latin, twenty translations or free imitations of Greek originals by Plautus, and six by Terence. Here is a fit task for redintegrative criticism, to put together all the fragmentary indications in order to enable us to form a true conception and estimate of what we have lost. What would be chiefly requisite in such an undertaking, I will venture to mention. The fragments and moral sayings of the comedians are distinguished by extreme purity, polish, and accuracy of versification and language: they also breathe a certain Attic gracefulness of the conversational tone. The Latin comedians, on the contrary, are careless in their metre; they give themselves very little trouble about the quantity of syllables, and the very idea of it is almost lost amidst their many metrical licences. Their language also, at least that of Plautus, wants cultivation and polish. Some learned Romans, it is true, and Varro for one, have passed the highest encomiums on this poet's style, but then we should distinguish between philological and poetical complacency. Plautus and Terence belonged to the oldest Roman authors of an age in which there was scarcely any book-language, so that every thing was caught up fresh from the life. This naïve simplicity the later Romans of the age of learned cultivation found very charming; but it was rather to be regarded as a gift of nature, than to be ascribed to the art of the poets. Horace sets himself against this exaggerated partiality, and maintains that Plautus and other Latin comedians threw off their pieces carelessly, just to get paid for them as quickly as possible. In the detail, therefore, the Greek poets were certainly always losers in the Latin imitations. These we must, in imagination, retranslate to that finished elegance which we perceive in the Greek fragments. But Plautus and Terence also altered much in the arrangement of the entire play, and scarcely for the better. The former, sometimes, omitted whole scenes and characters; the latter added to them, and ran two plays into one. Was this done from an artist-like design, and from a real wish to surpass their predecessors in the perfect structure of their plays? I doubt it. In Plautus all is broad and diffuse; and the lengthening of the original thus occasioned, he was obliged to redeem in some other way, namely, by curtailment and omissions: Terence's imitations, on the other hand, from his lack of invention, turned out somewhat meagre, and he set himself to fill up the gaps by interpolation of other matter. Even his contemporaries reproached him with having falsified or corrupted many Greek plays, to make out of them only a few Latin ones.

Plautus and Terence are commonly treated as original and perfectly independent authors. In Romans this may be excused: they had little of the proper poetic spirit, and their poetical literature, for the most part, originated first in translation, then in free imitation: and, lastly, in appropriation and transformation of the Greek. Hence among them even a particular style of copying passed for originality. Thus, in Terence's apologetical prologues we find the notion of plagiarism so lowered, that, as imputed to him, it referred only to his having used, for a second time, matter that had already been transmuted from the Greek. Therefore, as we can nowise regard these authors as creative geniuses, as they are only so far important to us, as by their means we become acquainted with the form of the Greek New Comedy, I shall here insert what I have to remark concerning them, and then return to the Greeks themselves.

Among the Greeks, poets and artists lived from of old in the most honourable relations: among the Romans, on the contrary, polite literature was at first exercised by men of the lowest class, by needy foreigners, even by slaves. Plautus and Terence, whose contiguous æras fell towards the end of the second Punic war, and in the interval between the second and third, were, the one a poor day-labourer at best, the other a Carthaginian slave and afterwards freed-man. But the fortunes they experienced were very different. Plautus was fain to take turn-about between comedy-writing and doing the work of a beast of burden in the mill for hire; Terence was domesticated with the elder Scipio and his bosom-friend Lælius, and they admitted him into such confidential intercourse, that he fell under the honourable imputation of having been assisted by these noble Romans in the composition of his plays, nay, of giving his name to works composed by them. The style of both poets betrays the habits of their respective manners of life: the bold, coarse style of Plautus, and his famous jokes, savour of his familiarity with the vulgar; in that of Terence, we find some touch of the tone of good society. The second distinguishing mark is their choice of plays to be worked upon. Plautus mostly inclines to the farcical, to overwrought and often offensive drollery; Terence prefers the fine delineation of character, the temperate style of composition, and verges towards the seriously-instructive and even the pathetic kind. Some of Plautus's plays are modelled after those of *Diphilus* and *Philemon,* but there is reason to think he threw a great deal of coarseness into his originals; whence he took the rest we do not know, unless perhaps Horace's account, "It is said of Plautus, that he emulates the model of the Sicilian Epicharmus," may justify the conjecture that he borrowed his Amphitryo, a play of quite a different kind from the rest, and which he himself calls a tragicomedy, from the old Doric comedian, who, as we know, particularly treated mythological subjects. Among Terence's plays, whose imitations, saving the alterations in the composition, are probably much more faithful in detail, we find two composed after *Apollodorus,* the rest after *Menander.* Julius Cæsar has honoured Terence with some verses, in which he calls him a half-Menander, praises the lenity of his style, and only laments that he fails in a certain comic vigour of his original.

This naturally brings us back to the Greek masters. *Diphilus, Philemon, Apollodorus,* and *Menander,* are certainly among the most illustrious of their number. The palm of elegance, polish, and gracefulness, is unanimously adjudged to Menander, though Philemon frequently won the prize from him, perhaps because he more studied the taste of the vulgar, or used other adscititious means of popularity. This, at least, Menander gave him to understand, when on one occasion he met his rival, and asked him, "Pr'ythee, Philemon, dost thou not blush when thou gainest the prize over my head?"

Menander flourished after the times of Alexander the Great. He was contemporary with Demetrius Phalereus. Theophrastus was his master in philosophy, but he himself inclined in his opinions to the doctrine of Epicurus, and boasted in an epigram that "as Themistocles rescued Greece from slavery, so Epicurus from unreason." He loved the choicest sensual enjoyments: Phædrus, in a fragmentary narrative, describes him as an effeminate voluptuary even in his exterior; his amours with the courtesan Glycera are notorious. The Epicurean Philosophy, which placed the supreme happiness of life in the benevolent affections, but neither stimulated to heroic activity, nor excited any desire of it in the mind, was likely to flourish after the loss of the glorious freedom of the old times: it was well adapted to console the cheerful mild-tempered Greeks for that loss. It suits the comic poet, perhaps, better than any other system, aiming, as he does, at producing only temperate impressions, without wishing to excite any strong indignation at human frailties; and so the Stoic Philosophy best suits the tragedian. On the other hand, it is easy to conceive how the Greeks, at the æra of lost freedom, came to conceive a passion for the new style of Comedy, which diverted their sympathy from universal human nature and political events, to domestic and personal interests.

The Greek Theatre was originally constructed for higher kinds of the drama: we do not wish to overlook the inconveniences and the disadvantages which its structure occasioned to the New Comedy. The frame was too wide, the picture could not fill it. The Greek stage lay under the open sky; it showed little or nothing of the interior of the houses[1]. The New Comedy, therefore, must needs have the street for its scene. This occasions many incongruities; the people come frequently out of the houses to tell their secrets to each other in the street. It is true, the poets also saved themselves the trouble of shifting the scenes, by supposing the families concerned in the action to be next-door neighbours. It may also be alleged in justification, that the Greeks, like all southern nations, lived a good deal out of their small private dwellings in the open air. The chief disadvantage which this arrangement drew after it was the restriction of the female characters of the drama. With that due observance of costume which belongs to the essence of New Comedy, the exclusion of unmarried females and of young women in general was inevitable, because of the retired life the female sex led in Greece. None appear but aged matrons, maid-servants, or girls of light reputation. Hence, besides the loss of agreeable scenes of life, arises the inconvenience, that very often the whole play turns upon a marriage with, or a passion for a person, whom we never once get sight of.

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[1] To answer this purpose in some measure, the eccyclema was put in requisition, which in the opening scene of the Clouds no doubt exhibited Strepsiades and his son in their beds. Julius Pollux also mentions, among the decorations of the New Comedy, a kind of tent-awning, shed, or pent-house, with a door-way, which originally represented stabling, beside the middle building, but afterwards was turned to a variety of uses. Here, therefore, or in the eccyclema, were held those feasts, which, in the new comedies, sometimes took place before the eyes of the spectators. Considering their southern way of life, it was perhaps not so unnatural to feast with open doors as it would be in our climate. But no modern commentator, so far as I know, has hitherto set in a proper light the theatrical arrangement of the plays of Plautus and Terence.

Athens, usually the fictitious as well as the actual scene, was the centre of a small territory, and not to be compared with our own capital cities in extent and population. Republican equality did not admit of any marked distinction of rank; there was no proper nobility; all were neither more nor less than citizens, poorer or richer, who for the most part had no other occupation than the superintendence of their own property. Hence, in the Attic New Comedy, the contrasts which arise from diversity of tone and cultivation are pretty much out of the question; it confines itself to the middle ranks, and has an air of town or—if I may so express myself—small-town life, which does not please those who would have Comedy pourtray the manners of a court, and the exquisite refinement or corruption of monarchical capitals.

In the intercourse between the sexes, the Greeks knew nothing of the gallantry of modern Europe, nor of that love which is combined with enthusiastic veneration. All resolved itself into sensual passion or matrimony. The latter, as Grecian manners and government were constituted, was a duty, a matter of convenience, rather than of affection. The legislature was strict only in one single point, namely, in securing purity of extraction, which alone was legitimate. Citizenship was a great privilege, the more valuable in proportion as the citizens were fewer, whose number they did not willingly suffer to increase beyond a certain point. Therefore marriages with foreign women were invalid. The intercourse with a wife, whom in many cases the husband had never seen before he married her, who spent her whole life in the interior of the house, could afford but little entertainment; this they sought among women who had lost all claim to strict respect, and were foreigners without property, freed slaves, and the like. With such women as these the easy morality of the Greeks considered almost every thing allowable, especially to young unmarried men. This kind of life, consequently, is much more freely displayed by the ancient comedians of the new school, than we think decorous. Their comedies, like all comedies in the world, diligently end with matrimony (with this catastrophe, it seems, seriousness finds its way into life,) but the matrimony is often only a means of propitiating a father after the irregularities of an illicit amour. But sometimes the amour is turned into a lawful connexion, by means of a discovery that the supposed foreigner or slave is by birth a free-woman of Athens. It is worthy of remark, that the first germ of the New Comedy sprang up in the fruitful genius of the same poet as brought the old species to perfection. The "Cocalus" of Aristophanes, his last play, described a seduction, a recognition, and all the circumstances afterwards imitated by Menander.

This sketch brings pretty nearly into view the whole round of characters; they may be almost reckoned up, so few are they, and of such perpetual recurrence. The strict and parsimonious, or the mild and easy-tempered father, the latter not unfrequently under the dominion of his wife, and making common cause against her with his son; the fond and sensible, or morose and domineering housewife, proud of her dowry; the young man, light-minded, rakish, but otherwise frank and amiable, capable also of a true attachment in a love which was sensual in its origin; the girl of light character, either quite corrupted at the very first, vain, sly, and selfish, or still good-natured and susceptible of better feelings; the simple and rude, and the cunning slave, the latter helping his young master to cheat the old man, and using all sorts of knavery to get money for the gratification of his own appetites; (on this character I shall presently speak more at large, as he plays a principal part;) the flatterer, or officious parasite, who is ready to say and do all imaginable things in the prospect of a good meal; the sycophant, a person whose occupation it was to annoy honest people with all sorts of legal pettifoggery, and who also let himself out on hire for such employment; the gasconading soldier returned from foreign service, mostly a coward and a simpleton, but passing himself off for somebody, by boasting of his exploits abroad; lastly, a female attendant, or pretended mother, who preaches very indifferent morality to the girl she has in her charge; and the slave-dealer, who speculates on the extravagant passions of young people, and knows no other regard than that of his own profit. The two last characters, with their revolting coarseness, are, to our feelings, a real blot upon the Grecian Comedy; but, from the nature of its materials, they could not be dispensed with.

The knavish servant is generally also the merry-maker, who avows his own sensuality and unprincipled maxims with complacent exaggeration, and makes fun of the other persons, perhaps also with side-speeches to the audience. Hence the comic servants of the moderns; but I doubt whether, as our manners are, there is propriety and truth in borrowing such characters from the ancients. The Greek servant was a slave, given up for life to the sovereign will of his master, and often liable to the severest treatment. A person thus deprived by the constitution of society of all his natural rights may be pardoned if he makes cunning his trade; he is in a state of warfare with his oppressor, and artifice is his natural weapon. A modern servant, who is free to choose his situation and his master, is evidently a worthless rascal, if he helps the son to play off a deceit upon the father. As for the self-avowed sensuality which gives a comic cast of expression to servants and other persons of mean rank, this motive may still be used without hesitation: he to whom life grants few privileges has also less required of him, and may frankly avow vulgar sentiments, without giving offence to our moral feelings. The better off servants are in real life, the less suitable are they to Comedy; it redounds, perhaps, to the glory of this soft age of ours, that we have lived to see, in our "family picture," plays and novels, right honest virtuous servants, fitter to excite tears than laughter.

The repetition of the same character was confessed by the Greek comedians in their frequent use of the same names, which are also names partly expressive of character. In this they acted with more propriety than many modern comedians, who, for the sake of characteristic novelty, rack themselves with efforts for complete individuality, by which, in general, nothing is gained, but that the attention is diverted from the main business, and dissipated amongst minor features. And yet, after all, they imperceptibly relapse into the old well-known characters. It is better to lay on the character at once with a certain breadth of colouring, and leave the actor free scope for play, that, according to the exigencies of the composition in each instance, he may define the character more exactly, and make it more individual. Perhaps also, in this point of view, the use of masks may be excused, which, like all the rest in the management of the Greek theatre, (for instance, the playing under the open sky,) though originally calculated for other species of the drama, were still retained, and might well seem a greater inconvenience in New Comedy, than in Old and in Tragedy. But certainly it was incongruous with the spirit of this kind of drama, that while the representation approached real nature with a more illusive resemblance, the masks deviated more widely from nature than in Old Comedy, being drawn with overcharged features, and in the style of caricature. Surprising as this is, it is too expressly and formally testified to admit of a doubt[1]. As it was forbidden to bring portraits of real persons on the stage, they were in perpetual alarm, after the loss of their freedom, lest accident should betray them into some resemblance, especially to one of their Macedonian governors, and they adopted this way of evading the danger. But this exaggeration was scarcely without its meaning. Thus we find it stated, that an uneven profile, with one eyebrow raised and the other depressed, denoted a quarrelsome and pragmatical temper[2], as we may in fact observe that persons who often look at any thing with an anxious exactness get accustomed to distortions of this kind.

The masks in New Comedy, among other advantages, have this, that as the character is unavoidably repeated, they give the spectator to understand at first sight what he has to expect. I have witnessed at Weimar a representation of Terence's Adelphi, quite in the antique costume, which, under Goethe's superintendence, furnished us with a truly Attic evening. The actors used partial masks[4] cleverly fitted to the real face; I did not find, notwithstanding the smallness of the theatre, that they occasioned any loss of vivacity of expression. The mask was especially favourable to the jokes of the roguish slave: his grotesque physiognomy, as well as his garb, stamped him at once as a man of a peculiar species, as in fact the slaves were, partly even by extraction, and therefore his speech and gestures might be allowed to differ from those of the others.

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[1] See Platonius, in Aristoph. ed. Küster, p. xi.

[2] See Julius Pollux in his section on comic masks. Compare Platonius as above, and Quinctil. xi. 3. The reader will recollect the strange discovery which Voltaire flattered himself he had made, as mentioned above in the Third Lecture. (Note 6, p. 172.)

From the limited sphere of civil and domestic life, from the simple theme of the assigned characters, the inventive genius of the Greek comedians managed to educe an inexhaustible multiplicity of variations; and yet, which is very praiseworthy, they remained true to the national costume, even in those particulars on which they grounded the artificial complication and unravelment of their plots.

The circumstances of which they availed themselves for this purpose were pretty much as follows. Greece consisted of a number of small separate states, lying round about upon coasts and islands. Navigation was frequent, piracy not uncommon, and one of its objects was a supply of men and women for the slave-trade. Thus freeborn children might be kidnapped, or, in virtue of the rights allowed to parents, they might be exposed, and being unexpectedly preserved, might be subsequently restored to their families. All this forms a groundwork, in the Greek comedies, for the recognition between parents and children, brothers and sisters, and the like; a means of unravelling the plot, which the comedians borrowed from their tragic brethren. The complicated intrigue is played in the scene of the present; but the strange and seemingly-improbable incident, on which its plan is grounded, is thrown back into the distance of place and time, and thus the comedy, though formed out of every-day life, has often a kind of marvellous romantic back-ground.

The Greek comedians were acquainted with Comedy in its whole extent, and wrought with equal diligence upon all its varieties, the play of intrigue, of fine and of exaggerated character, even including the serious drama. They had moreover a very charming species of play, of which no specimen is extant. We learn from the titles of the plays and other indications, that they sometimes introduced historical personages; for instance, the poetess Sappho, with Anacreon's and Alcæus' passion for her, and her's for Phaon; the story of her leap from the Leucadian rock perhaps took its origin solely from the invention of the comedians. In respect of their subject-matter, such comedies would approach the style of the romantic drama, and the mixture of beautiful passion with the reposeful grace of the usual comic manner must doubtless have been very attractive.

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[4] These also were not unusual among the ancients, as is proved by a variety of comic masks, which instead of the mouth have a much wider, and circular opening, through which the mouth and adjacent features were displayed, the living distortions of which contrasted with the fixed distortions of the rest of the countenance, no doubt, had a very ludicrous effect.

In what has been said, I think I have given a true picture of the Greek New Comedy. I have not disguised its defects and limitations. The ancient Tragedy, and the Old Comedy, are inimitable, unattainable, unique in the whole domain of art. But in New Comedy we certainly might attempt to compete with the Greeks, nay, even to surpass them. When once we descend from the Olympus of pure poetry to the common earth, when once we blend with the ideal inventions of fancy the prose of a definite reality, then it is no longer the genius alone and the poetic faculty that determines the success of the productions, but the more or less favourable aspect of circumstances. The images of the gods in the Grecian sculpture exist as perfect types for all times. The sublime employment of refining the human form into the perfection of that ideal model was undertaken, once for all, by the imagination; the most it can now do, even with a like degree of genius, is only to repeat the attempt. But, in respect of personal, individual resemblance, the modern artist vies with the ancient; this is no purely artistic creation; observation must here come to the task; and the artist, with all his science, solidity, and gracefulness of execution, is tied down to the reality which he actually has before his eyes.

In the excellent portrait-statues of two of the most famous comedians, Menander and Posidippus (in the Vatican), the physiognomy of the Greek New Comedy seems to me to be almost visibly and personally expressed. They are seated in arm-chairs, clad with extreme simplicity, and holding a roll in their hand; with that ease and careless self-possession which always mark the conscious superiority of the Master; in that maturity of years which befits the calm impartial observation that Comedy requires, but sound and active and free from all symptoms of decay; one sees in them that hale and pithy vigour of frame, which bears witness to an equally vigorous constitution of mind and temper; no lofty enthusiasm, but no silliness or extravagance; on the contrary, a sage earnestness dwells on the brow, wrinkled not with care, but with the exercise of thought, while in the searching eye, and the mouth ready for a smile, there is a light irony which cannot be mistaken.

EIGHTH LECTURE.

Roman Theatre. Native varieties. Atellane Fables, Mimes, Comœdia Togata. Greek Tragedy transplanted to Rome. Tragedians of the more Ancient epoch, and of the Augustan age. Idea of a kind of Tragedy peculiarly Roman, but which never was realized. Why the Romans were never particularly happy in Tragic Art. Seneca.

In treating of the Dramatic Literature of the Romans, whose Theatre is every way immediately attached to that of the Greeks, we have only to remark, properly speaking, one vast chasm, partly arising from the want of proper creative genius in this department, partly from the loss of almost all their written performances, with the exception only of a few fragments. The only extant works of the good classical age are those of Plautus and Terence, of whom I have already spoken as imitators of the Greeks.

Poetry in general had no native growth in Rome. It was not till those later times, in which the original Rome, by aping foreign manners, was drawing nigh to her dissolution, that poetry came to be artificially cultivated among the other devices of luxurious living. In the Latin we have an instance of a language modelled into poetical expression, altogether after foreign forms of grammar and metre. This approximation to the Greek was at first effected with much violence: the Græcism extended even to rude interpolation of foreign words and phrases. Gradually the poetic style was softened: of its former harshness we may perceive in Catullus the last vestiges, which however are not without a certain rugged charm. The language rejected those syntactical constructions, and especially the compounds, which were too much at variance with its own interior structure, and could not be lastingly agreeable to Roman ears; and at last the poets of the Augustan age succeeded in effecting the happiest possible incorporation between the native and the borrowed elements. But scarcely was the desired equipoise obtained, when a pause ensued: all free development was impeded, and the poetical style, notwithstanding its apparent elevation into a bolder and more learned character, had irretrievably imprisoned itself within the round of the phraseology it had once adopted. Thus the Latin language in poetry enjoyed but a brief interval of bloom between its unfashioned state and its second death. With the spirit also of their poetry it fared no better.

It was not by the desire to enliven their holiday leisure by exhibitions, which bear away one's thoughts from the real world, that the Romans were led to the invention of theatrical amusements; but in the disconsolateness of a dreary pestilence, against which all remedies seemed unavailing, they first caught at the theatrical spectacle, as an experiment to propitiate the wrath of the gods, the exercises and games of the circus having till then been their only public exhibitions. But the *Histriones,* whom for this purpose they called in from Etruria, were only dancers, and probably not mimetic dancers, but merely such as endeavoured to amuse by the adroitness of their movements. Their oldest spoken dramas, those which were called the *Atellane Fables,* the Romans borrowed from the Oscans, the original inhabitants of Italy. With these *Saturæ* (so called because they were at first improvisatory farces, without dramatic coherence, for *Satura* means a *medley*) they rested satisfied till Livius Andronicus, more than five hundred years after the building of Rome, began to imitate the Greeks, and introduced the regular kinds of drama, namely, Tragedy, and New Comedy, for the Old was from its nature incapable of being transplanted.

Thus the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for the first notion of the stage-spectacle, to the Oscans for the effusions of sportive humour, to the Greeks for a higher cultivation. In the comic department, however, they showed more original genius than in Tragedy. The Oscans, whose language, early extinct, survived only in those farces, were at least so near akin to the Romans, that their dialect was immediately intelligible to Latin hearers: for how else could the Atellane Fables have afforded them any entertainment? So completely indeed did they naturalize this diversion among themselves, that noble Roman youths exhibited the like performances at the festivals: on which account the actors, whose regular profession it was to exhibit the Atellane Fables, stood exempt, as privileged persons, from the infamy attached to other theatrical artists, namely, exclusion from the tribes, and likewise enjoyed an immunity from military service.

Moreover the Romans had their own *Mimes*. The unlatin name of these little pieces certainly seems to imply an affinity to the Greek Mimes; but in their form they differed considerably from these, and doubtless they had local truth of manners, and the matter was not borrowed from Greek exhibitions.

It is singular, that Italy has possessed from of old the gift of a very amusing though somewhat rude buffoonery, in extemporaneous speeches and songs with accompanying antics, though it has seldom been coupled with genuine dramatic taste. The latter assertion might easily be justified by examination of what has been achieved in that country in the higher departments of the Drama down to the most recent times. The former might be substantiated by many characteristic traits, which at present would carry us too far from our subject into the Saturnalia and the like. Even of the wit which prevails in the speeches of Pasquino and Marforio, and the well-aimed popular satire on events of the day, many vestiges may be found even in the times of the emperors, who were not generally favourable to such liberties. More to our present purpose is the conjecture, that in the Mimes and Atellane Fables we perhaps have the earliest germ of the *Commedia dell' Arte*, of the improvisatory farce with standing masks. A striking affinity between these and the Atellanes appears in the employment of dialects to produce a droll effect. But how would Harlequin and Pulcinello be astonished to learn that they descend in a straight line from the buffoons of the old Romans, nay, of the Oscans! How merrily would they thank the antiquarian who should trace their glorious genealogical tree to such a root! From the Greek vase-paintings, we know that there belonged to the grotesque masks of the Old Comedy a garb very much resembling theirs: long trousers, and a doublet with sleeves, articles of dress otherwise strange both to Greeks and Romans. To this day, *Zanni* is one of Harlequin's names; and *Sannio* in the Latin farces was the name of a buffoon, who, as ancient writers testify, had his head shorn, and wore a dress pieced together out of gay party-coloured patches. The very image and likeness of Pulcinello is said to have been found among the fresco-paintings of Pompeii. If he derives his extraction originally from Atella, he has his local habitation still pretty much in the old land of his nativity. As for the objection, how these characters could be traditionally kept up notwithstanding a suspension of all theatrical amusements for many centuries together, a sufficient answer may be found in the yearly licences of the carnival, and the fools-holidays of the middle ages.

The Greek mimes were dialogues written in prose, and not intended for the stage. Those of the Romans were composed in verse, were acted, and often delivered extempore. The most famous authors in this department were *Laberius* and *Syrus*, contemporaries of Julius Cæsar. He, as dictator, by his courtly request compelled Laberius, a Roman knight, to exhibit himself publicly in his mimes, though the scenic profession was branded with the loss of civil rights. Laberius made his complaint of this in a prologue which is still extant, and in which the painful feeling of annihilated self-respect is nobly and touchingly expressed. It is not easy to conceive how in such a state of mind he could be capable of cracking ludicrous jokes, and how the audience, with so bitter an example of a despotic act of degradation before their eyes, could find pleasure in them. Cæsar kept his word: he gave Laberius a considerable sum of money, and invested him anew with the equestrian rank, which however could not reinstate him in the opinion of his fellow-citizens. But he took his revenge for the prologue and other allusions[1], by awarding the prize against Laberius to Syrus, once the slave, and afterwards the freedman and pupil of Laberius in the art of composing mimes. Of Syrus's mimes there are still extant a number of sentences, which in matter and terse conciseness of expression deserve to be ranked with Menander's. Some of them even transcend the moral horizon of serious comedy itself, and assume an almost stoic sublimity. How could the transition be effected from vulgar jokes to such sentiments as these? And how could such maxims be at all introduced, without a development of human relations as considerable as that exhibited in the perfect comedy? At all events, they are calculated to give one a very favourable idea of the mimes. Horace indeed speaks disparagingly of Laberius' mimes, considered as works of art, either on account of the arbitrary manner in which they were put together, or their carelessness of execution. Yet this ought not of itself to determine our judgment against them, for this critical poet, for reasons which it is easy to conceive, lays much greater stress upon the diligent use of the file, than upon original boldness and fertility of invention. A single entire mime, which time however has unfortunately denied us, would clear up the matter much better than the confused notices of grammarians, and the conjectures of modern scholars.

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[1] What an inward humiliation for Cæsar, could he have foreseen, that after a few generations, his successor in the despotism, Nero, out of a lust for self-dishonour, would expose himself repeatedly to infamy in the same manner as he, the first despot, had exposed a Roman of the middle order, not without exciting general indignation!

The regular Comedy of the Romans was mostly *palliata*, that is, exhibited in the Grecian costume, and representing Grecian manners. This is the case with all the comedies of Plautus and Terence. But they had also a *Comœdia togata*, so called from the Roman garb, usually worn in it. *Afranius* is mentioned as the most famous author in this way. Of these comedies we have nothing whatever remaining, and find so few notices on the subject, that we cannot even decide with certainty, whether the *togatæ* were original comedies of home growth, or only Grecian comedies recast with Roman manners. The last is more probable, as Afranius lived in the older epoch, when Roman genius had not even begun to stir its wings towards original invention; and yet on the other hand it is not easy to conceive how the Attic comedies could have been adapted, without great violence, to a locality so entirely different. The tenour of Roman life was in general earnest and grave, though in personal intercourse they had no small turn for wit and joviality. The difference of ranks among the Romans had its political boundaries very strongly marked, the wealth of private persons was often almost regal; their women lived much more in society, and played a much more important part there than the Grecian women did; by virtue of which independence they also took their full share in the profligacy which went hand-in-hand with exterior refinement. The differences being so essential, an original Roman comedy would be a remarkable phenomenon, and one that would exhibit this sovereign nation in quite a new point of view. That this was not effected in the *Comœdia Togata*, is proved by the indifference with which the ancients express themselves on the subject. Quintilian does not scruple to say, that Latin literature limps worst in Comedy. This is his expression, word for word.

To come to Tragedy; we must remark in the first place, that in Rome, the acting of the borrowed Greek Tragedy was considerably dislocated by the circumstance, that there was no place for the Chorus in the Orchestra, where the principal spectators, the Knights and Senators, had their seats: the Chorus therefore appeared on the stage. Here then was the very incongruity, which we alleged as an objection to the modern attempts to introduce the Chorus. Other deviations also, scarcely for the better, from the Greek style of acting, were favourably received. At the very first introduction of regular plays, Livius Andronicus, a Greek by birth and Rome's first tragic poet and actor, in his monodies (viz., those lyric parts which were to be sung by a single person and not by the Chorus) separated the song from the mimetic dance, only the latter being left to the actor, while the singing part was performed by a boy stationed beside the flute-player. Among the Greeks in their better times, both the tragic song and the rhythmical gesticulation which accompanied it were certainly so simple, that a single individual might do ample justice to both. But the Romans, it seems, preferred isolated excellence to harmonious union. Hence, at a later period, their avidity for the pantomimes, which attained to great perfection in the times of Augustus. To judge from the names of the most famous performers in this kind, *e.g.* Pylades and Bathyllus, it was by Greeks that this dumb eloquence was exercised in Rome, and the lyric parts, which were expressed by their gesticulative dance, were delivered in Greek. Lastly, Roscius, and probably not he alone, frequently played without a mask: of which procedure there never was an instance, so far as we know, among the Greeks. It might further the display of his art; and here again, the satisfaction which this gave the Romans proves, that they had more taste for the disproportionately conspicuous talent of a virtuoso, than for the harmonious impression of a work of art considered as a whole.

In the Tragic Literature of the Romans, two epochs may be distinguished; the older epoch of Livius Andronicus, Nævius, Ennius, also of Pacuvius and Attius, both which last flourished awhile later than Plautus and Terence; and the polished epoch of the Augustan age. The former produced none but translators and remodellers of Greek works, yet probably succeeded better and with more fidelity in the tragic than in the comic department. Sublimity of expression is apt to turn out somewhat awkwardly in an untutored language; it may be reached, however, by an effort; but to hit off the careless gracefulness of social wit requires natural humour and fine cultivation. We do not possess (any more than in the case of Plautus and Terence) even a fragment of a version from an *extant* Greek original, to help us to a judgment of the accuracy and general success of the copy; but a speech of some length from Attius' Prometheus Unbound is nowise unworthy of Æschylus; its metre[a] also is much more careful than that of the Latin comedians usually is. This earlier style was brought to great perfection by Pacuvius and Attius, whose pieces seem to have stood their ground alone on the tragic stage in Cicero's times and even later, and to have had many admirers. Horace directs his jealous criticism against these, as he does against all the other more ancient poets.

The contemporaries of Augustus made it their ambition to compete with the Greeks in a more original manner; not with equal success, however, in all departments. The rage for attempts at tragedy was particularly great; works of this kind by the Emperor himself are mentioned. There is therefore much to favour the conjecture, that Horace wrote his epistle to the Pisos, principally with a view of deterring these young men, who, perhaps without any true call to such a task, were bitten by the mania of the day, from so critical an undertaking. One of the chief tragedians of this age was the famous *Asinius Pollio*, a man of a violently impassioned character, as Pliny says, and who was partial to the same character in works of fine art. He it was who brought with him from Rhodes and set up in Rome the well-known group of the Farnese Bull. If his tragedies bore but about the same relation to those of Sophocles, as this bold, wild, but somewhat overwrought group does to the still sublimity of the Niobe, their loss is still very much to be lamented. But Pollio's political greatness might easily dazzle the eyes of his contemporaries as to the true value of his poetical works. Ovid tried his hand upon Tragedy, as he did upon so many other kinds of poetry, and composed a Medea. To judge from the drivelling common-places of passion in his Heroïdes, one would expect of him, in Tragedy, at best an overdrawn Euripides. Yet Quintilian asserts, that here he showed for once what he might have accomplished, if he had but kept himself within bounds, rather than give way to his propensity to extravagance.

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[a] But in what metres may we suppose these tragedians to have translated the Greek Choral Odes? Pindar's lyric metres, which have so much resemblance to the tragic, Horace declares to be inimitable in Latin. Probably the labyrinthine structure of the Choral Strophes was never attempted: indeed neither Roman language nor Roman ears were calculated for it. Seneca's tragedies never take a higher flight from the anapæsts, than to a Sapphic or choriambic verse, the monotonous reiteration of which is very disagreeable.

These and all the other tragic attempts of the Augustan age have perished. We cannot exactly estimate the extent of our loss, but to all appearance it is not extraordinarily great. In the first place, the Greek Tragedy laboured there under the disadvantage of all transplanted exotics: the Roman worship indeed was in some measure allied to that of the Greeks (though not nearly so identical with it as many suppose), but the heroic mythology of the Greeks was altogether indebted to the poets for its introduction into Rome, and was in no respect interwoven with the national recollections, as it was in such a multitude of ways among the Greeks. There hovers before my mind's eye the Ideal of a genuine Roman form of Tragedy, dimly indeed and in the back-ground of ages, as one would figure to one's-self a being, that never issued into reality from the womb of possibility. In significance and form, it would be altogether distinct from that of the Greeks, and religious and patriotic in the old-Roman sense of the words. Truly creative poetry can only issue from the interior life of a people, and from religion, which is the root of that life. But the Roman religion was originally, and before they endeavoured to conceal the loss of its intrinsic substance by varnishing its outside with borrowed finery, of quite a different spirit from the religion of the Greeks. The latter had all the plastic flexibility of Art, the other the unchangeable fixity of the Priesthood. The Roman Faith, and the ceremonies established on it, were more earnest, more moral, and pious,—more penetrating in their insight into Nature, more magical and mysterious than the Grecian Religion —than that part of it at least which was exoteric to the mysteries. As the Grecian Tragedy exhibits the free man struggling with destiny, so the spirit of a Roman Tragedy would be the prostration of all human motives beneath that hallowing binding force, *Religio,* and its revealed omnipresence in all things earthly. But when the craving for poetry of a cultivated character awoke in them, this spirit had long been extinct. The Patricians, originally an Etruscan school of priesthood, had become merely secular statesmen and warriors, who retained their hereditary sacerdotal character only as a political form. Their sacred books, their Vedas, were become unintelligible to them, not so much by reason of the obsolete letter, as because they no longer possessed that higher science which was the key to the sanctuary. What the heroic legends of the Latins might have become under an earlier development, and what the colouring was that properly belonged to them, we may still see from some traces in Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, though even these poets handled them only as matters of antiquarian interest.

Moreover, though the Romans now at last were for hellenising in all things, they wanted that milder spirit of humanity which may be traced in Grecian History, Poetry, and Art, from the Homeric age downwards. From the severest virtue, which, Curtius-like, buried all personal inclinations in the bosom of native land, they passed with fearful rapidity to an equally unexampled profligacy of rapacity and lust. Never were they able to belie in their character the story of their first founder, suckled, not at the mother's breast, but by a ravening she-wolf. They were the Tragedians of the World's History, and many a drama of deep woe did they exhibit with kings led in fetters and pining in the dungeon: they were the iron necessity of all other nations; the universal destroyers for the sake of piling up at last from the ruins the mausoleum of their own dignity and freedom, amid the monotonous solitude of an obedient world. To them it was not given to touch the heart by the tempered accents of mental anguish, and to run with a light and forbearing hand through the scale of the feelings. In Tragedy, too, they naturally aimed at extremes, by overleaping all intermediate gradations, both in the stoicism of heroic courage, and in the monstrous rage of abandoned lusts. Of all their ancient greatness nothing remained to them save only the defiance of pain and death, if need were that they should exchange for these a life of unbridled enjoyment. This seal, accordingly, of their own former nobility they stamped upon their tragic heroes with a self-complacent and vain-glorious profusion.

Lastly, in the age of cultivated Literature, the dramatic poets, in the midst of a people fond of spectacle, even to madness, nevertheless wanted a public for Poetry. In their triumphal processions, their gladiatorial games and beast-fights, all the magnificence in the world, all the marvels of foreign climes were led before the eye of the spectator; he was glutted with the most violent scenes of blood. On nerves thus steeled what effect could be produced by the finer gradations of tragic pathos? It was the ambition of the grandees to display to the people, in a single day, the enormous spoil of foreign or civil wars, on stages which were generally destroyed immediately after the use so made of them. What Pliny relates of the architectural decorations of that erected by Scaurus borders on the incredible. When pomp could be carried no further, they tried to stimulate by novelty of mechanic contrivance. Thus a Roman at his father's funeral solemnity had two theatres built with their backs resting on each other, each moveable on a single pivot in the middle, in such a manner, that at the end of the play they were wheeled round with all the spectators sitting in them, and formed into a circus, in which games of gladiators were exhibited. In the gratification of the eyes that of the ears was wholly swallowed up: rope-dancers and white elephants were preferred to every kind of dramatic entertainment; the embroidered purple robe of the actor, Horace tells us, was received with a general clapping, and so far from attentive and quiet was the great mass of the people, that he compares their noise to the roar of the ocean or of a forest-covered mountain in a storm.

Only one specimen of the talents of the Romans for tragedy has come down to us; but it would be unfair to form a judgment from this of the lost works of better times: I mean, the ten tragedies which pass under the name of *Seneca.* Their claim to his name seems to be very ambiguous: perhaps it is grounded only on a circumstance which ought rather to have led to a contrary conclusion, viz. that Seneca himself is one of the dramatis personæ in one of them, the *Octavia.* The learned are divided in their opinions on the subject. Some assign them partly to the philosopher, partly to his father the rhetorician: others assume the existence of a poet Seneca distinct from both. In this point all are agreed, that the plays are not all from one hand, but belong to different ages even. For the honour of Roman taste, one would fain hold them to be after-births of a very late æra of antiquity: but Quintilian quotes a verse from the Medea[3], which we actually find in the extant piece of that name, so that the plea will not hold good for this play, which seems, however, to be no great deal better than the rest. We find also in Lucan, a contemporary of Nero, the very same style of bombast, which distorts every thing great into nonsense. The state of constant outrage in which Rome was kept by a series of blood-thirsty tyrants, led to similar outrages upon nature in rhetoric and poetry. The same phenomenon has been observed in similar epochs of modern history. Under the wise and mild government of a Vespasian and a Titus, and still more of a Trajan, the Romans returned to a purer taste. But to whatever age these Tragedies of Seneca may belong, they are beyond all description bombastic and frigid, utterly devoid of nature in character and action, full of the most revolting violations of propriety, and so barren of all theatrical effect, that I verily believe they were never meant to leave the schools of the rhetoricians for the stage. With the old tragedies, those highest of the creations of Grecian poetical genius, these have nothing in common but the name, the exterior form, and the mythological matter: and yet they set themselves up beside them in the evident intention of surpassing them, in which attempt they come off like a hollow hyperbole contrasted with a most heartfelt truth. Every common-place of tragedy is worried out to the last gasp; all is phrase, among which even the simplest is forced and stilted. An utter poverty of mind is tricked out with wit and acuteness. They have fancy too, or at least a phantom of it; of the abuse of that faculty, one may look to these plays for a speaking example. Their persons are neither ideal nor real men, but misshapen giants of puppets; and the wire that sets them a-going is at one time an unnatural heroism, at another a passion alike unnatural, which no atrocity of guilt can appal.

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[3] The Author of this Medea makes his heroine strangle her children, *coram populo*, in spite of Horace's warning, who probably when he uttered it had a Roman example before his eyes, for a Greek would hardly have committed this error. The Roman tragedians must have had a particular lust for novelty and effect to seek them in such atrocities.

In a history, therefore, of Dramatic Art, I might have wholly passed by the tragedies of Seneca, but that the blind prejudice in favour of all that remains to us from antiquity has attracted many imitators to these compositions. They were earlier and more generally known than the Greek tragedies. Not merely scholars destitute of poetical taste have judged favourably of them, nay, have preferred them to the Greek tragedies, but even poets have deemed them worth studying. The influence of Seneca on Corneille's notion of tragedy is too plain to be overlooked; Racine has deigned to borrow a good deal from him in his Phædra (as may be seen in Brumoy's enumeration), and nearly the whole of the scene in which the heroine declares her passion.

And here we close our disquisitions on the productions of Classical Antiquity.

NINTH LECTURE.

(EXTRACT.)

ON THE DRAMATIC UNITIES.

Aristotle. Examination of the three Unities. What is the Unity of Action? Unity of Time. Did the Greeks observe it? Unity of Place connected with it.

The question concerning the Dramatic Regularity for which the French critics contend, may in a considerable measure be carried back to the so-called *Three Unities* of Aristotle. We will investigate what is the doctrine of the Greek philosopher on this subject; and how far the Greek tragedians knew and observed these rules.

These famous Three Unities, which have given rise to a whole Iliad of battles among the critics, are Unity of *Action*, of *Time*, and of *Place*.

The validity of the first is unanimously acknowledged; but then its meaning is the point in debate, and, I add, it is in fact no easy matter to come to an understanding on the subject.

Some consider the Unities of Place and Time quite a subordinate matter, while others lay the greatest stress upon them, and maintain that out of the pale of these Unities there is no salvation for the dramatic poet. In France, this zeal is not merely confined to the learned world, it seems to be a universal concernment of the nation. Every Frenchman, who has sucked in his Boileau with his mother's milk, holds himself a born champion of the Dramatic Unities, in the same way as the Kings of England, since Henry VIII., bear the title *defensor fidei.*

It is pleasant enough that Aristotle has been enlisted, without ceremony, to lend his name to these three Unities, considering that it is only of the Unity of Action that he speaks at any length, while he merely throws out a vague hint about the Unity of Time, and of the Unity of Place says not a syllable.

I do not here find myself in a polemic relation to Aristotle, for I by no means contest the Unity of Action, properly understood. I only vindicate a greater latitude in respect of time and place in many species of the Drama, nay, hold it essential to them. In order, however, that we may be able to view the matter in its proper light, I must premise a few words on the *Poetics* of Aristotle, those few pages which have given rise to such voluminous commentaries.

It has been clearly proved that this treatise is only a fragment; for there are many important matters it does not even touch upon. Some of the learned have even thought it not to be a fragment of the true original, but of an abridgment which some person composed for his own information. On this point all philological critics are agreed, that the text is very much corrupted, and they have attempted to restore it by conjectural emendations. Of its great obscurity the critics complain either in express terms, or substantiate it in point of fact by rejecting the expositions of their predecessors, while they are alike unable to approve their own to those who come after them.

With Aristotle's "*Rhetoric*" the case is quite otherwise. It is undoubtedly genuine, complete, and easy to understand. But in what way does he there consider the art of oratory? As a sister of the dialectic art: for as this produces conviction by its syllogisms, so does rhetoric, in a kindred manner, produce persuasion. This is just such a way of considering the matter, as if one should treat of architecture as merely the art of building strongly and conveniently. This indeed is a pre-requisite, but here is not enough to constitute a fine art: what we require of architecture is, that it should combine those indispensable purposes of an edifice with beautiful arrangement, harmonious proportions, and mutual correspondency of impression from the whole. Now when we see how Aristotle has viewed even rhetoric on that side only which is accessible to the understanding, without imagination and feeling, and as subservient to an exterior design; can it surprise us that he should have fathomed even much less of the mystery of Poetry, an art which is absolved from every other aim than its own unconditional one of creating the beautiful by free invention, and investing it in language? I have had the audacity to maintain this, and have hitherto found no ground for retracting it. Lessing was of a different opinion. But what if Lessing himself, with his acutely analytical criticism, went astray in the very same paths? This kind of criticism is completely victorious, where it exposes the contradictions, in regard of the understanding, in works composed merely with the understanding; but it could scarcely elevate itself to the idea of a work of art created by true genius.

The ancients have done but little towards forming into a distinct science the philosophical theory of the fine arts collectively; though of technical manuals on the several arts individually, that is, treating merely of the instrumental means, they had no lack. But were I to choose for myself a guide in this matter from among the ancient philosophers, it should doubtless be Plato, who apprehended the idea of the beautiful, not by dissection, which never can yield it, but by the intuition of an inspired soul, and in whose works the germs of a genuine Philosophy of Art are everywhere abundantly scattered.

Let us hear what Aristotle says about the Unity of Action.

"We affirm that Tragedy is the imitation of a perfect and entire action having a certain magnitude (for there may be a whole without magnitude). Now a whole is what has a beginning, middle, and end. A beginning is that which is not necessarily subsequent to something else, but which, from its nature, has something after it or arising from it. An end, on the contrary, is that, which from its nature is subsequent to something else, either necessarily or most commonly, but without any thing after it. A middle is that which both follows and is followed by something else. Of course, well-formed fables must not begin just where it may happen, nor end in the same chance-fashion, but must be subject to the above-mentioned forms."

Strictly speaking, it is contradictory to say that a whole, which is supposed to have parts, can be without magnitude. But Aristotle immediately explains his meaning; by magnitude, as a requisition of the beautiful, he means certain dimensions, which are neither so small that we cannot distinguish the parts, nor so large that we cannot take in the whole at one view. This, therefore, is merely an empirical, extrinsic definition of the beautiful, and rests only upon the constitution of our senses and of our powers of comprehension. His application of it, however, to the dramatic fable, is remarkable. "It must have an extension, but such as can be easily taken in by the memory. The definition of this extent, according to the circumstances of the theatrical exhibition, and the senses of the spectators, does not come within the province of Art. As regards the essence of the matter, the greater the extent, provided always it be perspicuous, the more beautiful it is." This expression will be very favourable to the compositions of Shakspeare and other romantic dramatists, who have taken into a single picture a more comprehensive sphere of life, characters, and events, than are to be found in the simple Greek tragedy, provided it shall appear that they have given it the requisite unity and perspicuity; which we do not scruple to affirm they have.

In another place, Aristotle demands of the epic poet the same unity of action as he does of the dramatist; he repeats his former definitions, and says, the poet must not be like the historian, who relates contemporary events, although they had no bearing at all upon each other. Here the requirement of connexion between the exhibited events as causes and effects, which requirement was already implied in his explanation of the parts of a whole, is stated yet more explicitly. He admits, however, that the epic poet is at liberty to expatiate upon a greater multiplicity of events tending to one main action, because the narrative form enables him to describe many things as proceeding at the same time; whereas, the dramatic poet cannot exhibit a plurality of things taking place simultaneously, but only so much as takes place upon the stage, and the part which the persons of the drama take in one action. But what if the dramatist has since found out a way, by means of a different construction of the stage and a more skilful theatrical perspective, to develope properly and without confusion a fable resembling that of the epos in compass, though more limited in extent? What further objection could be made to this, if the only reason for the veto lay in the supposed impossibility?

This is pretty nearly all that occurs in Aristotle's Poetics on the Unity of Action. A brief examination will make it plainly appear, how far from adequate to the essential demands of poetry are rules coined out of conceptions so merely anatomical.

Unity of Action is required. What is action? Most critics pass over this, as if it were self-evident. In the higher proper sense, Action is a procedure dependent on the will of man. Its Unity will consist in the tendency towards a single end; to its completeness belongs all that is intermediate between the first resolve and the execution of the deed.

This conception of Action applies to many tragedies of the ancients, (for instance, Orestes' murder of his mother, Œdipus' resolution to discover and punish the murderer of Laius;) but by no means to all, much less to the modern tragedies, at least not if the action be sought for in the principal persons. What comes to pass through them, and takes place with them, has often as little to do with a resolution of the free will, as has the striking of a ship upon a rock in a storm. But, moreover, in the sense of the ancients, we must reckon as part of the action the resolution to bear the consequences of the deed with heroic magnanimity; and the execution of this determination will form part of the completeness of the action. Antigone's pious resolution to perform in person the last duties to her unburied brother is soon effected and without difficulty; but the genuineness of the resolution, which alone stamps it a fit subject for Tragedy, is then proved and then only, when without repentance, without relapsing into weakness, she suffers death for it. And, to give an example from quite a different sphere, is not Shakspeare's Julius Cæsar, as far as concerns the action, constructed upon the same principle? Brutus is the hero of the piece; the accomplishment of his great resolve consists not in the mere assassination of Cæsar, (an act in itself equivocal, the impulses to which might be ambition and jealousy,) but in his approving himself, even to the calm sacrifice of his amiable existence, the pure champion of Roman freedom.

Still further: without opposition, no complication of the plot would be possible; and this results mostly from contrariety of purposes and views in the acting persons. If, therefore, we restrict the notion of an action to resolution and deed, then in most cases two or more actions will appear in the tragedy. Now which is the main action? Each person thinks his own the most important, for each is the central point to himself. Creon's resolution to maintain his sovereign authority by inflicting death on the burier of Polynices is equally stedfast with Antigone's resolution, equally important, and, as we see in the end, equally dangerous, inasmuch as it draws after it the ruin of the whole house of Creon. The merely negative resolution, however, might, to be sure, be regarded as the complement of the affirmative. But what if the resolutions be not diametrically opposite, but something else? In Racine's Andromache, Orestes wishes to excite Hermione to return his passion; Hermione wishes to compel Pyrrhus to marry her, or she will be revenged on him; Pyrrhus wishes to be rid of Hermione and to wed Andromache; Andromache wishes to save her son, and at the same time to remain true to the memory of her husband. Yet none has ever denied the unity of this piece; for all the actions are locked together and end in one common catastrophe. Now which of these four is the main action? In strength of passion their endeavours are pretty nearly on a par; all the parties have the whole happiness of their life at stake; the action of Andromache has the pre-eminence in moral dignity, and therefore Racine was quite right in naming the piece after her.

We see here a new condition in the notion of action, namely, the reference to the idea of moral freedom, by virtue of which alone man is considered as the prime author of his own resolutions. For, regarded within the province of experience, a resolution, as the beginning of action, is not only cause, but is also an effect of antecedent motives. It was in this reference to a higher idea, that we endeavoured, in the preceding Lectures, to find the unity and completeness of Tragedy, as the ancients understood it: namely, its absolute beginning is the assertion of free-will, the recognition of Necessity is its absolute end. But we hold ourselves justified in asserting this view of the matter to have been quite foreign from Aristotle's views: nowhere does he speak of the idea of Destiny as essential to Tragedy. In fact, we must not try to get from him a strict conception of action as resolution and deed. He says somewhere: "The compass of a tragedy is always sufficiently great, where a series of probable or necessary consequences effects a reverse from prosperous to adverse fortune, or from adverse to prosperous." It is clear, therefore, that he, like all the moderns, understands by *action* merely something that is going on. This action, according to him, must have beginning, middle, and end, and therefore must be a plurality of mutually connected incidents.

But where are the limits of this plurality? Is not the chain of causes and effects in both directions infinite, and therefore will not beginning and end, wherever we fix them, be alike arbitrary? In this province can there be any beginning or end, according to the definition which Aristotle very correctly gives of these notions? Completeness therefore would be quite impossible. But if, in order to Unity in a plurality of incidents, nothing more is required than casual dependence, then this rule is extremely indefinite, and the notion of Unity may be contracted and extended at pleasure. For every train of incidents or actions which are occasioned by each other, how much soever it be prolonged, may always be comprehended under a single point of view, and designated with a single name. If Calderon, in one of his plays, sets before us the conversion of Peru to Christianity, from its very first beginning, viz. the discovery of the country, down to its completion, and if nothing actually occurs in the play which had not some influence upon that event, has it not as much Unity in the above sense as the simplest Greek tragedy? which, however, the champions of Aristotle's rules will by no means allow.

Corneille strongly felt the difficulty of a proper definition of Unity, where there is a plurality of subordinate actions, and he attempts to escape from it in the following manner. "I assume," says he, "that Unity of Action consists in unity of intrigue in Comedy, or unity of the opposition raised against the designs of the leading characters; and in Tragedy, in the unity of danger, whether the hero be overcome by it, or extricate himself from it. At the same time I do not mean to assert, that there may not be several dangers in the tragedy, and several intrigues or oppositions in the comedy, provided only that the person fall inevitably from one into the other; for then the deliverance from the first danger does not make the action complete, for it draws another after it, and the clearing up of one intrigue does not set the acting persons at rest, for it involves them in another."

In the first place, the distinction here assumed between tragic and comic Unity is quite unessential. For the manner of putting the play together is not influenced by the circumstance that the incidents in Tragedy are more serious, as they affect person and life; the embarrassment of the persons in Comedy, when they cannot effect their designs or intrigues, may equally well be termed a danger. Corneille, like most others, refers all to the notion of connexion between cause and effect. It is true, when the principal persons, whether by matrimony or death, are set at rest, the play is at an end; but if, in order to its Unity, nothing more is requisite than the uninterrupted progress of an opposition, which serves to keep up the dramatic excitement, the play will be badly off for simplicity, to say the least; the poet will have it in his power, notwithstanding these rules of Unity, to proceed to an interminable accumulation of incident upon incident, as in the Thousand and One Nights, where the thread of the narrative never once breaks off.

De la Motte, a French author, who has written against the Unities in general, would have the term *Unity of Interest* substituted in place of Unity of Action. Provided the word *Interest* be not restricted to denote sympathy in the destinies of an individual, but be taken to mean in general the direction of the mind at the sight of an event, I should find this explanation the most satisfactory and the nearest to the truth.

But it would profit us very little to stumble about in quest of empirical definitions with the commentators on Aristotle. The conception of *Unity* and *Whole* is in no way whatever derived from experience, but arises from original primary laws of the human mind. To account for the manner in which we come to think of Unity and Whole, requires nothing short of a system of metaphysics.

The outward sense perceives in objects only an indefinite plurality of distinguishable parts; the judgment, whereby we comprise these into an entire and complete unity, is always based on the reference to a higher sphere of conception. Thus, for instance, the mechanical unity of a clock lies in its intention of a measure of time; but this intention exists only for the understanding, it is neither visible to the eye, nor palpable to the touch: the organic unity of a plant or animal lies in the conception of life: and the interior intuition of life, a thing in itself incorporeal although it manifests itself mediately in the corporeal world, we ourselves bring with us to the observation of the individual living object, otherwise we should not acquire it from that individual observation.

The separate parts of a work of Art, and—to return to the question before us—the separate parts of a tragedy, must be comprehended not merely with the eye and ear, but also with the understanding. But, taken altogether, they serve one general end, namely, a collective impression on the mind. Here then, as in the above examples, the Unity lies in a higher sphere, in the Feeling, or in the reference to ideas. This is all one; for the feeling, so far as it is not merely sensual and passive, is our sense, our organ for the Infinite, which forms itself into ideas for us.

Far, therefore, from rejecting the law of a perfect Unity in Tragedy, as one that may be dispensed with, I require a much deeper, more intrinsic, more mysterious unity than that with which, I see, most modern critics content themselves. This Unity I find in the tragic compositions of Shakspeare, as complete as in those of Æschylus and Sophocles; on the contrary, I miss it in many tragedies praised for their correctness by the anatomical school of criticism.

Logical coherence, casual connexion, I hold to be also essential to Tragedy and every serious Drama, because all the powers of the mind act and re-act upon each other, and if the understanding be forced to take a leap, Imagination and Feeling do not so willingly follow the representation; but I find that the champions of what is called regularity have reduced this rule into practice with a petty subtlety, which can only serve to cramp the poet, and to make true excellence impossible.

The series of consequences in a tragedy should not be conceived of as a thin thread, to which we must give anxious heed lest it snap, (this comparison is at any rate inapplicable, it being admitted on all hands that there must be a number of subordinate actions and interests,) but as a great stream, which in its impetuous course overcomes many obstructions, and loses itself at last in the repose of the ocean. It flows perhaps from different sources, and certainly receives into it other rivers, which hasten towards it from opposite quarters. Why should not the poet be allowed to carry onwards the several and for a while independent streams of human passions even down to their boisterous confluence, if he can but place the spectator on an eminence whence he may overlook their whole course? And if the body of water thus swelled again divides itself into several arms, and pours itself into the sea by several mouths, is it not still one and the same stream?

So much for the Unity of Action. On the Unity of Time, we find in Aristotle only the following expression:—"Moreover, the Epos differs from Tragedy in length; for the latter endeavours, as much as possible, to restrict itself to a single revolution of the sun, or to exceed it but little; the Epos is indefinite in respect of time, and in that respect differs from Tragedy. But originally this was the case alike in tragedies and epic poems."

Let it be observed, in the first place, that Aristotle is not here laying down a precept, but only making historical mention of a peculiarity in the Greek examples which he had immediately before him. But, suppose the Greek tragedians had particular reasons for restricting themselves to this extent of time, reasons which fall away under the existing constitution of our theatres? We shall presently see that this was really the case.

Corneille finds these rules very inconvenient, as well he might; he therefore prefers the most lenient interpretation, and says "he would not scruple to extend the duration of the action to thirty hours." Others insist rigorously and firmly upon the principle, that the action itself shall occupy no longer time than its representation does; that is to say, from two to three hours. The dramatic poet, as they would have it, must be punctually the man of the clock. These critics plead a sounder cause at bottom than their more indulgent brethren; for, in fact, the sole ground of the rule is the observation of a verisimilitude which they suppose to be essential to illusion, namely, that the represented and the material time shall be identical. If once a discrepancy be allowed, as, for instance, the extension from two hours to thirty, there will be just as good reason for proceeding still further. The notion of illusion has given rise to great errors in the theory of art. The term has often been understood to denote the unwittingly erroneous belief, that the thing represented is reality. In this case, the illusion would be a very torment to us; in the terrors of Tragedy, it would lie like an Alpine load on the fancy. No: theatrical illusion, like all poetical illusion, is a state of waking dreaminess, to which we voluntarily surrender ourselves. To produce it, poet and actor must powerfully captivate the mind: calculated verisimilarities do not contribute one iota towards it. That demand of illusion in the literal sense, pushed to the extreme, would make all poetical form an impossibility; for we know that the mythological and historical persons did not speak our language, that passionate grief does not express itself in verse, and so forth. What an unpoetical playgoer were that, who, instead of following up the events with his sympathy, should, like a gaoler, with watch or hour-glass in hand, count out to the heroes of the tragedy the hours they have yet to live and act! Is our soul then a piece of clock-work, telling hours and minutes so infallibly? Nay, has it not quite different measures of time for the state of agreeable occupation, and for that of tedium? In the former, under an easy and varied activity, the hours fly apace; in the latter, we feel all the faculties of the soul impeded, and the hours are lengthened out into infinitude. Thus is it in the present, but in memory quite the reverse: the interval of dead and empty uniformity shrinks up and vanishes altogether; that which is distinguished by an abundance of multifarious impressions grows and widens in the same proportion. Our body is subject to the outward astronomical time, inasmuch as our organic actions are thereby measured; but our mind has its own ideal time, which is no other than the consciousness of the progressive development of our being. In such a chronometry, the intervals occupied by an indifferent pause go for nothing, and two important moments, though they lie years apart, link themselves immediately to each other. Thus, when we have been busily engaged with any thing before we fell asleep, we often resume the same train of thoughts as soon as we are awake, and the dreams which filled up the interval recede into their unsubstantial obscurity. Even so it is with the dramatic exhibition: our imagination passes lightly over the times which are presupposed and intimated, but omitted, as being marked by nothing note-worthy, to fix itself solely on the decisive moments, by condensation of which the poet gives wings to the lazy course of hours and days.

"But," it will be objected, "the ancient tragedians, surely, observed the Unity of Time." This expression is very incorrect; it ought at least to be called the identity of the imaginary with the material time. But, taken in that sense, it does not apply to the ancients: what they observe is only the *seeming indifference of time.* Observe well, the *seeming*—for they certainly allow themselves to make a greater advance during the choral odes, than could be made during the material time of their performance. In Æschylus' Agamemnon the entire interval from the destruction of Troy to his arrival in Mycenæ is comprised in the action, and this interval must have been no inconsiderable number of days; in Sophocles' Trachinians the voyage from Thessaly to Eubœa is thrice accomplished in the course of the play; in Euripides' Suppliants we have, during a single ode, the entire march of an army from Athens against Thebes, the battle is fought, and the general returns victorious. So far were the Greeks from troubling themselves about such petty calculations! But as for the seeming indifference of time, they had a particular ground for observing that; namely, the constant presence of the chorus. Where the chorus actually does leave the stage, the regular progress is interrupted; of which procedure there is a striking instance in Æschylus' Eumenides, for the whole space of time which Orestes needed for conveying himself from Delphi to Athens is omitted. Again, between the three component plays of a trilogy, which were acted one after another, and were intended to compose a whole, there are gaps of time as considerable as there are between the three acts of many a Spanish comedy.

The moderns, in the division of their plays into acts, which, properly speaking, were unknown to the Greek Tragedy, have found a convenient means of extending the compass of the imaginary time without incongruity. For thus much the poet may fairly expect from the spectator's imagination, that while the representation is wholly suspended, he should conceive a longer time to have elapsed than that which is measured by the rhythmical time of the music between the acts: otherwise it might be as well to invite him to come and see the next act to-morrow, that he may find it all the more natural. The division into acts, properly speaking, was occasioned by the omission of the chorus in the New Comedy. Horace lays down the law, that a tragedy should have neither more nor less than five acts. The rule is so unessential, that Wieland thought Horace must have wished to make a joke of the young Pisos, by inculcating a precept like this in such a solemn tone, as if it were a matter of the last importance. If in ancient Tragedy the end of an act be fixed where the stage is empty, and the chorus is left alone to perform its dance and ode, we may often count less than five acts, but often also more than five. Taken as a remark, that in an exhibition of two or three hours in length, there ought to be pretty nearly that number of rests for the attention, it may be allowed to pass. Considered in any other way, I should be curious to hear a reason grounded upon the nature of Dramatic Poetry, why a play must have just five divisions, and no more. But tradition and prescription rule the world: a smaller number of acts has been tolerated; to transgress the consecrated number, five, has been ever looked upon as an atrocious and perilous piece of audacity[1].

As a general rule, the division into acts seems to me erroneous when there is no progress (as is the case in many modern plays), and when the opening of the new act exhibits the persons in exactly the same posture of affairs as at the close of the preceding. And yet this stand-still has given much less offence than the assumption of a considerable interval, and of incidents omitted in the representation; the reason for which forbearance is, that the former is merely a negative offence.

The romantic dramatists allow themselves to change the scene even in the course of an act. As the stage is always previously left empty, there is, in each instance, an interruption of the continuity, to warrant them in their assumption of the same number of intervals. If we take offence at this, but allow the division into acts, we have only to consider these breaks as a greater number of small acts. But then it will be objected that this is to justify one error by another, the violation of the Unity of Time by that of the Unity of Place: we will, therefore, consider more at length how far this latter rule is indispensable.

In Aristotle, as I have already observed, it is in vain to look for any expression on the subject. But the ancients, it is maintained, observed this Unity. Not invariably, only in general. Among seven plays of Æschylus, and the same number of Sophocles, there are two, namely, Eumenides and Ajax, in which there is a change of scene. That they generally retain the same scene, follows as a matter of course from the constant presence of the chorus, who must first be got rid of before there could be any change of place. Moreover, their stage and scenes took in a larger compass than our own: not a chamber, but the open area before several buildings; and the opening of the interior of a palace by means of the eccyclema, may be viewed in the same light as the drawing up of a hinder curtain on our stage.

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[1] Three unities, five acts: why not seven persons? For the rules seem to go by the odd numbers.

The objection to the change of scene is based upon the same erroneous notion of illusion which we have already refuted. The removal of the action, say they, to another place wrests the illusion from us. Yes, indeed, if we take the imaginary for the real place: but then we should need to have stage-scenery of quite a different make[1]. Johnson, a critic who in general is very much for strict rules, objects very justly, that if our imagination can once go to the length of transporting itself eighteen hundred years back to Alexandria, to figure to ourselves the history of Antony and Cleopatra, the next step, namely, to transport ourselves from Alexandria to Rome, is easier. The capability of our mind to fly in thought with the swiftness of lightning through immeasurable space and time is acknowledged in common life. And shall the poet, whose very purpose it is to add all manner of wings to our mind, and who has at command all the magic of genuine illusion, that is, of a living and enrapturing representation, be alone debarred this universal prerogative?

Voltaire is for deriving the Unity of Place and Time from the Unity of Action, but his deductions are shallow in the extreme. "For the same reason," says he, "there must be Unity of Place, for a single action cannot be in progress in several places at once." But we have seen that in the one main action there is of necessity a concurrence of several persons, that it consists of a number of subordinate actions; and what should hinder these from proceeding in several places? Is not one and the same war often carried on at once in Europe and

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[1] It is calculated only for one point of view: in every other position the broken lines betray the imperfection of the imitation. Even as to the architectural import most of the audience give themselves so very little concern, that they take no offence even when the actors make their entrances and exits between the side-scenes, through a wall without any door.

India, and must not the historian exhibit the events on both stages alike in progress?

"The Unity of Time," continues Voltaire, "is naturally connected with the first two.—If the poet represents a conspiracy, and extends the action to fourteen days, he must give me an account of all that passes in these fourteen days." Yes, of all that belongs to the matter in hand: but all the rest he passes by in silence, as every good story-teller would, and it never enters any one's head to wish to have such an account. "If therefore he sets before me the events of fourteen days, we have here fourteen different actions, however small they may be."—Truly, if the poet were so clumsy as to wind off the fourteen days, one after another, visibly, so that there shall be just that number of days and nights, and the people shall go to bed and get up again just that number of times. But he thrusts into the back-ground the intervals which are marked by no visible advance in the action, he annihilates in his picture all the pauses of absolute rest, and with a flying touch gives us an exact, or pretty nearly exact conception of the elapsed interval. But why is the privilege of assuming a wider interval between the two extremes of the play than the material time of representation, important to the dramatist, nay, in many subjects, indispensable? Voltaire's instance of a conspiracy is here quite in place.—A conspiracy plotted and executed in two hours is, in the first place, a thing incredible. Moreover, in reference to the characters of the acting persons, such a plot is quite different from one in which the conceived purpose, however dangerous, is silently persevered in by all the persons for a considerable time. Though the poet does not actually admit this period into his exhibition, he gives us a sort of perspective view of it in the minds of the characters, as in a mirror. In this sort of perspective Shakspeare is the greatest master I know: a single word often opens to view an almost interminable vista of previous states of mind. The poet, who is tied down to the narrow limits of time, is obliged, in many subjects, to mutilate the action by beginning close before the last decisive stroke, or else unbecomingly hurry on its progress: in either case, he is forced to reduce to petty dimensions the great picture of a violent resolve, which is no momentary ebullition, but a fixed will, invincibly upheld in the midst of all exterior vicissitude, until the time of its accomplishment is ripe. Thus cut down, it will no longer be what Shakspeare has so often represented, and what he has described in the following lines :—

Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma, or a hideous dream :
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council, and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.

But why is the practice of the Greek and of the Romantic Poets so different in respect of their treatment of time and place? The spirit of our criticism will not allow us to follow the example of many of our modern critics, and unceremoniously pronounce the latter to be barbarous. On the contrary, we hold that they lived in very cultivated times, and were themselves exceedingly cultivated men. Next to the structure of the ancient theatres, which naturally led to the apparent indifference of time, and fixity of scene, the practice was favoured by the nature of the materials on which the Greek dramatists had to work. These materials were mythology, which in itself was fiction, and the treatment of which, in the hands of preceding poets, had collected into continuous and perspicuous masses, what, in reality, was broken and scattered about in various ways. Moreover, the heroic age which they depicted, was at once very simple in its manners, and marvellous in its incidents; and thus every thing, of its own accord, went straight to the mark of a tragic decision.

But the principal cause of the difference lies in the plastic spirit of the antique, and the picturesque spirit of romantic poetry. Sculpture directs our attention exclusively to the group which it sets before us; it divests it, as much as possible, of all external circumstances; and where these cannot be dispensed with, they are indicated as slightly as possible. Painting, on the contrary, delights to exhibit not only the principal figures, but the detail of the surrounding scenery, and all secondary circumstances, and to open a prospect into a boundless distance in the back-ground: light and shade and perspective are its peculiar charms. Hence in the Dramatic, and especially in the

Tragic Art of the ancients, the external circumstances of place and time are in some measure annihilated, while in the romantic drama their alternations serve to adorn its more varied pictures. Or, to express myself differently: the principle of the antique poetry is ideal, that of the romantic is mystical; the former subjects space and time to the internal free-agency of the mind, the latter honours these incomprehensible essences as supernatural powers, in which there is a somewhat of indwelling divinity.

END OF PART III.

PART IV.

NOTES AND DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
ORTHOGRAPHY, SYNTAX, AND METRES
OF THE
GREEK DRAMATISTS.

I.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

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1. CRASES ATTICÆ.

ʽΑΥΤΟΣ crasi Attica est pro ὁ αὐτὸς *idem*. Simili ratione scribebant Attici ἁ'νήρ, ἅ'ναξ, ἁ'γών, ἅ'νθρωπος, ἅ'τερος, ἁ'γαθός pro ὁ ἀνήρ, ὁ ἄναξ, ὁ ἀγών, &c. Monk's Hippol. v. 1005.—αὐτὸς sine articulo non valet *idem*; sed *ipse*, monente Porsono ad Hec. v. 295.

Οὔτ' ἄρα est οὔ τοι ἄρα, diphthongo οι, quæ elidi non potest, cum brevi vocali crasin efficiente: quod persæpe fit in Atticis poetis, præsertim in τοι ἄρα et τοι ἄν. Ib. v. 443.

Πατρῷα καὶ μητρῷα πήμαθ', ἆ 'παθες.

Qua ratione α in ἆ 'παθες produci possit, ambigit H. Stephanus —producitur autem hoc in loco τὸ ἆ propter crasin duarum vocalium brevium, α, ε, in unam longam α coalescentium, eadem prorsus ratione qua producitur τἀμὰ pro τὰ ἐμά, ἄκων pro ἀέκων, et alia ejusmodi plurima. Elmsley ad Œdip. Col. v. 1195.

Quoties articulus in vocalem desinit, vocabulum autem quod eum sequitur a vocali incipit, non eliditur prima posterioris vocis syllaba, sed cum articulo in unam syllabam per crasin coalescit. Verbi causa, pro τοῦ ἐμοῦ, non τοῦ 'μου, sed τοὐμοῦ scribendum est.

In nostra fabula pro τὰ 'ξευρήματα, τοῦ 'πιόντος, τὰ 'μά, τῷ 'μῷ, τῇ 'μαυτοῦ, scribendum erat τἀξευρήματα, τοὐπιόντος, τἀμά, τὠμῷ, τἠμαυτοῦ. Scilicet in omni duarum syllabarum crasi eliditur ἰῶτα prioris syllabæ. Quod in κᾀγὼ et similibus in vetustioribus codicibus fieri monuit Porsonus. Eadem est ratio in τἆν et τἄρα, quæ pro τοι ἂν et τοι ἄρα passim leguntur. Hæc qui attente secum consideret, nemo, opinor, dubitabit, quin pro οἱ ἐμοὶ et αἱ ἐμαὶ non οἱ 'μοι et αἱ 'μαι, sed οὑμοὶ et ἁμαὶ scribendum sit. Elmsley, Præfat. in Œdip. Tyr. x. xi.

In vocibus per crasin conjunctis, ut κἄτι, κἀν, κᾶν (i. e. καὶ ἐν, καὶ ἄν), Iota nusquam addi oportet, nisi ubi καὶ cum diphthongo crasin efficit, ut in κᾆτα pro καὶ εἶτα.

Pors. Præf. ad Hec. p. xi.

Recte observat Valckenaerius τἄθλα scribi non potuisse a tragico. Articulus enim cum α brevi tantum crasin facit, ἄθλον vero primam habet per se longam, utpote ex ἄεθλον contractam.

Porson ad Phœn. 1277.

Καὶ nunquam crasin facit cum εὖ, nisi in compositis.—Dum de crasibus loquimur, non abs re fortasse erit monere, καὶ nunquam cum ἀεὶ crasin facere.

Porson ad Phœn. 1422.

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2. Rarior elisio ε ante ἄν.

Nihil apud Atticos poëtas rarius vocali ε ante ἂν elisa. Citius in eorum scriptis decies ἔγραψ' ἂν *scripsissem* repereris, quam semel *scripsisset*.

Elmsley ad Eurip. Medeam, v. 416.

Τοι diphthongus elidi non potest.

Elidi non potest diphthongus in τοι, sed per crasin vocalem longam efficit. Aristoph. Acharn. 162.

Ὑποστένοι μέντ' ἂν ὁ θρανίτης λεώς.

Porson ad Med. v. 863.

οἱ μὲν γ' ἄτεκνοι,——

Οἱ μέντ' ἄτεκνοι edd. MSS. elisione non ferenda. Admisi οἱ μέν γ' e Reiskii conjectura. Sed cum illæ particulæ μέν γε rarissime a Tragicis copulentur, si quis τ' expungat, non vehementer repugnem.

Id. ad Med. v. 1090.

Vocalis in fine Dativi singularis raro eliditur.

Καὶ παρὰ χαίτην ξανθὴν ῥίψαι
  Θεσσαλὸν ὅρπακ'
'Επίλογχον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ βέλος.

Ὅρπακ' pessime cepit Valck. post Musgravium, quasi esset *ὅρπακι*, vocalis enim in fine dativi singularis perraro eliditur (sexties tantum, si recte recordatus sum, in omnibus Tragicorum reliquiis).

Monk ad Hippol. v. 220.

Καὶ μὴν προτείνω, Γοργόν' ὡς καρατόμῳ.

Notanda elisio rara apud Atticos in fine dativi singularis. Non assentior Elmsleio ad Heracl. 693, emendanti *Γοργόν' ὡς καράτομον*, subaudito *οὖσαν*. Videas tamen ingeniosam ejus notam in Addendis, ubi alia hujus elisionis exempla corrigere tentat.

Id. ad Alcest. v. 1137.
(Cf. Lobeck. *ad Soph. Aj.* 802, p. 350, ed. II.)

Vocalis in fine versus elidi non potest, nisi syllaba longa præcedat.

Porson ad Med. 510.

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3. Ionismi apud Tragicos.

Licentiæ, quam in dialectis sibi permisere Tragici, fines accurate constituere perdifficile est; Ionismos tamen quosdam adhibuisse, sed parce et raro, extra controversiam est. Dixerunt utique *ξένος* et *ξεῖνος*, *μόνος* et *μοῦνος*, *γόνατα* et *γούνατα*, *κόρος* et *κοῦρος*, *δορὶ* et *δουρί*.

Pors. Præf. ad Hec. p. xi.

ΧΟ. *ὦ πολύξεινος, καὶ ἐλεύθερος.*

Ionicas formas in Choris Tragicis certe adhibere licuit. Extat *ἄξεινος* Andr. 795. Iph. T. 218. *Πολυξείνη* in Hec. 75. Quin in senariis quoque nonnunquam *ξεῖνος* Tragicos usurpasse observatum est.

Monk ad Alcest. v. 584.

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4. —— *ὧν δ' ἕκατι, παρθένῳ λέγειν*
Οὐ καλόν.

Attici dicunt *Ἀθάνα, δαρός, ἕκατι, κυναγός, ποδαγός, λοχαγός,* ξεναγός, ὀπαδός, per α, non per η: quanquam autem dicunt Ἀθάνα, non dicunt Ἀθαναία, sed Ἀθηναία.

Porson ad Orest. v. 26.

5. Attici verborum tempora augmentum recipientia sine augmento nunquam adhibent[1].

In Hecuba, ut a me edita est, omissi verborum augmenti exemplum non occurrit. Locus unicus, qui huic licentiæ in hoc dramate favet, ab ipso Brunckio, acerrimo alias hujus licentiæ vindice, emendatus est. Et cum rarissima omnino sint talia exempla, quorum tria in Bacchis, corruptissima pene omnium fabula, reperiantur, plane persuasum habeo, non licuisse in Attico sermone augmentum abjicere. (D)

Porson Præf. ad Hec. p. iv.

(D) Debueram fortasse χρῆν excipere, quod non minus quam ἐχρῆν in scena Attica occurrit, etiam apud Comicos, quomodo, ut uno exemplo contentus sim, Hermippum Athenæi, VIII. p. 344. D.

Τοὺς μὲν ἄρ' ἄλλους οἰκουρεῖν χρῆν,
Πέμπειν δὲ Νόθιππον ἕν' ὄντα.

Quod ait Brunckius, quædam esse verba quibus solenne sit augmentum abjicere, verba ea quæ augmentum nunquam habuere, abjicere non possunt. Attici semper dicunt ἄνωγα, nunquam ἤνωγα, sed augmentum plusquam perfecto tempori reservant, Œd. C. 1598. Similis est ratio in καθεζόμην, καθήμην, καθεῦδον, quibus augmentum non præponunt Tragici, Comici pro arbitrio vel præponunt, vel abjiciunt. Duplex aliquando augmentum admisere, ut in ἠνεσχόμην, ἀνεσχόμην, quorum utrumque Tragicis familiare; sed ἠνεχόμην, quod Sophocli, Aristophani, et Platoni obtrudere conatur Piersonus ad Mœrin, p. 176, Brunckio assentiente, mera est barbaries.

Porson Suppl. Præf. ad Hec. p. xvi.

—In melicis autem hanc licentiam sibi permiserunt Tragici.

Χόρευσε δ' ἀμφὶ σὰν κιθάραν.

Ubi augmentum in verbo χόρευσε abjicitur. Habes in una Phœnissarum cantilena, v. 650, δίκε. 658, τίκετο. 686, δεῖξεν. 693, κτίσαν. 699, κτήσαντο. Monk ad Alcest. v. 599.

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[1] Vide autem Wellauer. ad Æschyl. Pers. 302.

Jam hac disputatione absoluta ad Seidleri sententiam revertar, abjectionem augmenti nunciorum narrationibus propriam existimantis. Etenim nunc demum, quid in ea veri sit, judicare poterit. Dixi supra, caussas omittendi augmenti debere alias esse, quam quod hoc quiddam præcipuum fuerit illarum narrationum. Quas autem illas caussas esse existimarem, deinde dixi. Sed eæ si sunt tales, ut fere in solis his narrationibus locum inveniant, minime inanis illa Seidleri observatio videatur necesse est. Vidimus, ut paucis complectar, omitti augmentum nunc in verbo fortiore, sententiam graviter incipiente, nunc in verbo minus forti, media in sententia, sed initio versus, ne in rei gravis expositione æquabilitas numeri iambici anapæsto turbetur; probari autem anapæstum accessione augmenti natum in gravi et vehementi exordio orationis. Ea vero hujusmodi sunt, ut vix in alios tragœdiarum locos, quam in longiores narrationes cadant. Nam etsi verbi, quod augmentum habet, non alius est usus quam ad narrandum, tamen in diverbiis propter ipsam colloquiorum naturam ad aliquid interrogandum, respondendum, commemorandum adhibetur, ut res, si longior sit, in multas partes distrahatur. Unde non est locus aut gravi exordio totius narrationis, aut partis unius a cohærentibus cum ea partibus distinctioni, aut perpetuationi æquabili plurium partium. Plane alia hæc sunt in narrationibus quales nunciorum esse solent. Primum enim longa narratio grave debet exordium habere, ut ex ipso initio intelligatur, multa secutura esse. Deinde in ipso cursu narrationis quum res magna vel quasi ex improviso, vel ita, ut antea ejus exspectatio excitata sit, infertur, fortiore et præ cæteris eminente verbo opus est. Denique ubi multa deinceps contexta referuntur, crebrior est verborum in principio versus collocandorum numerisque, prouti sententiæ conveniens est, aptandorum necessitas, quam ubi eadem, ut in colloquiis fit, in partes discerpta exponuntur. Atque ad incipiendam quidem cum gravitate quadam orationem facilius adjectione augmenti, quam omissione opus est, quia liberum fere est in principio, quibus verbis uti velis. Tale est illud,

ἐγένοντο Λήδᾳ Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.

Sed si Clytæmnestra prologum egisset, ita, nisi fallor, exorsa esset:—

γενόμεσθα Λήδᾳ Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.

Prologi quidem, certe quod ad exordium attinet, eamdem habent rationem, quam narrationes nunciorum: a quibus eo tantum differunt, quod oratio in iis tranquilla et motus expers est, quum nuncii fere res admirabiles aut tristes ac funestas, quarum audiendarum cupidi sunt spectatores, oratione ad commovendos animos composita exponant. Et graviter incipiendæ sententiæ sæpius etiam extra narrationes locus est: unde illi anapæsti, *ἔτεκον*, *ἐμάνητε*, *ἐκέλευσε*. In media vero oratione, quum ad rem magnam aut admirabilem perventum est, non ita liberum est, quo verbo quis uti velit, ut in principio, sed illud adhibendum est, quod quoque in loco aptissimum est et maximam vim habet. Quod quum est ejusmodi, ut addito augmento non possit eum quem debet locum tenere: is est autem plerumque primus pes trimetri, ut in quo aptissime oratio cum vi quadam incipiatur: idonea ea caussa est abjiciendi potius augmenti, quam committendi, ut aliquid de orationis vi ac virtute detrahatur. Ejusmodi illa sunt, *σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ· κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος· παίοντ', ἔθραυον· πῖπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν*. Denique per rerum deinceps enarrandarum necessitatem fieri potest, ut aliquando etiam ubi non est magna quædam vis in verbo, tamen, ne aut aliud minus aptum verbum adhiberi necesse sit, aut numeri concinnitas anapæsto turbari debeat, præferenda sit in initio versus augmenti abjectio. Quæ quoniam semper in eo genere dicendi, quo Tragici in trimetris utuntur, aliquam insolentiæ speciem habet, consentaneum est, non esse eam temere et ubivis, sed arte quadam ibi tantum admissam, ubi non aut forma verbi mutanda, aut aliquo alio modo removéri posset: cujusmodi sunt, *ἀμφὶ δὲ κυκλοῦντο· ναυβάτης δ' ἀνὴρ τροποῦτο· φθέγμα δ' ἐξαίφνης τινὸς θώϋξεν· γοᾶτο δ' εὐνάς· κυκλοῦτο δ' ὥστε τόξον*. Hæc qui reputaverit, jam, spero, intelliget, qui factum sit, ut pleræque omnes augmenti omissiones in nunciorum narrationibus, ut quæ fere solæ ejus rei aliquas opportunitates præbeant, exstare inveniantur.

Jam ergo ut summam hujus disputationis in pauca contraham, ita ego, quantum quidem in tanta exemplorum paucitate colligi potest, statuendum existimo, in ipsa natura orationis, ei trimetro quem tragicum vocamus adstrictæ, leges quasdam sitas esse, quibus augmenti vel servandi necessitas, vel abjiciendi permissio regatur. Quæ leges quum id commune habeant, ut ea debeat verbi forma eligi, quæ numerum præbeat, qui sit ad sententiam verborum accommodatissimus; si particulatim considerantur, hasce continent regulas.

Prima est: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio anapæstum facit, in principio versus positum, addi augmentum postulat:

ἐγένοντο Λήδᾳ Θεστιάδι τρεῖς παρθένοι.

Secunda: verbum fortius, in quo augmenti accessio non facit anapæstum, in principio versus positum, carere potest augmento:

σίγησε δ' αἰθήρ·
κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς χθόνιος·
παίοντ', ἔθραυον·
πῖπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν.

Tertia: ejusdemmodi verbum, si incipit sententiam, videtur etiam in medio versu carere augmento posse: quale foret illud, ea, qua, supra dictum est, conditione:

γυμνοῦντο δὲ
πλευραὶ σπαραγμοῖς.

Quarta: verbum minus forte, sive facit augmenti accessio anapæstum, sive non facit, in principio versus positum, si ultra primum pedem porrigitur, caret augmento: γοᾶτο· θώϋξεν.

Quinta: ejusdemmodi verbum si non ultra primum pedem porrigitur, ut detracto augmento parum numerosum, aut vitatur, ut κάνες, aut cum alia forma commutatur, ut κάλει cum καλεῖ.

Hermann Præfat. ad Bacch. pp. l—lv.

6. Adjectiva composita in ος.

Omnia adjectiva composita, et in ος terminata, apud antiquissimos Græcos per tria genera declinabantur: ἀπόρθητος, ἀπορθήτη, ἀπόρθητον. Femininas formas, cum jam paulatim obsolevissent, Poetæ et Attici, vel ornatus vel varietatis ergo, subinde revocabant. Porson ad Med. 822.

(cf. *Lobeck Paralipom.* Dissert. III. VII.)

7. Verba in ύω et υμι.

In tironum gratiam observandum est, hac forma, ea nempe, ubi ύω pro υμι in fine verbi ponitur, nunquam uti Tragicos, rarissime veteres Comicos; sæpius mediæ, sæpissime novæ Comœdiæ poetas. Paulatim et parce adhiberi cœpta est sub mediam fere Aristophanis ætatem; tantum enim occurrit ὀμνύῃ

Av. 1611. συμπαραμιγνύων in ultima ejus fabula, Pluto 719. Cetera loca, ubi usurpari videtur, aut emendata sunt, aut emendanda. Porson ad Med. 744.

8. Μνησθήσομαι et Μεμνήσομαι.

Hac forma hujus verbi, ab Homero etiam adhibita, Iliad X. 390, semper utuntur Tragici, illa nunquam. Idem dici potest de κληθήσομαι et κεκλήσομαι. Sed βληθήσομαι et βεβλήσομαι promiscue usurpant. Porson ad Med. 929.

9. Οὐκοῦν—οὔκουν.

Discrimen quod inter οὐκοῦν et οὔκουν statuunt grammatici, verissimum est, si Plutarchi aut Luciani scripta pro veræ Græcitatis norma accipiantur. Apud veteres Atticos utraque particula semper propriam suam significationem servat. Ego ubique οὐκ οὖν scribo, adhibita, prout opus est, vel omissa interrogatione. Elmsley ad Heracl. v. 256.
(Cf. Donalds. Gr. Gr. 535.)

10.

Multa sunt nomina, quæ, cum in singulari masculina tantum aut feminina sint, in plurali neutra fiunt, ut δίφρος, δίφρα, κύκλος, κύκλα, κέλευθος, κέλευθα, δεσμός, δεσμά, σῖτος, σῖτα. Vid. Musgravium ad Hel. 428. Porson ad Med. 494.

II.

SYNTAX.

A SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPAL USAGES OF THE MIDDLE VOICE OF THE GREEK VERB,

WHEN ITS SIGNIFICATION IS STRICTLY OBSERVED.

Qui bene dividit, bene docet.

THE first four may be called usages of *reflexive:* the fifth the usage of *reciprocal* signification.

I. Where A does the act on himself or on what belongs to himself, *i. e.* is the object of his own action.

1. Ἀπήγξατο, *he hanged himself.*

2. Ὤιμωξεν δ᾽ ὁ γέρων, κεφαλὴν δ᾽ ὅγε κόψατο χερσίν.
Iliad. X. 33.

II. Where A does the act on some other object M, relatively to himself (in the sense of the dative case put acquisitively), and not for another person B.

1. A κατεστρέψατο τὸν Μῆδον.
He made the Persian subject, or *subdued him, to himself.*

A κατέστρεψε τὸν Μῆδον τῷ B, *res prorsus alia.*

2. To this usage belongs the following:

Κοινῇ ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν Βάρβαρον. Thucyd. I. 18, *et similia.*

III. Where A gets an act done for himself, or for those belonging to him by B.

1. Of Chryses it is said, λυσόμενος θύγατρα, *to get his daughter released by Agamemnon, on the payment of a ransom,* that is, briefly, *to ransom his daughter.*

Whereas of Agamemnon it is said, Οὐδ᾽ ἀπέλυσε θύγατρα, sc. τῷ Χρύσῃ. He did not *grant* the release, he did not *release* her.

So too Chryses to the Greeks, Παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαιτε φίλην.

To this head may be appended, διδάξασθαι τὸν υἱόν, *to get one's son instructed.* Euripides has said, with a double idiom, Medea, v. 297, παῖδας περισσῶς ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι σοφούς.

2. Δανείζω, *to give a loan, to lend,* as A to B.
Δανείζομαι, *to get a loan, to borrow,* as A from B.

So too in the epigram, χρήσας, *having lent:* χρησάμενος, *having borrowed.*

Ἀνέρα τις λιπόγυιον ὑπὲρ νώτοιο λιπαυγὴς
Ἦγε, πόδας χρήσας, ὄμματα χρησάμενος.

Again, χρῆσαι, *to utter a response:* χρήσασθαι, *to seek a response, to consult an oracle.*

IV. Where, in such verbs as κόπτομαι, *lugeo,* σεύομαι, τίλλομαι, &c. the direct action is done by A on himself, but an accusative or other case follows of B, whom that action further regards.

. . . . εἴπερ ἂν αὐτὸν
Σεύωνται ταχέες τε κύνες, κ. τ. λ. Iliad. Γ. 25.

Although fleet dogs stir themselves in pursuit of him.

. . . . Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας
Σεῦε . . Ζ. 133. . . *res prorsus alia.*

Again,

Πρῶται τόν γ' ἄλοχός τε φίλη καὶ πότνια μήτηρ
Τιλλέσθην. Ω. 710, 11.

Tore their hair in mourning over him.

But κείρομαι is differently used. Bion has κειράμενοι χαίτας ἐπ' Ἀδώνιδι, not Ἄδωνιν.

To this class belong φυλάττω and φυλάττομαι.

Φυλάξαι τὸν παῖδα.—φυλάξασθαι τὸν λέοντα.

And so too the following:

Ὣς εἰπών, οὗ παιδὸς ὀρέξατο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.

Stretched out his arms to receive his son.

Thus far the *reflexive* uses: now the *reciprocal* use.

V. Where the action is reciprocal betwixt two persons or parties, and A does to B what B does to A.

As in verbs of *contract, quarrel, war, reconciliation,* and the like:

Ἕως ἂν διαλυσώμεθα τὸν πόλεμον. Demosth. Philip. A. § 6.—*Till we shall have put an end to the war in which we are engaged with Philip, by treaty mutually agreed upon.*

In a very different sense, as follows, is διαλῦσαι used:

Παρῄνει δὲ (Ἀλκιβιάδης) καὶ τῷ Τισσαφέρνῃ μὴ ἄγαν ἐπείγεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον διαλῦσαι. Thucyd. VIII. § 46.—*To be in no hurry to put an end to the war between the two conflicting parties in Greece.*

Remark.—Though on some occasions the active voice is used where the middle would be proper, that is, where the act is denoted without relation to the agent, though there does exist a middle verb so to denote it, yet where the two voices exist in actual use, the middle denoting the action relatively to the agent, as in No. II., is very seldom, if ever, in pure Attic used to denote the action when it regards another person. E. g. Ἱστάναι τρόπαιον *may* be said of an army who erect their own trophy; for it is true, as far as it goes—they do erect a trophy. But ἐστήσατο τρόπαιον *cannot* be said of him who erected a trophy for others, but ἔστησεν only.

Mus. Crit. No. I. pp. 102—104.

ADDENDA. 1836.

The following remarks are offered as a contribution towards rendering the sketch here given somewhat more complete.

(*a*) Verbum *τύπτομαι* videtur ex tribus elementis conflatum eam primitus habuisse naturam, quam lingua Anglicana sic effert simpliciter, I STRIKE ME; deinde in eum usum abiisse, ut significaret, I GET A BLOW, *i. e.* not GIVE ONE; denique sumsisse vim pure passivam.

Hanc conjecturam confirmat Latinæ linguæ ratio; quæ apud poetas certe verba passiva cum vocibus vi mediâ præditis passim permutat.

Æn. I. 587. *scindit se;* II. 39. *scinditur:*
II. 401. *conduntur;* IX. 39. *condunt se:*
— 707. *imponere,* h. e. *impone te,* &c.
Glasgow Greek Grammar, p. 59, 4th Ed. 1834. J. T.

Burnouf in his excellent French Grammar of the Greek tongue, at p. 268, has this very appropriate observation:

" En Français même, nous voyons le verbe réfléchi employé dans le sens passif : ' Les histoires ne *se liront* plus,' Bossuet," that is, *will not be read.*

(*b*) While the *middle* verbs, of ποιῶ and τίθημι, for instance, are requisite to indicate the *taking* or *considering* of any object in such or such a light, &c. ; some other verbs, such as ἄγω, λαμβάνω, in the *active* form so called, are found with a similar acceptation.

Iph. Aul. 607. Ὄρνιθα μὲν τόδ' αἴσιον ποιούμεθα, κ. τ. λ.
We take this as an auspicious omen, &c.

Phœn. 872. Οἰωνὸν ἐθέμην καλλίνικα σὰ στέφη.
I consider as a good augury the victorious garland you wear.
Antigone, 34. τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἄγειν | οὐχ ὡς παρ' οὐδέν.

Thucyd. B. § 42. τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες. —*Having regarded the humbling of their adversaries as a far more desirable object, &c.*

(*c*) It is a distinction well deserving of remark, that while several verbs in ω are used of *matter* and actions connected with it, those in *ομαι* have the province of *mind* and its concerns instead.

Thus Il. A. 607, 8. δῶμα—Ἥφαιστος ποίησεν.
But Thucyd. B. § 42, 4.
ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο.
he thought of delaying or *eluding the danger.*
So too, Il. A. 433.
ἱστία μὲν στείλαντο, θέσαν δ' ἐν νηῒ μελαίνῃ.
Prom. V. 247. θνητοὺς δ' ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος.

(*d*) 1. The tenses (apparently, *originis vi*, whatever that be) most decidedly passive in use, are the two Aorists and two Futures passive so called.

2. While the first Future middle frequently occurs (it is well known) with a passive use, the first Aorist middle on the other hand hardly ever seems to lose its proper acceptation.

Thus λέξει, *thou shalt be reckoned;* but never ἠρξάμην, *I was ruled*, nor ἐγράψατο, *it was written.*

3. The idea of a preterite middle with a *reflexive* signification is now rejected (Glasgow Greek Grammar, p. 65) ; and the separate form, when it does exist, is more aptly designated second preterite or falso-medium.

When the tense of any verb is wanted to express that notion, the preterperfect passive is adopted, *de personâ* ; while its common use prevails more, *de re.*

Il. A. 238, 9. . . . . δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας
πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται.
Δ. 248. . . . . . . ἔνθα τε νῆες
εἰρύατ' εὔπρυμνοι. i. e. εἰρύαται—εἴρυνται.

(*e*) Verbs in the passive voice, when indicating the affections of *mind* or the facts of *motion*, are frequently so used without any reference to external cause or agent whatsoever; that is, are not meant to signify any thing about action or the *modus operandi*, but the effect or state only, as it regards the subject of the verb.

Thus, Il. A. 531. τώγ' ὣς βουλεύσαντε διέτμαγεν.
Hecuba, 1090. ποῖ τράπωμαι; πορευθῶ;
Medea, 1241. μηδ' ἀναμνησθῇς τέκνων.

In other words, then, the passive form on occasions like these is employed, when the middle voice might naturally else be expected. Such, at any rate, is the best account we can give of this matter in particular.

But, upon the whole, may we not generally remark, that the ways in which things take place, and the relations to one another in which they require to be spoken of, seem to defy definition or number; while the voices of the verb (essential as that is to discourse) even in Greek amount to three at the most! No wonder it should happen, that words, only in a loose manner, often very rudely, hint, that some connexion exists betwixt certain ideas, without any pretence to mark the precise mode of it. The occasion is individual: the forms of language are universal. And yet to the context with its circumstances rightly apprehended and to the *vis-directrix* of common sense, the rest of the operation may very safely be left.

CANONES DAWESIANI XI.

I.

"Voculam ἂν cum verbo περιοῖδε conjungi vetat Græcorum Scriptorum consuetudo." [*Miscell. Crit.* p. ii. Ed. B. p. ii.]

The particle ἂν, giving the idea of a contingent or conditional event, goes with the past tenses only of the indicative mood; out of which number περιοῖδε is excluded, as being strictly what Clarke calls the present perfect tense. [*Vid. ad Iliad.* A. v. 37.]

1. ἔτυπτον ἄν—*I should be striking.*
   (Sometimes translate, *I should strike.*)
2. ἐτετύφη ἄν—*I should have done striking.*
3. ἔτυψα }
   ἔτυπον } ἄν—*I should have stricken.*

The same, *mutatis mutandis*, for the past tenses of θνήσκω.

II.

"Vocula ὅσῳ et similes, comite ἄν, non nisi cum altera forma ἔλθῃ construuntur." [M. C. p. 79. Ed. B. p. 82.]

The passage itself from which this remark arises, may easily be found in the *Anabasis* of Xenophon. (Lib. I. 5, 9.) Δῆλος ἦν ὁ Κύρος σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν — νομίζων, ὅσῳ μὲν ἂν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τοσούτῳ ἀπαρασκευαστοτέρῳ βασιλεῖ μαχεῖσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

By transposing ἄν, and by altering the future μαχεῖσθαι, which does not keep that particle's company, into μάχεσθαι, Dawes (with the approbation of Porson) has corrected the passage thus: νομίζων ἄν, ὅσῳ μὲν θᾶττον ἔλθοι, τ. α. β. μάχεσθαι —κ. τ. λ.

1. The position of ἄν, as above, with verbs of thinking, followed by an infinitive mood to which it refers, is very common in Attic Greek; and Dawes abundantly shows it from Xenophon.

2. Ὅσῳ and similar words are much used with ἂν and the subjunctive mood, it is true; but, according to circumstances which will explain themselves, they are used with the optative, and with the indicative also sometimes.

a. Whatever part you shall have acted towards your parents, your children also will act towards you ; and with good reason.

Οἷός περ ἂν περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς γένῃ, τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ σαυτοῦ παῖδες περὶ σὲ γενήσονται· εἰκότως.

β. *Act such a part towards your parents, as you could wish your own children to act towards yourself.*

Τοιοῦτος γίγνου περὶ τοὺς γονεῖς, οἵους ἂν εὔξαιο περὶ σεαυτὸν γίγνεσθαι τοὺς σαυτοῦ παῖδας.

γ. *There is not a man living whom he would have less thought of attacking than him.*

Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐφ᾽ ὅντινα ἂν ἧττον, ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἦλθεν.

Of the two passages which shall be given from Demosthenes, the first shows a syntax very common and legitimate in Attic prose; while the second exhibits two instances, the one correct, the other suspicious, at least to my apprehension of it.

Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι τούτοις, οἷς ἄν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιτο, — ἔτ᾽ ἐπισφαλεστέραν αὐτὴν [τὴν Μακεδονικὴν δύναμιν] κατεσκεύακεν ἑαυτῷ. Olynthiac. A. § 5.

In the same section, *The subjects of Philip*, says the orator, *λυποῦνται καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις, οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, οὔθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν πορίσωσιν, οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι, κεκλεισμένων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.*

Translate thus: *Nor able to dispose of such articles as they* MAY *produce, in the way they* MIGHT *otherwise have it in their power to do, on account of the war*, &c. &c.

And, perhaps, to preserve the Atticism, read — *ὅπως ἂν δύναιντο.*

3. It is well known, that the following construction, *suppresso ἄν*, is favoured by the tragic writers. [R. P. *ad Orest.* v. 141.] *Ὅπου δ᾽ Ἀπόλλων σκαιὸς ᾖ, τίνες σοφοί*; Electr. Eurip. v. 972. But this suppression of ἂν with the *optative* also deserves remark.

> *Οὐκ ἔστιν, ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν*
> *Νείμαιμ᾽, ἢ σοί.* Prom. Vinct. vv. 299, 300.

The following passages demand a separate consideration:

> *Ἐν σοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν· ἄνδρα δ᾽ ὠφελεῖν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν*
> *Ἔχοι τε καὶ δύναιτο, κάλλιστος πόνων.* Œd. R. vv. 314, 5.
> *Εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις.* Ibid. v. 979.

And this, *Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ πάππε, ἡδέως με θηρᾶν, ἄφες πάντας τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐμὲ διώκειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, ὅπως ἕκαστος τὰ κράτιστα δύναιτο.* *Cyropædia.*

III.

"Præstandum in me recipio Sermonis Attici rationem postulare vel ποῖ τις φύγῃ, vel ποῖ τις ἂν φύγοι. Verbum utique optativum cum ποῖ, πόθεν, ποῦ, πῶς, vel qualibet alia interrogandi particula conjunctum alteram itidem ἂν comitem exigit; subjunctivum vero respuit." [M. C. 207. Ed. B. 207.]

The meaning of Dawes will be best understood, perhaps, if we take three ways of expressing nearly the same ideas by three different moods of the verb.

α. ποῖ τρέψομαι; *whither shall I betake myself?*
β. ποῖ τράπωμαι; *whither must I betake myself?*
γ. ποῖ τις ἂν τράποιτο; *whither should one betake himself?*
[M. C. 75. 341. Ed. B. 78, 333.]

Under the class (β) may be placed,

'Εγὼ δὲ τί ΠΟΙΩ; *Plut. But what must I do?*

'Εγὼ σιωπῶ τῷδέ γ'; *Ran.* ubi de Euripide Æschylus,
Must I hold my tongue for this coxcomb?

'Ως ὀξύθυμος! φέρε, τί σοὶ ΔΩ καταφαγεῖν;
Well, what must I give you to eat?

Dawes' account justly exhibits the first and second verbs thus used, not as of the present indicative serving instead of the future: "sed formæ subjunctivæ, quæ temporis futuri vi quodammodo non raro gaudet, vel potius significatu proprio ad ἵνα, sive χρὴ ἵνα, subauditum refertur[1]."

IV.

Καὶ μὴν ὁπότε τι σκευάριον τοῦ δεσπότου
'Υφείλου, ἐγώ σε λανθάνειν ἐποίουν ἀεί. *Plut.* 1139.

"Poëseos Atticæ ratio istiusmodi hiatum, qualis in altero versu conspicitur, in versibus iambicis et trochaicis omnimodo vetat. Deinde ipsam orationem ὁπότε ὑφείλου—[*When you actually had stolen some one specific thing*]—ἐποίουν ἀεὶ solœcam esse assevero; sermonis autem indolem postulare ὁπότε ὑφέλοιο. Itaque utraque re conspirante, rescribo 'ΥΦΕΛΟΙ', ἐγώ." [M. C. 216. Ed. B. 215, 216.]

Fielding and Young thus translate the passage fairly enough:—

Why, when you used to filch any vessel from your master, I always assisted you in concealing it [*the theft*].

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[1] EMENDATUM. 1836.

In Porson's Medea, 1275=1242 of Elmsley, the following passage stands thus punctuated:—

παρέλθω δόμους; ἀρῆξαι φόνον
δοκεῖ μοι τέκνοις,

which may with our idiom be thus translated, "*Shall I not enter the house?*" &c.

Elmsley having, in his edition of the Heraclidæ, at v. 559, maintained that παρέλθω δόμους was rightly read so, without interrogation, and with the meaning, "*Let me enter*," &c., afterwards, when editing the Medea, *u. s.* in a note very satisfactory on the whole of the subject, shows that the interrogative mark is rightly added, as it was first done by Musgrave.

The nature of those circumstances which demand this usage of ὁπότε with the optative mood, if not sufficiently clear from the instance thus given, is determined by several other instances which Dawes has produced, of ὁπότε similarly employed.

Of εἴπου, also in the same usage preceding the *optative*, with the *preter-imperfect tense* (for that is the idiom) of the *indicative* mood in the other member of the sentence, Dawes has given proof quite sufficient. [M. C. 256. Ed. B. 253.]

> Ἄλλῃ δὲ κἄλλῃ δωμάτων στρωφωμένη,
> ΕΙ ΠΟΥ φίλων ΒΛΕΨΕΙΕΝ οἰκετῶν δέμας,
> ΕΚΛΑΙΕΝ ἡ δύστηνος. Sophocl. Trachin. 924.

And wandering up and down the house, whenever she saw a favourite domestic, so oft the wretched dame would weep.

The particle ἐπεὶ occurs in a similar construction. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ὄνοι, ἐπεί τις διώκοι, προδραμόντες ἂν εἱστήκεσαν· (πολὺ γὰρ τοῦ ἵππου θᾶττον ἔτρεχον·) καὶ πάλιν, ἐπεὶ πλησιάζοι ὁ ἵππος, ταυτὰ ἐποίουν. Xenoph. Anabas. p. 45, *ex emendatione Porsoni; quem vide ad Eur. Phœn.* 412. (Cf. Donalds. Gr. Gr. 514, 580.)

V.

"Quod autem eruditissimos quosque videtur fefellisse, observare libet, Verba istius formæ, cujus est ἀείσοι, nusquam vel notione optativa adhiberi, vel cum vocula κὲν sive ἂν conjungi; sed temporibus præteritis significatione futura perpetuo subjici.

> Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὢν μειράκιον ΗΠΕΙΛΗΣ' ὅτι
> Εἰς τοὺς δικαίους καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ κοσμίους
> Μόνους ΒΑΔΙΟΙΜΗΝ.—*Plut.* 88." [M. C. 103. Ed. B. 105.]

For I when a stripling threatened that I would visit the honest and wise and respectable—and no others.

1. If this *dictum* be true, (and I have met with nothing to disprove it,) all the other usages of the future optative must be struck off the roll without delay.

a. ζήσοιτε: *fare thee well.* "Neque enim futurum istius formæ tribuitur." [M. C. II. Ed. B. ii.]

β. *μᾶλλον ἂν ἐσοίμην*, "locutio est Græcis ignota. Futurum utique formæ optativæ nihilo rectius cum particula ἂν conjungitur, quam optanti tribuitur." [M. C. IV. Ed. B. iv.]

2. The future infinitive, it has been already remarked, keeps no company with the particle ἄν. The aversion to πρὶν preceding it, in what is called *government*, seems pretty much the same. Mr. Elmsley (*ad Iph. Aul.* v. 1459) has justly suggested, that πρὶν σπαράξεσθαι κόμας is a solecism. The looser usage of the aorist infinitive with ἂν or without it, affords no excuse for breaking down the narrow fence of its neighbour.

3. For the same reason Mr. Elmsley, *ad Iph. T.* v. 937, appears to me justly to condemn κελεύσθεις δράσειν as not legitimate Greek; while (*ad Œd. R.* v. 272) he does not with equal decision second the Scholiast, who in reference to εὔχομαι, in v. 269, writes thus—φθαρῆναι δεῖ γράφειν, οὐ φθερεῖσθαι.

The syntax of the line—

'Αλλ' ὧδε προέθηκεν ἐλευθερίης ἀπολαύσειν,

is condemned by Dawes, on the very same principle. "Nec vero futurum verbo προέθηκεν commode subjungi potest." [M. C. III. Ed. B. iii.]

4. In the syntax of μέλλω, the infinitive mood following it most usually occurs in the future tense, but not universally. The authority of Porson *ad Orest.* v. 929, on v. 1549, μέλλω κτανεῖν, has pronounced "aoristum recte postponi verbo μέλλειν." Mr. Elmsley, *ad Heraclid.* v. 710, gives his sentence thus on the subject: "Ubicunque levi emendatione pro γράψαι restitui potest γράφειν aut γράψειν, restituendum mihi videtur."

VI.

"Nos primi monemus, formæ verborum optativæ, cum certis voculis, ἵνα puta, ὄφρα, et μή, conjunctæ eum esse usum, ut verbis de tempore non nisi præterito usurpatis subjungatur, istique adeo Latinorum tempori AMAREM respondeat; subjunctivam contra verbis non nisi præsentis vel futuræ significationis subjungi, atque alteri isti apud Romanos tempori AMEM respondere." [M. C. 82, 3. 272. 329=85. 268. 321.]

Generally speaking, where a purpose, end, result, is denoted by the help of the particles, ἵνα, ὄφρα, μή, &c.

I. If both the *action* and the *purpose* of it belong entirely to time past, the *purpose* is denoted by the optative mood only.

II. If the *action* belong to the time present or future, the *purpose* is denoted by the subjunctive, and not otherwise.

This is remarkably well illustrated by Dawes out of Homer and Plato. In the Iliad E. 127, 8, we read,

> Ἀχλὺν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἕλον, ἣ πρὶν ἐπῆεν,
> ΟΦΡ' εὖ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΗΙΣ ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

"*I* HAVE REMOVED *the mist from thine eyes, that thou* MAYST DISTINGUISH," &c.

In the second Alcibiades of Plato, *sub finem:* ὥσπερ τῷ Διομήδει φησὶ τὴν Ἀθήναν Ὅμηρος ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ΑΦΕΛΕΙΝ τὴν ἀχλύν,

> ΟΦΡ' εὖ ΓΙΝΩΣΚΟΙ ἠμὲν θεὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἄνδρα.

"*Homer tells us that Minerva* REMOVED *the mist from his eyes, that he* MIGHT DISTINGUISH," &c.

Briefly, it is right to say, ἐπορεύθη, ἵνα μάθοι,

and πορεύεται or πορεύσεται, ἵνα μάθῃ.

Yet a few remarks may be useful, and even necessary, to assist the young scholar in discriminating betwixt real exceptions and such only as appear to be; for no one mistakes the following modes of syntax as legitimate:—

> φυλάττετε νῦν, ὅπως μὴ οἴχοιτο.
> τότε γὰρ ἐφυλάττετε, ὅπως μὴ οἴχηται.

1. Since the Greek aorist, like the Latin preterite, is not only taken in the narrative way, as ἔγραψα, *I wrote;* but sometimes also in the use of our present perfect, *I have written:* it may in its latter usage be followed by the subjunctive. The remark is Dawes', when speaking most exactly on the dramatic passage of Homer as varied in narration by Plato, *ubi supra.* Bp. Monk, *ad Hippolyt.* v. 1294, has shown very clearly under what circumstances this syntax is legitimate.

2. Since, in narrating past events, the Greek writers, particularly the Tragedians, often employ the present in one part, with the aorist in the other part of the sentence, [*vid.* R. P. *ad Hecub.* v. 21,] as well as *vice versa,* we are not to wonder if a syntax like the following be sometimes presented, with ὅστις or with ἵνα.

Phœn. 47. κηρύσσει, [*revera,* ἐκήρυξεν]
ὅστις μάθοι. κ. τ. λ.

" *He proclaimed such a reward to any one, that* SHOULD *discover the meaning of the riddle.*"

3. If the verb denoting the principal act, while it is true of the present time, which it directly expresses, be virtually true of the past also in its beginning and continuance, the leading verb may stand in the present tense, and yet the purpose be denoted by the optative mood. In this way, I venture, though with some timidity, to translate the following passage of the *Ranæ,* vv. 21—24.

Εἶτ' οὐχ ὕβρις ταῦτ' ἐστὶ καὶ πολλὴ τρυφή,
Ὅτ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὢν Διόνυσος, υἱὸς Σταμνίου,
Αὐτὸς βαδίζω καὶ πονῶ, τοῦτον δ' ὀχῶ,
Ἵνα μὴ ταλαιπωροῖτο, μήδ' ἄχθος φέροι;

" *Is it not quite abominable, that I the mighty Bacchus* HAVE BEEN *trudging on foot, while I have had this fellow well mounted, that he* MIGHT *feel no fatigue?*"

To escape from the emendation of Brunck, and with a view to suggest an idea which may perhaps be supported ere long by better authority, I risk at all events a modest conjecture for the present.

4. In passages where either syntax would be legitimate in other respects, some peculiarity of the case determines the choice at once.

The following passage presents just such an instance:

Ἡ γὰρ νέους ἕρποντας εὐμενεῖ πέδῳ,
Ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὅτλον,
Ἐθρέψατ', οἰκιστῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους
Πιστούς, ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.
Sept. c. Theb. vv. 17—20.

There is nothing in vv. 19, 20, to condemn the reading *γένησθε*. "*She* HATH REARED, *that you may* (hereafter) *become.*" But in vv. 17, 18, the decision lies. "*She* REARED *you in tender and helpless infancy, that you* MIGHT *one day* (as now) *become her loyal guards*[1]."

III. A third syntax yet remains; which, though never, I believe, noticed by Dawes, deserves a place here.

> Τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει
> Ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτὴν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στυφλοῦ πέτρας,
> Ὅπως πέδῳ σκήψασα, τῶν πάντων πόνων
> Ἀπηλλάγην; κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰς ἅπαξ θανεῖν,
> Ἢ τὰς ἁπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.
>
> Prom. Vinct. vv. 773—6.

I have selected this passage, for two reasons: it readily presents its own meaning, and shows the class of construction to which it belongs. But Heath wanted to alter it, from the confusion in his mind of the rules of Latin with those of Greek syntax; and his note affords a peculiar specimen of that influence operating in such matters, which I have mentioned in the few remarks prefixed to these Canons.

"Ut constet grammatica ratio, omnino legendum ἀπαλλαγείην, ejecta particula *γάρ*, quæ paulo post sequitur, ne redundet metrum." HEATH *ad loc.*

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[1] EMENDADATUM. 1836.

When Porson, *ad Phœn.* v. 68, writes thus: "Deinde *κραίνοιεν* pro *κραίνωσιν* edidit Brunckius, ex Dawesii præcepto, Misc. Crit. p. 82. Sed hanc regulam non videntur per omnia servasse Tragici. Confer Hec. 1128—1133—" [1120—1126.] he refers to a passage, apparently awkward, but which in fact exhibits a new canon of Attic usage, namely, that the subjunctive mood indicates the *immediate*, and the optative the *remote* consequence of the action contained in the principal verb. Vide Arnold's Thucydides, Book III. 22.

> Ἔδεισα, μή σοι πολέμιος λειφθεὶς ὁ παῖς
> Τροίαν ἀθροίσῃ καὶ ξυνοικίσῃ πάλιν·
> Γνόντες δ' Ἀχαιοὶ ζῶντα Πριαμιδῶν τινα
> Φρυγῶν ἐς αἶαν αὖθις αἴροιεν στόλον,
> Κἄπειτα Θρῄκης πεδία τρίβοιεν τάδε
> Λεηλατοῦντες· γείτοσιν δ' εἴη κακὸν
> Τρώων, ἐν ᾧπερ νῦν, ἄναξ, ἐκάμνομεν.

In the above passage, the *first* object of apprehension (so pretended) was young Polydore's surviving to rebuild Troy; the *second*, but contingent on that, was another expedition from Greece to destroy it, along with all the consequences of trouble and devastation to the neighbouring states.

As every scholar possesses the Hippolytus [v. 643] edited by Bp. Monk, and the Œdipus Rex [v. 1389] by Mr. Elmsley, it is unnecessary to give any particular explanation of what they have so well developed. Hermann also may be consulted with advantage, in his *Annotationes*, No. 446, on the Greek Idioms of Viger[1].

VII.

"Exigit sermonis ratio, ut voculæ οὐ μὴ vel cum Futuro indicativo, vel cum Aoristo altero formæ subjunctivæ construantur." [M. C. 222=221.]

"Legitime construitur vocula ὅπως, altera μὴ vel comite, vel absente, cum Aoristo secundo formæ vel activæ vel mediæ, uti et cum Aoristo primo passivæ." [M. C. 228, 229, 30=227, 28.]

"Vocula οὐ cum verbo subjunctivæ formæ conjuncta alteram itidem μὴ comitem postulat." [M. C. 340=331.]

According to Dawes, then, the following forms of Syntax, for instance, are correct:

1. ΟΥ ΜΗ δυσμενὴς ΕΣΗι φίλοις.
2. 'Αλλ' ΟΥΠΟΤ' ἐξ ἐμοῦγε ΜΗ ΜΑΘΗΙΣ τόδε.
3. Δέδοιχ' 'ΟΠΩΣ ΜΗ τεύξομαι κακοδαίμονος.
4. [σκεπτέον, ὅπως τοῦτο μάθῃ.]
5. [σκεπτέον, ὅπως μὴ αἴσθωνται ταῦτα.]
6. [φύλαξει, ὅπως μὴ τυφθῇς.]

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[1] Addendum. 1836.

The striking passage here selected to show the syntax,

ἔῤῥιψα, ὅπως ἀπηλλάγην,
"*flung that I might have been released,*"

involves also a peculiarity of its own, which may be worth while to illustrate.

Under the form of a past tense, the sentiment rather belongs to the present or future. Io's real meaning is this: "*Why don't I fling myself, &c. that I may be released?*"

Similarly enough, as far as the first part of the sentence goes, Creon exclaims,

Antigone, 1308, 9. τί μ' οὐκ ἀνταίαν
ἔπαισέν τις ἀμφιθήκτῳ ξίφει;

where it is quite evident, he does not so much regret that no friendly hand *had* despatched him, as he calls for that friendly hand to do it *then*, at the time of his speaking.

And the following forms amongst others are not legitimate:—

7. Οὐ μὴ ληρήσῃς. Read, Οὐ μὴ ΛΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ.

8. Ὅπως δὲ τοῦτο μὴ διδάξῃς μηδένα. Read, ὅπως μὴ διδάξεις.

9. Ἀλλ' οὔτι μ' ἐκφύγητε λαιψηρῷ ποδί. [Hecub. 1038 = 1030.] Read, Ἀλλ' οὔτι ΜΗ 'ΚΦΥΓΗΤΕ. "Dawesius sagaciter, licet minus recte." R. P. With the great critic himself, therefore, read Ἀλλ' οὔτι μὴ φύγητε λαιψηρῷ ποδί.

A. Under the head of No. 8, which is a case of elliptic construction, may commodiously be classed a most ingenious recovery of error, and a most happy defence of the true but suspected lection.

Reiske, offended at the awkwardness which nobody can deny, of Hecuba, v. 402, corrected the verse as follows:

ὅμοια, κισσὸς δρυὸς ὅπως, τῆσδ' ἕξομαι.

And Porson, in his first edition of the Hecuba, adopted the correction, with this remark—

"ὅμοια emendatio est Reiskii pro ὁποῖα, quod habent Aldus et MSS."

In his second edition he restores the genuine reading,

ὁποῖα κισσὸς δρυός, ὅπως τῆσδ' ἕξομαι.

As the ivy clings to the oak, let me cling to my daughter here. The jingle of the Greek, which one wonders did not offend the nice ear of Euripides, disappears in the English translation.

Porson's note enlarged shall be given at full length.

"ὅμοια emendatio est Reiskii pro ὁποῖα, quod habent Aldus et MSS. a Brunckio et Beckio recepta. Pro ὅπως B. οὕτως. Sed re perpensa, huic emendationi diffidere cœpi, et vulgatum defendi posse hodie censeo. Plerumque quidem ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ cum secunda persona, aliquando cum tertia construitur, rarius cum prima. Aristophanes, Eccles. 296, Ὅπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον Λαβόντες ἔπειτα πλησίοι καθεδούμεθα. Plene dixit post paullo, Ὅρα δ' ὅπως ὠθήσομαι τούσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεος. Antiphanes Athenæi III. p. 123. B. Ὅπως ὕδωρ ἕψοντα μηδέν' ὄψομαι. Retinenda etiam videtur vulgata Troad. 147 lectio, frustra a Musgravio sollicitata. Μάτηρ δ' ὡς τις πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν Ὄρνισιν, ὅπως ἐξάρξω 'γὼ Μολπάν."

B. That οὐ does not precede a verb of the subjunctive mood unless accompanied by μή, is true enough as an Attic Canon. In the Ionic Greek of Homer, the other Syntax is perfectly right.

Iliad. A. 262. Οὐ γάρ πω τοίους ἴδον ἀνέρας οὐδὲ ἴδωμαι.

And I only mention this now, to avoid the appearance which one might otherwise incur of appealing to Homer as an authority for Attic Syntax. Innumerable modes of speech, cultivated by the Poets, and even familiar to the Prose writers of Athens, are drawn from Homer, the vast ocean of Grecian literature. But inasmuch as a great deal of the original diction of Homer had become obsolete in the age of Pericles, and a great deal of recent varnish was afterwards put on by the scholars of Alexandria, let it be understood, that we borrow illustration from Homer only where he was copied or followed by the Attic writers; while against their demonstrated practice—in the present discussion—he affords no authority at all. [Iliad. Φ. 195, &c.]

C. A very ingenious hint is started and ably defended by Mr. Elmsley in his Criticism on Gaisford's edition of Markland's Euripides [Quart. Review, June, 1812, pp. 453, 4] ad *Supp.* v. 1066; that "when οὐ μὴ is prefixed to the future, a note of interrogation ought to be added." And Bp. Monk, approving the idea, edits the *Hippolytus* accordingly. Vid. vv. 213. 602.

On the particles οὐκ οὖν a similar hint is advanced by Mr. Elmsley, *ad Œd. R.* v. 342, and pursued *ad Heraclid.* v. 256 [1].

(Gr. Gr. 540—545).

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[1] Addendum to C. 1836.

In questions of this kind, it is one thing to ascertain the original character of such a phrase, as οὐ μή, or οὐκ οὖν: it is quite another, amidst several stages of use, to define its actual force at any given period.

Thus, allowing that οὐ μὴ ἔσῃ might from originally being interrogative, "*will you not forbear to be?*" come to denote in direct prohibition, "*you will forbear,*" &c., the nice difficulty remains to determine at what period the transition had absolutely taken place to that effect.

At all events, οὐ μὴ in the following passage of Euripides, Phœn. 1606,

σαφῶς γὰρ εἶπε Τειρεσίας, οὐ μή ποτε,
σοῦ τήνδε γῆν οἰκοῦντος, εὖ πράξειν πόλιν,

conveys in the very plainest manner a strong direct negation and nothing else.

For οὔκουν ἐχέτω, and οὔκουν ἔασον, vid. Hermann's Annotations on Viger, No. 261.

Singularly enough, Terence presents the primary use of *quin* interrogative, and that other use afterwards acquired, at the very same early period. Quin taces? and Quin tu uno verbo dic.

VIII.

"Nec verbum activum μεθίημι cum Genitivo, nec medium μεθίεμαι cum Accusativo recte conjungitur," sed vice versa. [M. C. 238=236.] Vid. et R. P. *ad Med.* v. 734.

This one instance, acutely observed, belongs to that nice analogy by which several other verbs in their active and middle uses are always distinguished. In the translation which I shall venture to give, let not the fastidious reader find cause of displeasure. Where the analysis of language descends to its last stage, the words by which the attempt is made to develope it, if they do trip a little, may expect to be forgiven.

1. μεθίημι σέ.——μεθίεμαι σοῦ.
2. ἀφίημι σέ.——ἀφίεμαι σοῦ.
3. ἔλαβον σέ.——ἐλαβόμην σοῦ.
4. σῖγα δ' ἕξομεν στόμα.——βρετέων ἔχεσθαι.
5. βρόχους ἅπτειν.——ἅψει πέπλων.
6. ὤρεξε τὴν κύλικα.——οὗ παιδὸς ὠρέξατο.

1, 2. *I quit, or part——myself from you.*
3. *I caught——myself at you.*
4. *To hold——ourselves by the statues.*
5. *You will fasten——yourself on my robes.*
6. *He stretched——himself for his Son.*

In translating, at once exactly, and with variety if it be not distinction, lies the difficulty; otherwise the task would be easy enough. A Scholar understands the whole without any help of translation.

IX.

"Si mulier de se loquens pluralem adhibet numerum, genus etiam adhibet masculinum;

"Si masculinum adhibet genus, numerum etiam adhibet pluralem." R. P. ad *Hec.* 515. [M. C. 317=310.]

In Porson's Letter to Dalzel, *Mus. Crit.* p. 335, it is said, "There is a stronger exception against Dawes's rule in *Hipp*.

1120 [Ed. Monk, 1107] than can be brought, I believe, from any other quarter."

Whoever will take the trouble of turning to the passage itself and the note upon it in Bp. Monk's edition, will find that it is all a mere inadvertence of the poet, who either mistook himself at the moment for the Coryphæa, or hastily transferred from his *loci communes* a fine train of reflection, without considering in whose character it must be uttered.

Read that charming Scolium in the Medea, *Σκαιοὺς δὲ λέγων*—vv. 112—206, or that, *Δεινὰ τυράννων*—vv. 119—130: and say, who but Euripides could have given sentiments so beautiful, so just, so profound, to the person of an illiterate nurse?

X.

"Loci istius [Iliad] Z. 479.

Καί ποτέ τις εἴποι 'πατρὸς δ' ὅγε πολλὸν ἀμείνων'
'Εκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα—

fefellit omnes, quantum sciam, syntaxis. Nempe interpretantur ac si verbum *ἰδὼν* vel simile non incommode subaudiri posset: quo referretur accusativus *ἀνιόντα*: *et olim quis dicet 'patre vero hic multo est fortior' ex pugna redeuntem* conspicatus. Frustra. Nam plena atque integra est oratio, ista autem constructio: *Καί ποτέ τις ἐκ πολέμου ἀνιόντα εἴποι*—*et olim quis* de eo *ex pugna redeunte* [vel *reverso*] dicat.—Adjiciam et illud Aristoph. Nub. 1147.

Καί μοι TON YION, *εἰ μεμάθηκε τὸν λόγον*
'Εκεῖνον, ΕΙΦ', *ὃν ἀρτίως εἰσήγαγες.*

Et mihi de filio dic, *utrum didicerit.*—Quem ad locum *υἱὸν* esse accusativum more Atticorum pro nominativo positum frustra monet Cl. Küsterus." [M. C. 147, 8=149.]

1. This remark on what for distinction's sake should be called the *Accusativus de quo*, has a range of great usefulness, especially in the Attic Poets.

The following in Homer, Iliad Z. 239, is rather unique:

The wives and daughters of the Trojan soldiers crowded about Hector:—

Εἰρόμεναι παῖδάς τε, κασιγνήτους τε, ἔτας τε,
Καὶ πόσιας. "h. e. *περὶ παίδων.*" Heyne.

The Attics generally use the *Accusativus de quo* with what is technically called an *indefinite sentence* after it, as in the passage quoted above from Aristophanes.

2. But another Syntax, less noticed, may commodiously be mentioned here, the *Accusativus rei vel facti*, where the governing verb would otherwise require the genitive case.

Μεῖζόν τι χρῄζεις, παῖδας ἢ σεσωσμένους; *Phœn.* 1226.
——ἐὰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους
Πύθησθε———*Sept. c. Theb.* 228, 9.

Do you desire a greater blessing, than that your sons should be alive?—If you hear that any of ours are dying or wounded. Perhaps it may add some illustration to a matter not commonly remarked, if I refer to a correspondent class of expressions in the Latin language.

Spretæque injuria formæ. *Æn.* I.
Ob iram interfecti ab eo domini. *Livy,* XXI. § 2.
Injuria τοῦ formam spretam fuisse.
Iram ἕνεκα τοῦ interfectum fuisse ab eo dominum.

That is, not *injuria formæ*, not *iram domini;* which words taken alone would convey ideas very different from those intended by Virgil and Livy[1].

XI.

Φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής.

"Locutio ista ἀγαθῶν ἄξιος ὑμῖν quo valeat, exponat velim qui intelligere sibi videtur. Interim vero contemplare, si vacat, quid inter eam et veram (ni male auguror) Aristophanis manum intersit: Φησὶν δ' εἶναι πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ΑΙΤΙΟΣ ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής." [M. C. 257=254.] And he goes on to defend his emendation by what is plausible enough in the context of the passage, and by showing that such a Syntax of *αἴτιος* is familiar to Aristophanes.

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[1] ADDENDUM to X. 2. 1836.

The following expressions afford examples of the nominative case also and the accusative used in the same way.

Horace II. *Carm.* IV. 10, 12.
——— et *ademtus Hector*
Tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Graiis.

Ovid. Met. XIII. 64, 65.
Haud tamen efficiet, *desertum* ut *Nestora* crimen
Esse rear nullum.

3. Nor has it been duly noticed, that the neuter pronouns in Greek are favourable to a government in the Accusative case, where the masculine or feminine would require the Genitive.

μεῖζόν τι χρῄζεις; affords an instance immediately of what I wish to suggest; the intelligent reader will need no farther explanation.

1. A very useful article might be formed under the name of Errores Dawesiani. I could not say of Dawes, what some one pointedly said of our great Aristarchus, but too bitterly against the "learned Theban" of Emmanuel,—"One may learn more from Bentley when he is wrong, than from Barnes when he is right." And yet beyond a doubt, the detection of ingenious error in clever men affords instruction as well as amusement, if properly considered. The quick may learn modesty, and the slow may derive encouragement, from the very same lesson.

Ἡμῖν δ' Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄξιος τιμῆς, γύναι,
Θανὼν ὑπὲρ γῆς Ἑλλάδος κάλλιστ' ἀνήρ. *Hecub.* 313.

"Verte, *Dignus Achilles, qui a nobis honorem accipiat.*" Vide R. P. *ad locum*; et Elmsleium *ad Acharn.* 633.

—— ἄροισθε
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις. *Sept. c. Theb.* 304, 5.

Such is the happy and certain emendation of Bp. Blomfield, who thus supports it: "Constructio verbi ἄροισθε, quæ e rarioribus est, scribas fefellit. Æschylus Homerum pro more respicit. Iliad. Δ. 94.

Τλαίης κεν Μενελάῳ ἐπιπροέμεν ταχὺν ἰόν·
Πᾶσι δέ κε Τρώεσσι χάριν καὶ κῦδος ἄροιο."

A similar passage occurs in the Iliad, I. 303, vid. Heyn. in loc.

2. For the benefit of those young scholars to whom this Syntax may perhaps seem strange, I shall collect instances in number and variety sufficient to render it at once familiar and clear.

1. ὡς ἄξιος εἴη θανάτου τῇ πόλει. *Xenoph. Mem. ad init.*

2. ἔργῳ μὲν ἡμῖν οὖδ' ἔχουσι τὰ προσήκοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. *Funeral Oration of Plato, ad init.*

3. Τρωσὶν δ' αὖ μετόπισθε γερούσιον ὅρκον ἕλωμαι. *Iliad.* X. 119.

4. Δέξατό οἱ σκῆπτρον πατρώϊον ἄφθετον αἰεί. *Ibid.* B. 186.

5. Πόσου πρίωμαί σοι τὰ χοιρίδια; λέγε. *Acharn.* 812.

6. Ὠνήσομαί σοι. *Ibid.* 815.

7. Κλῦθί μοι, αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκυς, ἀτρυτώνη. *Iliad.* E. 115.

8. Χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ Πάτροκλε, καὶ εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοισι. *Ibid.* Ψ. 179.

9. Ὦ Πελίου θύγατερ,
Χαίρουσά μοι ἐν Ἀΐδα δόμοισι
Τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον οἰκητεύοις. *Alcest.* 437—9.

I would translate the last two passages thus: *Take my blessing, and farewell.* In the other instances, the proper rendering will be, *at me, of me, at my hands.*

It is a mode of speaking, to which the old English and the modern Scottish afford parallels in plenty.

1. Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil? *Job* ii. 10.

2. Ask at Moses and the Prophets. *Logan, Sermons.*

3. Blithe would I battle, for the right
To ask one question at the sprite.
Sir Walter Scott, Marmion.

Before concluding, let me be allowed to suggest, that from what has been stated above, Brunck's translation of the passage in the *Electra* of Sophocles may derive some colour and countenance of support. I am inclined to adopt it as right.

Τίνι γάρ ποτ' ἄν, ὦ φιλία γενέθλα,
Πρόσφορον ἀκούσαιμ' ἔπος,
Τίνι φρονοῦντι καίρια;

A QUO *enim unquam, cara progenies, audire possim aliquod conveniens mihi?* *Mus. Crit.* No. IV. pp. 519—535.

1. Articulus cum propriis nominibus.

Articulum raro propriis nominibus præfigunt Tragici nisi propter emphasin quandam, aut initio sententiæ, ubi particula inseritur, ut infra 532. Suppl. 129. In Sophoclis Phil. 1357. πῶς τῷ πανώλει παιδὶ τοῦ Λαερτίου; Aldus et MSS. recte τῷ.—Ib. 677. Τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτὲ τοῦ Διός.—Omittunt τοῦ Ald. et MSS. Lege τῶν. Raro, dicebam, non enim nunquam, ut statuere videtur Valckenaerius ad hunc locum.—Porson ad Phœn. 145.

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2. Neutra pluralia cum verbo plurali.

Quantum equidem judicare possum, veteres Attici hanc licentiam, si scilicet licentia appellanda est, ut plurale verbum neutri plurali subjicerent, nunquam usurpabant, nisi ubi de animantibus ageretur. Porson ad Hec. 1141[1].

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3. Verba duo diversos casus regentia.

Græci scilicet, cum verba duo, diversos casus regentia, ad idem nomen æque referantur, ne nomen proprium aut pronomen minus suaviter repetatur, in utrovis regimine semel ponunt, altero omisso. Porson ad Med. 734.

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4. Verba quorum futura sunt formæ mediæ.
(Gr. Gr. 350, 1.)

Ἃ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε, θαυμάσει κλύων.

Θαυμάσῃς E. Θαυμάσεις P. Lasc. Sed θαυμάζω futurum habet θαυμάσομαι, non θαυμάσω. Multa sunt verba, quæ futura formæ mediæ, nusquam autem activæ, apud Atticos saltem, adsciscunt: quod ut exemplis confirmem, verbis ἀκούω, σιγῶ, σιωπῶ, ᾄδω, βοῶ, ἁμαρτάνω, θνήσκω, πίπτω, κλάω, πλέω, πνέω, futura

[1] See Hermann's generalization of this rule, in his note on Soph. Elect. 430.

sunt *ἀκούσομαι, σιγήσομαι, σιωπήσομαι, ᾄσομαι, βοήσομαι, ἁμαρτήσομαι, θανοῦμαι, πεσοῦμαι, κλαύσομαι, πλεύσομαι, πνεύσομαι.* Alia hujusmodi non pauca reperies, quibus futurum formæ activæ aut nunquam aut rarissime tribuebant Attici.

Monk ad Alcest. v. 158.

—A verbo utique *ὄμνυμι* formæ activæ futurum apud Atticos nullum est. Sic medio duntaxat utebantur, crasin itidem suam adhibentes *ὀμοῦμαι.* Dawes, Misc. Crit. p. 578.

5. Formæ futurorum passive significantium.

Notandum tironibus, quatuor esse apud Græcos formas futurorum passive significantium. Exempla rem apertam facient.

Primi igitur generis esse ponamus *τιμήσομαι, στυγήσομαι, λέξομαι:*

Secundi, quod Paulo post Futuri nomine distinguunt Grammatici, *βεβλήσομαι, γεγράψομαι:*

Tertii, *βληθήσομαι, ἀπαλλαχθήσομαι:*

Quarti, quod apud Tragicos rarius est, *ἀπαλλαγήσομαι, φανήσομαι.*

Primæ formæ, cui Futuri medii titulum dederunt Grammatici, usus passivus Atticis maxime placuit. Vide Hemsterhusium ad Thom. Mag. p. 852. Exempla horum futurorum passive significantium, quæ inter Tragicorum lectionem enotavi, exscribam. *Λέξομαι.* Hec. 901. Alc. 332. Iph. T. 1047. Herc. F. 852. Soph. Œd. C. 1186.

Τιμήσομαι. Frag. Eur. Erechthei, l. 54. Soph. Antig. 210. Æsch. Agam. 590.

Στερήσομαι. Eur. Electr. 310. Hipp. 1458. Soph. Elect. 1210. Antig. 890.

Κηρύξομαι. Phœn. 1646.

Ἁλώσομαι. Andr. 190. Soph. Œd. T. 576. Œd. Col. 1064. Ant. 46.

Ἐάσομαι. Iph. A. 331.

Μισήσομαι. Tr. 663. Ion 623.
Στυγήσομαι. Soph. Œd. T. 672.
Δηλώσομαι. Soph. Œd. C. 581.
Βουλεύσομαι. Æsch. Theb. 204.
Ἐνέξομαι. Orest. 509.
Ἄρξομαι. Æsch. Pers. 591.
Διδάξομαι. Helen. 1446. Soph. Ant. 726.
Ἐπιτάξομαι. Supp. 521. (531.)
Καλοῦμαι. Soph. El. 971.
Ὀνειδιοῦμαι. Œd. T. 1500.

In Heracl. 335. *μνημονεύσεται χάρις* reposuit Elmsleius. Alia quædam hujusmodi in Tragicorum reliquiis deprehendet lector. Apud ceteros Atticos frequentissima sunt. Vid. Pierson. ad Mœrin, pp. 13. 367. Monk ad Hippol. v. 1458.

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6. Ἵνα, ὥς, ὄφρα cum indicativo conjuncta.
(Gr. Gr. 614.)

Satis notum est particulas ἵνα, ὥς, ὅπως, ὄφρα cum indicativi temporibus præteritis aliquando conjungi. Hujus vero constructionis rationem in gratiam tironum explicabo. Quum significare vellent Græci aliquid *futurum fuisse*, si *alia quædam res contigisset*, tum conjunctiones istas præfigebant *indicativi temporibus*, prout res postularet, imperfecto, aoristis, plusquam perfecto. Et hæc sane structura ab usibus particularum ὥς, ἵνα, &c. cum *subjunctivo* et *optativo* prorsus distinguenda est. Dixissent quidem,

> Χρὴ πρόσπολον οὐ περᾷν—ἵν' ἔχωσι μήτε, κ. τ. λ.
> —*that they may be able neither*, &c.

Dixissent etiam,

> Οὐκ εἴων πρόσπολον περᾷν—ἵν' ἔχοιεν μήτε, κ. τ. λ.
> —*that they might be able neither*, &c.

Diversa autem ratio est sententiæ,

> Χρῆν πρόσπολον οὐ περᾷν—ἵν' εἶχον μήτε, κ. τ. λ.
> –*in which case they would be able neither*, &c.

Exempla quædam apponam, quibus hæc syntaxis, Atticorum fere propria, melius percipiatur.

——— Ἀλλ' εἰ τῆς ἀκουούσης ἔτ' ἦν
Πηγῆς δι' ὤτων φραγμός, οὐκ ἂν ἐσχόμην
Τὸ μὴ 'ποκλεῖσαι τοὐμὸν ἄθλιον δέμας,
Ἵν' ἦν τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν. Œd. Tyr. 1386.

Εἰ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν, νέρθεν θ' Ἀΐδου
Τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος, εἰς ἀπέραντον
Τάρταρον ἧκεν, δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις
Ἀγρίοις πελάσας, ὡς μήτε θεός,
Μήτε τὶς ἄλλος τοῖσδ' ἐγεγήθει. Æsch. Prom. 158.
Monk ad Hippol. v. 643.

Ἵν' ἦν τυφλός τε καὶ κλύων μηδέν.—

Sensus est: *Utinam aurium sensum occludere possem, ut etiam surdus essem.* Qua significatione recte dicitur ἵν' ἦ τυφλός τε. Quoties enim prior sententiæ pars non quid factum sit, sed quid fieri oportuerit, designat, particulæ ἵνα, ὡς, ὅπως indicativum post se adsciscunt, modo de re præsenti aut præterita sermo sit. Nam de re futura adhibetur subjunctivus aut optativus.

Elmsley in Œdip. Tyr. v. 1389.

7. Ὡς, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὄφρα, μὴ cum optativo et subjunctivo conjuncta.

Notissima quidem Dawesii regula est, Misc. Crit. p. 85, *optativum* cum particulis ὡς, ἵνα, ὅπως, ὄφρα, μὴ verbis non nisi *præteritæ* significationis; *subjunctivum* verbis non nisi *præsentis* vel *futuræ* significationis subjungi. Observavit autem Porsonus ad Phœn. 68, hanc regulam non videri per omnia servasse Tragicos; conferens Hec. 1128—1133. Nonnunquam sane, licet præcedat verbum *præteriti* temporis, effectus tamen, qui petebatur, aut *præsens* est aut *futurus*; ideoque verbum *subjunctivum* postulatur. Cum igitur nondum mortuus esset Hippolytus, dixit Diana,

——— ὡς ὑπ' εὐκλείας θάνῃ,
—*that he may die with a good reputation.*

Alterum ὡς . . . θάνοι vertendum esset, *that he might die*, &c.

Monk, Hippol. v. 1294.

8. Οὐ *μὴ* cum futuro prohibendi significatione.

Οὐ μὴ φλυαρήσεις ἔχων, ὦ Ξανθία. Ran. 525.

Ratio hujus constructionis talis esse videtur. Nemo nescit *οὐ μενεῖς* cum interrogatione idem significare quod *μένε* vel *μεῖνον*. Nostra etiam lingua eo sensu dicitur, *Will you not stay?* Græce vero non solum *οὐ μενεῖς* dicitur, sed etiam *οὐ μὴ μενεῖς* contrario sensu. Hoc enim *μὴ μένε* vel *μὴ μείνῃς* significat. Hunc quidem futuri usum nostra lingua nescit. Non enim dicere licet, *Will you not not stay?* Hoc exemplo tamen facile intelligitur, qua ratione Græci, qui particulas *οὐ* et *μὴ* sæpe ita conjungunt, ut altera alterius vim non tollat, *οὐ μὴ μενεῖς* eodem sensu dixerint, quo *οὐκ ἄπει, non abibis?* *Μὴ μένειν* enim valet *ἀπιέναι*.

Simili ratione Jasonis verba,

—— *Οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις; κ. τ. λ.*

accipienda sunt quasi dixerit *οὐκ εὐμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις*. A particula negativa *μὴ* non pendent nisi tria verba *δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις*: ab *οὐ* vero tota sententia, quam interrogationis nota primus terminavi. Caveant autem tirones ne Dawesium, Brunckium, aliosque secuti, *οὐ μὴ μενεῖς* cum *οὐ μὴ μείνῃς* confundant. Illud *μὴ μένε* vel *μὴ μείνῃς* significat, ut modo dixi, hoc *οὐ μενεῖς*.

Elmsley in Medeam, v. 1120—4.

Exigit sermonis ratio ut voculæ οὐ μὴ vel cum futuro indicativo, vel cum aoristo altero formæ subjunctivæ construantur. Dawesius, Mis. Crit. p. 222.

Hæc ille. Mirarer equidem, si bene Græcum esset *οὐ μὴ μάθῃς*, solœcum vero *οὐ μὴ διδάξῃς*. Miror etiam Dawesium non vidisse, exemplum quod dedit primum longe diversum esse a secundo. In verbis,

Οὐ μὴ σ᾽ ἐγὼ περιόψομ᾽ ἀπελθόντ᾽, Ran. 509.

particula *μὴ* omnino *πλεονάζει*. In illis vero apud Medeam 1151,

Οὐ μὴ δυσμενὴς ἔσει φίλοις,

sensus non est *οὐκ ἔσει*, sed *μὴ ἴσθι*. Meam de hac quæstione sententiam sæpius exposui. Vide in primis Censuræ Trim. t. VII. p. 454. *Οὐ μὴ* cum futuro vetantis est, cum subjunctivo vero negantis. *Οὐ μὴ γράψεις* igitur valet *μὴ γράφε* aut *μὴ γράψῃς*, *οὐ μὴ γράψῃς* vero *οὐ γράψεις*. Elmsley in Œd. Col. v. 177.

9. Οὐ μή ποτε ἐπεύξονται.

Οὐ μή, quod sæpe observavimus, cum futuro indicativo formæ activæ vel mediæ construitur. Ib. 1024.

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10. Εἰ μὴ—ἐὰν μή.

Ἔπειτ' ἐμοὶ τὰ δείν' ἐπηπείλησ' ἔπη,
Εἰ μὴ φανείην πᾶν τὸ συντυχὸν πάθος.

Mr. Porson (ad Hec. 842) says of this passage: *Facillimam emendationem* φανείη pro φανείην *prætervidere viri docti, quam tamen adsumere potuerat e* MS. *Brunck.* Φανείην *contra linguam et metrum est,* φανοίην *contra linguam.* Brunck, who first admitted φανοίην into the text, believed it to be the optative of the second aorist ἔφανον. In this acceptation, φανοίην is certainly *contra linguam.* The second aorist ἔφανον does not exist; and if it existed, its optative would be φάνοιμι. But if we agree with Buttmann, as quoted by Erfurdt, in considering φανοίην as the optative of the contracted future φανῶ, it may safely be pronounced a legitimate Greek word. We prefer φανοίην to φανείη, for the following reason—the difference between εἰ μὴ φανοίην and εἰ μὴ φανείη is the same as the difference between εἰ μὴ φανῶ and ἐὰν μὴ φανῇ. Εἰ μὴ φανοίην has the same relation to εἰ μὴ φανῶ as εἰ μὴ φανείη has to ἐὰν μὴ φανῇ. Now it appears to us that the active future is rather more proper in this place than the passive subjunctive. We would rather say,

I will burn your house if you do not put ten pounds in a certain place, than

I will burn your house unless ten pounds are put in a certain place. Elmsley ad Sophocl. Aj. v. 312. Mus. Crit. No. III.

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11. Ὅπως vel ὅπως μή.

Plerumque quidem ὅπως vel ὅπως μὴ cum secunda persona, aliquando cum tertia construitur, rarius cum prima.

Porson ad Hec. 398.

12. Imperativus aoristi post *μὴ* non solet adhiberi.

—— Μηδὲ τοῖς σαυτοῦ κακοῖς
Τὸ θῆλυ συνθεὶς ὧδε πᾶν μέμψῃ γένος.

Recte dicitur *μὴ μέμφου*, *μὴ μέμψῃ*, non recte dicitur *μὴ μέμφῃ*. Jam *μέμψαι*, non est illud quidem prorsus solœcum, sed adeo rarum, ut similia ex paucis tantum locis, eaque ut singularia, enotarint Grammatici. Porson in Hec. v. 1165.

13. Πρὶν cum subjunctivo omisso *ἄν*. (Gr. Gr. 583, β.)

Δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἔνεστιν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν,
Ὅστις, πρὶν ἀνδρὸς σπλάγχνον ἐκμαθεῖν σαφῶς,
Στυγεῖ δεδορκώς——

Sæpe enim *πρὶν* cum subjunctivo jungunt Tragici, omisso *ἄν*, quod in sermone familiari semper requiritur. Porson ad Med. 222.—Subjunctivum non usurpant Tragici, nisi in priori membro, quod hic est *ὅστις στυγεῖ δεδορκώς*, adsit negandi aut prohibendi significatio. Ita noster, v. 277.

—— Κοὐκ ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους πάλιν,
Πρὶν ἄν σε γαίας τερμόνων ἔξω βάλω.

Idem de optativo statuendum est.

Ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ σῖγα, πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι,
Τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι, προστυχόντι τῶν ἴσων. Phil. 551.

Interdum abest particula negativa, sed ita tamen ut maneat sensus negativus.

Ἀμήχανον δὲ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐκμαθεῖν
Ψυχήν τε καὶ φρόνημα καὶ γνώμην, πρὶν ἂν
Ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ νόμοισιν ἐντριβὴς φανῇ. Ant. 175.

Idem ac si dixisset *οὐκ ἂν ἐκμάθοις*. Negativam particulam in adjectivo *ἀμήχανον* includi vix opus est ut moneam.

—Minime autem prætermittendum est, pro subjunctivo haud raro usurpari infinitivum, licet subjunctivus pro infinitivo nunquam, quod sciam, usurpetur. Noster, v. 92.

—— Οὐδὲ παύσεται
Χόλου, σάφ' οἶδα, πρὶν κατασκῆψαί τινα.

Elmsley in Euripidis Medeam, v. 221. Mus. Crit. No. V. p. 11.

14. Ἂν neque cum præsenti neque perfecto indicativo conjungitur.

—— *Οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσαιμί σε,*

certum equidem habeo, veteres particulam ἂν neque cum præsenti neque perfecto indicativo conjunxisse: et olim legendum conjiciebam,

Οὐκ οἶδά γ' εἰ π. σ.

Hodie vero retinendum puto vulgatum et hic et in Medea (v. 937), et construendum, *οὐ γὰρ οἶδα εἰ πείσαιμι ἄν σε*, quod, utcunque durum, defendere videtur locus Aristoph. Av. 1017. ab Elmsleio in hanc opinionem firmandam citatus: *ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' ἄρ' εἰ φθαίης ἄν.* Consulas ipsius egregiam annotationem in Medeæ versum Mus. Crit. tom. II. part I.

Monk, Alcestis, v. 48.

15. *Μὰ Δία, οὐ μὰ Δία, νὴ Δία.*

Post jusjurandum, qualia sunt, *νὴ Δία, νὴ τὸν Δία, μὰ Δία, οὐ μὰ Δία, νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω*, et cetera hujusmodi, nunquam sequitur particula ΓΕ, nisi alio vocabulo interposito.

Aristophan. Plut. 134. 144.

Καὶ νὴ Δί' εὔχονταί γε πλουτεῖν ἄντικρυς.
Καὶ νὴ Δί', εἴ τί γ' ἐστὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ καλόν.

Porson, Adversaria, p. 33.

16. *Πρός σ' ὅτι σοι φίλον ἐκ σέθεν ἄντομαι.* Œd. Col. v. 250.

Observa syntaxin. Græcis solenne est in juramento aliquid inter Præpositionem et Casum ejus interponere. Sic Euripides in Hippol. v. 605.

Ναὶ πρὸς σὲ [imo *πρός σε*] *τῆς σῆς δεξιᾶς εὐωλένου.*

Atque eorum imitatione dixit Virgilius, Æn. lib. iv. v. 314.

—— Per ego has lacrymas, dextramque tuam, te.

Elmsley ad Œd. Col. Addend. p. 361.

17. *Μενέλαε, σοὶ δὲ τάδε λέγω, δράσω τε πρός.* Orest. 614.

Cum subito sermonem ad alium ab alio convertimus, primo nomen ponimus, deinde pronomen, deinde particulam.

Porson ad l. c.

18. Copula enclitica.

Copula enclitica nunquam apud veteres Græcos, opinor, præpositionem sequitur, nisi ea sententiæ membrum inchoat. Potuit igitur Atheniensis dicere, ἔν τε πόλεος ἀρχαῖς vel ἐν πόλεός τε ἀρχαῖς, non πόλεος ἔν τ' ἀρχαῖς. Ib. 887.

19. Δὲ—γε.

Ubi persona secunda prioris sententiam auget aut corrigit, post δέ, modo interposito, modo non interposito alio verbo, sequitur particula γε. Ib. 1234.

20. Καὶ—δέ.

Conjunctiones istas in eodem sententiæ membro haud credo occurrere apud istius ævi (sc. Tragicorum) scriptores, nisi per librariorum errores. Porson ad Orest. 614.

21. Γέ τε—τέ γε—γε μέν.

Γέ τε nunquam conjungunt Attici. Porson ad Med. 863.

Τε vel γε nunquam secunda pedis trisyllabi syllaba esse potest. Porson Præf. ad Hec. p. xv.

22. 'Αλλὰ μὴν—καὶ μὴν—οὐδὲ μὴν—οὐ μήν.

Οὐ μὴν ἑλίξας γ' ἀμφὶ σὸν χεῖρας γόνυ.

sæpe additur γε in eadem sententia cum ἀλλὰ μήν, καὶ μήν, οὐδὲ μήν, οὐ μήν, sed nunquam, nisi interposito alio verbo, ut breviter monui ad Hec. 403. Porson ad Phœniss. v. 1638.

23. ποῖ—ποῦ—πᾶ—πῇ γῆς—ὅπῃ γῆς.

Ποῦ quietem notat; ποῖ motum; πᾶ in utramvis partem sumitur, ut monuit Scholiastes ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 447.
Porson ad Hec. 1062.

Πέμπων ὅποι γῆς πυνθάνοιθ' ἱδρυμένους.

"Οποι γῆς P. E. Πῇ γῆς et ὅπῃ γῆς ex Atticorum scriptis prorsus ejicienda esse censeo. Apud Æsch. Prom. 566, ubi vulgo legitur ὅπῃ γῆς, ὅποι γῆς præbet cod. Mediceus. Nostro loco ὅποι *accipiendum quasi esset* ἐκεῖσε ὅπου, ut verbis utar Porsoni ad Hec. 1062. Elmsley ad Heracl. 19.

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE PRINCIPAL

GREEK TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES

IN

SCANSION, STRUCTURE, AND ICTUS.

By JAMES TATE, M.A.

The Introduction here offered to the use of young Students may claim one merit at least, that of being unquestionably the first attempt of the kind. If, with great truth, it be added that on the compilation and composition of the work a large measure of time and painful thought has been bestowed, that will be a further plea for its candid and liberal reception with all intelligent readers.

The Author is duly aware, that in the plan here (generally) adopted of stating the approved results of the inquiries of others, he has foregone several opportunities to recommend favourite researches and remarks of his own. Plain practical utility has been his leading object: he might else, in developing the present state of metrical knowledge, have interspersed some instructive and even amusing facts in its history and progress up to the present time.

Many things now familiar to young Academics (thanks to the labours of Dawes and Burney and Parr and Porson and Elmsley) were utterly unknown to scholars like Bentley and to Scaliger before him: and though it might seem an ungracious task, it would not be void either of pleasure or of profit to give select specimens of errors in metre and syntax committed by those illustrious men.

If Attic literature is even now in the process of being delivered from one of its greatest pests, the *emendandi scabies*, nothing could better illustrate the value of those critical labours by which the deliverance has been so far achieved, than to exhibit scholars otherwise so justly eminent, wasting their fine talents and erudition on emendations crude and unprofitable, which in the present day could not possibly be hazarded.

R. S. Y.

May 16, 1827.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPAL GREEK TRAGIC AND COMIC METRES

IN SCANSION, STRUCTURE, AND ICTUS.

(See Donaldson's Gr. Gr. Part VI.)

THE principal verses of a regular kind are Iambic, Trochaic, and Anapestic.

The Scansion in all of them is by dipodias or sets of two feet. Each set is called a Metre.

The structure of verse is such a division of each line by the words composing it as forms a movement most agreeable to the ear.

The metrical ictus, occurring twice in each dipodia, seems to have struck the ear in pairs, being more strongly marked in the one place than in the other. Accordingly, each pair was once marked by the percussion of the musician's foot. *Pede ter percusso* is Horace's phrase when speaking of what is called Iambic Trimeter.

Those syllables which have the metrical ictus are said also to be in *arsi*, and those which have it not, in *thesi*, from the terms ἄρσις and θέσις: the latter is sometimes called the *debilis positio*.

I.—*The Tragic Trimeter.*

1. The Iambic Trimeter Acatalectic, (i. e. consisting of three entire Metres,) as used by the Tragic writers, may have in every place an Iambus, or, as equivalent, a Tribrach in every place but the last; in the odd places, 1st, 3d, and 5th, it may have a Spondee, or, as equivalent, in the 1st and 3d a Dactyl, in the first only it may have an Anapest.

This initial Anapest of the Trimeter is hardly perceptible in its effect on the verse: in the short Anacreontic,

Μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὥραις
Στρέφεται ὅτ' Ἄρκτος ἤδη, κ. τ. λ.

it evidently produces a livelier movement.

A Table of the Tragic Trimeter.

1	2	3	4	5	6
∪ –	∪ –	∪ –	∪ –	∪ –	∪ ⏓
∪∪∪	∪∪∪	∪∪∪	∪∪∪	∪∪∪	
– –		– –		– –	
– ∪∪		– ∪∪			
∪∪ –					

Verses containing pure Iambi (*a*), Tribrachs in 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th places (*b, c, d, e, f*), Spondees in 1st, 3d, and 5th (*g*), Dactyls in 1st and 3d (*h, i*), Anapest in 1st (*j*), are given by Gaisford in his Hephæstion, p. 241, or may be read in the following lines of the Œdipus Rex:

a. 8. ὁ πᾶσι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.
b. 112. πότερα δ' ἐν οἴκοις ἢ 'ν ἀγροῖς ὁ Λάϊος.
c. 26. φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις, τόκοισί τε.
d. 568. πῶς οὖν τόθ' οὗτος ὁ σοφὸς οὐκ ηὔδα τάδε;
e. 826. μητρὸς ζυγῆναι, καὶ πατέρα κατακτανεῖν.
f. 1496. τί γὰρ κακῶν ἄπεστι; τὸν πατέρα πατήρ.
g. 30. Ἅιδης στεναγμοῖς καὶ γόοις πλουτίζεται.
h. 270. μήτ' ἄροτον αὐτοῖς γῆν ἀνιέναι τινά.
i. 257. ἀνδρός γ' ἀρίστου βασιλέως τ' ὀλωλότος.
j. 18. ἱερῆς· ἐγὼ μὲν Ζηνός· οἵδε τ' ᾐθέων . . .

2. The last syllable in each verse appears to be indifferently short or long: and even where one line ends with a short vowel, a vowel is often found at the beginning of the next, as in Œd. R. vv. 2, 3; 6, 7; 7, 8.

Sometimes, however, one verse with its final vowel elided passes by scansion into the next, as Œd. Col. vv. 1164-5.

Σοὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν μολόντ'
Αἰτεῖν, ἀπελθεῖν τ' ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ' ὁδοῦ.

The case is thus restricted by Porson, ad Med. 510. *Vocalis in fine versus elidi non potest, nisi syllaba longa præcedat.* (On this curious subject, consult Hermann's Elementa Doctrinæ Metricæ, Lips. 1816, Glasg. 1817, p. 36=22, 3.)

3. Besides the initial Anapest (restricted, however, as below[1]) in common words, in certain proper names, which could not else be introduced, the Anapest is admitted also into the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th places of the verse.

(2d.) Iph. A. 416. *ἣν Ἰφιγένειαν ὠνόμαζες ἐν δόμοις.*
(3d.) Œd. Col. 1317. *τέταρτον Ἱππομέδοντ' ἀπέστειλεν πατήρ·*
(4th.) Œd. R. 285. *μάλιστα Φοίβῳ Τειρεσίαν, παρ' οὗ τις ἄν.*
(5th.) Antig. 11. *ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς μῦθος, Ἀντιγόνη, φίλων*

In all these the two short syllables of the Anapest are inclosed betwixt two longs in the same word, and show the strongest as we as the most frequent case for the admission of such a licence. (The nature of this licence will be considered in a note (C) ch. xvii. on the admission of Anapests into the Iambic verse of Comedy.)

In the few instances where the proper name begins with an Anapest, as Μενέλαος, Πριάμου, &c., those names might easily, by a different position, come into the verse like other words similarly constituted. Elmsley, in his celebrated critique on Porson's Hecuba, ed. 1808, considers all such cases as corrupt. (Vid. Edinburgh Review, vol. xix. p. 69.) Porson's judgment seems to lean the other way. At all events, the whole Anapest must be contained in the same word. (Vide Hecub. Porsoni, London, 1808, p. xxiii.=p. 18. Euripid. Porsoni a Scholefield, Cantabr. 1826. To these editions only any references hereafter will be regularly made.)

II.—*The Comic Trimeter,*

besides the initial Anapest which it takes with less restriction, admits the Anapest of common words in all the other places but the last: it admits also the Dactyl in 5th.

Vesp. 979. *κατάβα, κατάβα, | κατάβα, κατάβα, | καταβήσομαι.*
Plut. 55. *πυθοίμεθ' ἂν | τὸν χρησμὸν ἡ|μῶν ὅτι νοεῖ.*

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[1] This Anapest in the Tragic is generally included in the same word; except where the line begins either with an article or with a preposition followed immediately by its case. Monk, Mus. Crit. I. p. 63.

Philoct. 754. *τὸν ἴσον χρόνον* . .
Orest. 888. *ἐπὶ τῷδε δ' ἠγόρευον* .
Iph. A. 646. *παρ' ἐμοὶ* . . . . .

In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one limitation obtains: the concurrence of —◡◡ or ◡◡◡ and ◡◡— in that order never takes place. The necessity for this will hereafter be seen, note (A), ch. xv.

A Table of Scansion for the Trimeter, both Tragic and Comic.

1	2	3	4	5	6
◡ —	◡ —	◡ —	◡ —	◡ —	◡ ⏒
◡◡◡	◡◡◡	◡◡◡	◡◡◡	◡◡◡	
— —		— —		— —	
—◡◡		—◡◡			
◡◡—					
Proprii	◡◡—	◡◡—	◡◡—	◡◡—	Nominis.
Apud				—◡◡	Comicos.
	◡◡—	◡◡—	◡◡—	◡◡—	

III.—*The Structure of the Iambic Trimeter*
is decidedly Trochaic.

1. The two principal divisions of this verse, which give the Trochaic movement to the ear, and continue it more or less to the close, take place after two feet and a half (M), or after three feet and a half (N), with the technical name of *Cæsura*. One or other of these divisions may be considered as generally necessary to the just constitution of the verse, the form M however being more frequent than the form N, nearly as four to one:

(M) Œd. R. 2. *τίνας ποθ' ἕδρας | τάσδε μοι θοάζετε,*
(N) ——— 3. *ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν | ἐξεστεμμένοι;*

The four cases of the Cæsura (M), and the eight cases of the Cæsura (N), as exemplified by Porson, are given below from the *Suppl. ad Præfat.* pp. xxvi. xxvii.=21, 22[2].

2. The two minor divisions, which give or continue the Trochaic movement, frequently occur after the first foot and a half (L) of the verse, and before the last foot and a half (R), called the final Cretic (—◡—).

(L) Œd. R. 120. *τὸ ποῖον; | ἓν γὰρ πόλλ' ἂν ἐξεύροι μαθεῖν,*
(R) ——— 121. *ἀρχὴν βραχεῖαν εἰ λάβοιμεν | ἐλπίδος.*

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[2] Nunc de Cæsuris videamus. Senarius, ut notum est, duas præcipuas cæsuras habet, penthemimerim, et hephthemimerim, id est, alteram quam voco *A*, quæ ter-

The former of these divisions (L), though not necessary, is always agreeable. The latter (R) requiring ⏑– and rejecting –– in 5th, takes place not only in such a simple structure of words as that above given, but under circumstances more complex, which will be explained in note (B), ch. XVI., on the Cretic termination. This delicacy of structure was discovered by Porson, who gave the name of *pausa* to it, p. xxxii.=27.

3. The following lines may serve to exhibit all the divisions connected with the structure of the verse:

(L) (M) (N) (R)
Œd. R. 81. *σωτῆρι | βαίη | λαμπρὸς | ὥσπερ | ὄμματι.*
Prom. V. 1005. *ἢ πατρὶ | φῦναι | Ζηνὶ | πιστὸν | ἄγγελον.*

4. When the line is divided in medio versu with the elision of a short vowel in the same word, or in the little words added to it, such as *δέ, μέ, σέ, γέ, τέ,* that division is called by Porson the *quasi-cæsura*, p. xxvii.=22.

Œd. R. 779. *ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δείπνοις μ' | ὑπερπλησθεὶς μέθης.*
Hecub. 355. *γυναιξὶ παρθένοις τ' | ἀπόβλεπτος μέτα.*
Aj. Fl. 435. *τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεῖ' | ἀριστεύσας στρατοῦ.*
Hecub. 387. *κεντεῖτε, μὴ φείδεσθ'· | ἐγὼ 'τεκον Πάριν.*

Verses of this latter formation Elmsley ingeniously defends, by an hypothesis that the vowel causing the elision might be treated

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tium pedem, alteram, quæ quartum dividat. Prioris cæsuræ quatuor sunt genera: primum est quod in brevi syllaba fit; secundum, quod in brevi post elisionem; tertium in longa, quartum in longa post elisionem.

Hec. 5. (*A a*) *Κίνδυνος ἔσχε | δορὶ πεσεῖν Ἑλληνικῷ.*
11. (*A b*) *Πατὴρ ἵν' εἴ ποτ' | Ἰλίου τείχη πέσοι.*
2. (*A c*) *Λιπὼν ἵν' Ἅιδης | χωρὶς ᾤκισται θεῶν.*
52. (*A d*) *Καὶ τεύξεται τοῦδ'· | οὐδ' ἀδώρητος φίλων.*

Alterius cæsuræ, quam voco *B*, plura sunt genera.

Primum, cum in fine disyllabi vel hyperdisyllabi occurrit sine elisione; secundum, post elisionem; tertium, cum brevis syllaba est enclitica vox; quartum, cum non est enclitica, sed talis quæ sententiam inchoare nequeat; quintum, cum vox ista ad præcedentia quidem refertur, potest vero inchoare sententiam; sextum, cum syllaba brevis post elisionem fit. Duo alia cæsuræ hujus genera ceteris minus jucunda sunt, ubi sensus post tertium pedem suspenditur, et post distinctionem sequitur vox monosyllaba, vel sine elisione, vel per elisionem facta.

Hec. 1. (*B a*) *Ἥκω νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα | καὶ σκότου πύλας.*
—— 248. (*B b*) *Πολλῶν λόγων εὑρήμαθ' | ὥστε μὴ θανεῖν.*
—— 266. (*B c*) *Κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν | εἰς Τροίαν τ' ἄγει.*
—— 319. (*B d*) *Τύμβον δὲ βουλοίμην ἂν | ἀξιούμενον.*
Soph. El. 530. (*B e*) *Ἐπεὶ πατὴρ οὗτος σὸς | ὃν θρηνεῖς ἀεί.*
—— Phil. 1304. (*B f*) *Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἐμοὶ καλὸν τόδ' | ἐστὶν οὔτε σοί.*
Æsch. Theb. 1055. (*B g*) *Ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ | τιμήσεις τάφῳ;*
Soph. El. 1038. (*B h*) *Ὅταν γὰρ εὖ φρονῇς τόθ' | ἡγήσει σὺ νῷν.*

as appertaining to the precedent word, and be so pronounced as to produce a kind of hephthemimeral cæsura (in this treatise marked by the letter N):

τὰ πρῶτα καλλιστεία | ῥιστεύσας στρατοῦ.

Vid. Notes on the Ajax, Mus. Crit. I. p. 477.

5. Several instances, however, are found of the line divided in medio versu without any such elision, a worse structure still.

Aj. Fl. 1091. Μενέλαε, | μὴ γνώμας | ὑποστήσας | σοφάς.
Pers. 509=515. Θρῄκην | περάσαντες | μόγις | πολλῷ πόνῳ.

Of this latter verse, vid. the Note of Blomfield, and Hermann's remark in the work already quoted, p. 110=70.

6. But though the verse sometimes does occur with its 3d and 4th feet constructed as in the instances above, yet there is a structure of the words which the Tragic writers never admit; that structure which divides the line by the dipodias of scansion like the artificial verse preserved by Athenæus:

Σὲ τὸν βόλοις | νιφοκτύποις | δυσχείμερον.

The following line, scarcely less objectionable as it stood in the former editions of Æschylus, Pers. 501=507,

Στρατὸς περᾷ | κρυσταλλοπῆγα | διὰ πόρον,

has been corrected by an easy transposition:

Κρυσταλλοπῆγα | διὰ πόρον στρατὸς περᾷ.

Vide Porson, u. s. pp. xxix. xxx.=24, 25.

IV.—*The Structure of the Comic Trimeter,*

1. frequently admits such lines as are divided in medio versu without the quasi-cæsura, and, though somewhat rarely, such also as divide the line by the dipodias of scansion.

Plutus, 68. ἀπολῶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον | κάκιστα τουτονί.
Acharn. 183. σπονδὰς φέρεις | τῶν ἀμπέλων | τετμημένων;

2. It readily admits also a Spondee in the 5th foot, without any regard to the law of Cretic termination; as,

Plut. 2. Δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦντος | δεσπότου.
—— 29. Κακῶς ἔπραττον καὶ πένης ἦν. | Οἶδά τοι.
—— 63. Δέχου τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν ὄρνιν | τοῦ θεοῦ.

3. And even when a Dactyl occupies the 5th foot, the modes of concluding the verse which usually occur are those most directly unlike to the Tragic conclusion: as

Plut. 55. *πυθοίμεθ' ἂν τὸν χρησμὸν ἡμῶν, | ὅ τι νοεῖ.*

while forms of this kind are comparatively rare:

Plut. 823. *Ἔνδον μένειν ἦν· ἔδακνε γὰρ | τὰ βλέφαρά μου.*
——1149. *Ἔπειτ' ἀπολιπὼν τοὺς θεοὺς | ἐνθάδε μενεῖς;*

V.—*The Iambic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to Comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable; or may be considered as two dimeters, of which the first is complete in the technical measure, the second is one syllable short of it.

This tetrameter line, the most harmonious of Iambic verses, is said to have its second dimeter catalectic to its first: the same mode of speaking prevails as to Trochaic and Anapestic tetrameters.

The table of scansion below, exhibiting all the admissible feet, is drawn up in every point agreeably to Porson's account of the feet separately allowable; except that Elmsley's plea for the admission (but very rarely) of ⏑⏑– of a common word in 4th is here received as legitimate. See his able argument on that question, Edinb. Rev. u. s. p. 84.

2. In the resolved or trisyllabic feet one restriction obtains; that the concurrence of the feet –⏑⏑ or ⏑⏑⏑ and ⏑⏑– in that order never takes place; a rule which even in the freer construction of the Trimeter (ch. II.) is always strictly observed from its essential necessity.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑ –	⏑–	⏓
⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑		
– –		– –		– –			
–⏑⏑		–⏑⏑		–⏑⏑			
⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –		⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –		
		(P. E.	⏑⏑ –	recipit.)			
		Proprii	⏑⏑ –	Nominis.		⏑⏑–	

3. From the first appearance of the scansional table here exhibited, it might be supposed that the varieties of this verse would be exceedingly numerous. Two considerations, however, for which we are indebted to the acuteness and diligence of Elmsley, show sufficient cause why the actual number of those varieties is comparatively small:

"All the trisyllabic feet which are admissible into Comic Iambics are employed with much greater moderation in the catalectic tetrameters than in the common trimeters." Edinb. Rev. u. s. p. 83.

"The Comic Poets admit Anapests more willingly and frequently into 1st, 3d, and 5th places, than into the 2d, 4th, and 6th of the tetrameter." Edinb. Rev. u. s. p. 87.

4. In the verses quoted below from Porson (xliii.=38) examples of the less usual feet will be found: of (*a*) ◡◡◡ in 4th, of (*b*) ◡◡– in 6th, and of (*c*) and (*d*) ◡◡– proprii nominis in 4th and 7th.

The ◡◡– (*e*) of a common word in 4th is given in deference to the judgment of Elmsley (Nub. 1059):

(*a.*) πρώτιστα μὲν γὰρ ἕνα γε τινὰ καθεῖσεν ἐγκαλύψας.
(*b.*) οὐχ ἧττον ἢ νῦν οἱ λαλοῦντες ἠλίθιος γὰρ ἦσθα.
(*c.*) 'Αχιλλέα τιν' ἢ Νιόβην, τὸ πρόσωπον οὐχὶ δεικνύς.
(*d.*) ἐγένετο, Μεναλίππας ποιῶν, Φαίδρας τε, Πηνελόπην δέ.
(*e.*) πολλοῖς· ὁ γοῦν Πηλεὺς ἔλαβεν διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μάχαιραν.

5. The structure generally agrees with the scansion, and divides the verse into two dimeters. In the Plutus, those lines which have this division are to those lines which divide the verse in the middle of a word or after an article, &c. nearly as four to one:

Plut. 257, 8. οὔκουν ὁρᾷς ὁρμωμένους | ἡμᾶς πάλαι προθύμως,
ὡς εἰκός ἐστιν ἀσθενεῖς | γέροντας ἄνδρας ἤδη;
—— 284, 5. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ἂν κρύψαιμι· τὸν | Πλοῦτον γὰρ, ὦ 'νδρες, ἥκει
ἄγων ὁ δεσπότης, ὃς ὑμᾶς πλουσίους ποήσει.

And very often the verse is even so constructed as to give a succession of Iambic dipodias separately heard:

Plut. 253, 4. Ὦ πολλὰ δὴ | τῷ δεσπότῃ | ταὐτὸν θύμον | φαγόντες,
ἄνδρες φίλοι | καὶ δημόται | καὶ τοῦ πονεῖν | ἐρασταί.

After these pleasing specimens of the long Iambic, it is proper to state that the comedy from which they are taken exhibits in all respects a smoothness and regularity of versification unknown to the earlier plays of Aristophanes. (Elmsley, u. s. p. 83.)

N.B. Of the nature of that licence which admits the Anapest, whether more or less frequently, into any place of the comic verse but the last, some account may be reasonably demanded. A probable solution of the difficulty will be offered in the note (C), ch. xvii., subjoined.

VI.—*The Trochaic Tetrameter Catalectic of Tragedy,*

1. consists of eight feet all but a syllable, or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic (vide ch. v. § 1.) to the first.

Its separate feet are shown in the scansional table below; and the Dactyl of a proper name, admissible only in certain places, is marked by the letters P.N.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	– ⏑	– ⏑	– ⏑	– ⏑	– ⏑	– ⏑	– ⏑	⏒
	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	⏑⏑⏑	
		– –		– –		– –		
		⏑⏑ –		⏑⏑ –		⏑⏑ –		
P.N.	–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑		–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑		

The Dactyl of a proper name is admitted chiefly where its two short syllables are inclosed between two longs in the same word; very rarely where the word begins with them; under other circumstances, never.

Iph. A. 882. εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης | νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος.
———1331. πάντες Ἕλληνες, στρατὸς δὲ | Μυρμιδόνων οὔ σοι παρῆν;

Orest. 1549. Ξύγγονόν τ' ἐμὴν, Πυλάδην τε | τὸν τάδε ξυνδρῶντά μοι.

On the Dactyl or Anapest of proper names in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy a suggestion will be offered in the note (C), ch. XVII.

In the two following lines will be found specimens of the pure Trochaic verse and of the Trochaic Spondee in all its places:

Phœn. 631. ἀντιτάξομαι κτενῶν σε. | κἀμὲ τοῦδ᾽ ἔρως ἔχει.
——— 609. κομπὸς εἶ, σπονδαῖς πεποιθώς, | αἵ σε σώζουσιν θανεῖν.

2. As to scansion, one limitation only obtains, that – – (or ⏑ ⏑ –) in 6th never precedes ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ in the 7th. Even in comedy a verse like the following is exceedingly rare: (R. P. xlviii. = 43.)

Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται | φερόμενος.

whereas of – ⏑ or ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ in 6th preceding ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ in 7th instances in Tragic verse are not at all uncommon. (The following line exhibits also ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ in 1st and 5th.)

Phœn. 618. ᾽Ανόσιος πέφυκας· ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πατρίδος, ὡς σύ, | πολέμιος.

3. In structure, the most important point is this; that the first dimeter must be divided from the second after some word which allows a pause in the sense; not after a preposition, for instance, or article belonging in syntax to the second dimeter. (The following lines exhibit also ⏑ ⏑ – in 2nd and 6th.)

Orest. 787. ὥς νιν ἱκετεύσω με σῶσαι. | τό γε δίκαιον ὧδ᾽ ἔχει.
Phœn. 621. καὶ σύ, μῆτερ; οὐ θέμις σοι | μητρὸς ὀνομάζειν κάρα.

4. If the first dipodia of the verse is contained in entire words, (*and so as to be followed at least by a slight break of the sense,*) the second foot is a Trochee (*or may be a Tribrach*):

Phœn. 636. ὡς ἄτιμος, | οἰκτρὰ πάσχων, ἐξελαύνομαι χθονός.
Orest. 788. μητέρος δὲ | μηδ᾽ ἴδοιμι μνῆμα. πολεμία γὰρ ἦν.
Bacch. 585 = 629. κᾆθ᾽ ὁ Βρόμιος, | ὡς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται, δόξαν λέγω.

This nicety of structure in the long Trochaic of Tragedy was first discovered by Professor Porson: not an idea of such a canon seems ever to have been hinted before. (Vid. Kidd's Tracts and Misc. Criticisms of Porson, p. 197.—Class. Journ. No. XLV. pp. 166, 7.—Maltby's Lexicon Græco-Prosodiacum, p. lxvii.)

In the following lines, apparently exceptions to the rule, the true sense marks the true structure also:

Orest. 1523. παντακοῦ | ζῆν ἡδὺ μᾶλλον ἢ θανεῖν τοῖς σώφροσιν.

Here παντακοῦ belongs to the whole sentence, and not to ζῆν exclusively.

Iph. A. 1318. τόν γε τῆς θεᾶς παῖδα, | τέκνον, ᾧ γε δεῦρ' ἐλήλυθας.

Here no pause of sense takes place after θεᾶς, (which read as a monosyllable,) but the words from τὸν to παῖδα are inclosed, as it were, in a vinculum of syntax.

The two following verses, the first with an enclitic after the four initial syllables, the second with such a word as is always subjoined to other words, have their natural division after the fifth syllable, and all is correct accordingly:

Iph. A. 1354. κατθανεῖν μέν μοι | δέδοκται· τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βούλομαι.

——— 897. ἀλλ' ἐκλήθης γοῦν | ταλαίνης παρθένου φίλος πόσις.

Nor does the following verse,

Orest. 794. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο κτᾶσθ' ἑταίρους, μὴ τὸ συγγενὲς μόνον,

contain any real exception to the canon: for the first dipodia does not end with a word marked by any pause of utterance. Quite the contrary indeed; for ἐκεῖνο is pronounced in immediate contact with κτᾶσθε:

τοῦτ' ἐκεινοκτᾶσθ' ἑταίρους, κ. τ. λ.

otherwise the 2nd foot would not be a spondee at all. (Something more on this head will be found in note (B), ch. XVI., where lines like the following are considered:

Hecub. 723. Ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῶμεν, οὐδὲ ψαύομεν.)

5. If the verse is concluded by one word forming the Cretic termination (—⏑—), or by more words than one to that amount united in meaning, so that after the sixth foot that portion of sense and sound is separately perceived, then the sixth foot is —⏑ or ⏑⏑⏑, i. e. may not be —— or ⏑⏑—.

Phœn. 616. ἐξελαυνόμεσθα πατρίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἦλθες | ἐξελῶν.
—— 643. ἐλπίδες δ' οὔπω καθεύδουσ', αἷς πέποιθα | σὺν θεοῖς.

Can it be necessary to remark, that in verses like that below the words at the close naturally go together, to form a quadrisyllabic ending, and have nothing to do with the rule here laid down?

Iph. A. 1349. *σῷ πόσει· τὰ δ' ἀδύναθ' ἡμῖν καρτερεῖν | οὐ ῥᾴδιον.*

The same is true of similar disyllabic, quinquesyllabic, and other endings; which, however, in Tragic verse rarely takes place.

VII.—In *the Comic Tetrameter,*

1. the *Scansion* agrees with the Tragic, except only that the – – in 6th sometimes, though very rarely, precedes the ⏑⏑⏑ in 7th (ch. VI. § 2), as in the line from Philemon:

> *Οὔτε γὰρ ναυαγός, ἂν μὴ γῆς λάβηται φερόμενος.*

The Comic, like the Tragic Tetrameter, admits the –⏑⏑ only in the case of a proper name, and not otherwise.

2. But, in respect of *Structure,* the nice points of Tragic verse are freely neglected. Neither the great division in medio versu (ch. VI. § 3), nor the rules (ch. VI. §§ 4, 5), concerning those divisions which sometimes take place after the first dipodia, or before the final Cretic, appear to have been regarded in the construction of comic verse. Lines like the following occur in great abundance:

Nubes, 599. *πρῶτα μὲν χαίρειν Ἀθηναί|οισι καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις.*
—— 580. *ἅττ' ἂν ὑμεῖς | ἐξαμάρτητ', ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν.*
—— 568. *πλεῖστα γὰρ θεῶν ἁπάντων ὠφελούσαις | τὴν πόλιν.*

VIII.—*Anapestic Verses.*

1. The Anapestic Dimeter of Tragedy is so named from the striking predominance of the Anapestic foot, though it frequently admits the Dactylic dipodia. In a regular System, it consists of Dimeters with a Monometer (or *Anapestic base*), sometimes interposed, and is concluded by a Dimeter Catalectic, technically called the Paremiac verse.

The separate feet of the Dimeter Acatalectic are shown in the scansional table below:

⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –	⏑⏑ –
– –	– –	– –	– –
–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑	–⏑⏑

2. In the predominant or Anapestic dipodia the Anapest and Spondee are combined without any restriction:

Prom. V. 93—5. δέρχθηθ' οἵαις | αἰκίαισιν |
διακναιόμενος | τὸν μυριετῆ |
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω. |

3. In the occasional or Dactylic dipodia, the Dactyl most usually precedes its own Spondee, as in three instances which the following verses contain:

Prom. V. 292—5. ἥκω δολιχῆς | τέρμα κελεύθου |
διαμειψάμενος | πρὸς σὲ, Προμηθεῦ, |
τὸν πτερυγωκῆ | τόνδ' οἰωνὸν |
γνώμῃ στομίων | ἄτερ εὐθύνων. |

4. Sometimes the Dactyl is paired with itself:

Med. 161, 2. Ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι | καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι, |
λεύσσεθ' ἇ πάσχω. |
—— 167, 8. ὦ πάτερ, ὦ πόλις, | ὧν ἀπενάσθην
αἰσχρῶς τὸν ἐμὸν | κτείνασα κάσιν. |

(Dactyli sæpissime substituuntur Anapæstis, nec tantum unus aliquis, sed sæpe etiam plures continui. Quinque continuavit Æschylus in Agam. 1561=1529.

τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν
κάππεσε, κάτθανε, καὶ καταθάψομεν,
οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων.

Septem Euripides in Hippolyt. 1361=1358.

πρόσφορά μ' αἴρετε, σύντονα δ' ἕλκετε
τὸν κακοδαίμονα, καὶ κατάρατον
πατρὸς ἀμπλακίαις. Hermann, p. 377=240.)

5. Very rarely, and perhaps not agreeably, in the Dactylic dipodia, the Spondee is found to precede the Dactyl: of the two following instances, the first presents the more objectionable form; the second, succeeded by a Dactyl and Spondee, can hardly be said to offend at all:

Androm. 1228=1204. δαίμων ὅδε τίς, | λευκὴν αἰθέρα
πορθμευόμενος, | ......
Iph. A. 161=159. θνητῶν δ' ὄλβιος | εἰς τέλος οὐδείς.

On this curious subject, in all its minutiæ, vide the acute and diligent Elmsley, ad Med. 1050, note g, and Œd. Colon. 1766.

6. The Dactyl, when in any way it precedes the Anapest, appears to be considered by metrical scholars as a case of great

awkwardness and difficulty. The following statement, reprinted with a few verbal alterations from the Museum Criticum (vol. i. p. 333), may suffice perhaps for all practical purposes.

The concurrence of Dactyl with Anapest, in that order, is not very often found betwixt one dimeter and another.

Electr. Eurip. 1320, 1. ξύγγονε φίλτατε·
διὰ γὰρ ζευγνῦσ' ἡμᾶς πατρίων.

(vid. S. Theb. vv. 827, 8. 865, 6, for two more instances.)

The combination is very rare where one dipodia closes with a Dactyl, and the next begins with an Anapest, thus:

Electr. Euripid. 1317. θάρσει· Παλλάδος | ὁσίαν ἥξεις
πόλιν· ἀλλ' ἀνέχου.
Hecub. 144. ἴζ' Ἀγαμέμνονος | ἱκέτις γονάτων.

Within the same dipodia, we may venture to assert that such a combination never takes place.

7. Thus far of the Anapestic Dimeter, when the first dipodia, as most usually it does, ends with a word.

This, however, is not always the case; and of such verses as want that division those are the most frequent, and the most pleasing also, which have the first dipodia after an Anapest (sometimes after a Spondee) overflowing into the second, with the movement Anapestic throughout.

Agam. 52. πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν | ἐρεσσόμενοι.
—— 794=766. καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν | ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς.

(vide Gaisford, Hephæst. pp. 279, 80. Maltby, Lex. Græco-Pros. pp. xxviii. xxix. for a large collection of miscellaneous examples.)

The following rare, perhaps singular, instance:

Prom. V. 172=179. καί μ' οὔτε | μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς,

comes recommended at least by the uniform movement; whereas this line, if the reading be correct, from the Hippolytus,

v. 1376=1357. τίς ἐφέστηκ' ἐνδέξια πλευροῖς;

within the same word, ἐνδέξια, suffers the transition from Anapestic movement to Dactylic; a transition perhaps not entirely illegitimate, but one of very rare occurrence.

In the second line of those quoted below, the structure, though exceedingly rare, is recommended by the continuity of Dactylic feet before and after it:

Agam. 1557=1504. ....τὴν πολυκλαύτην
Ἰφιγένειαν | ἄναξια δράσας,
ἄξια πάσχων, κ. τ. λ.

8. The *synaphea*, (or *συνάφεια*,) that property of the Anapestic System which Bentley first demonstrated, is neither more nor less than *continuous scansion*: that is, scansion continued with strict exactness from the first syllable to the very last, but not including the last itself, as that syllable, and only that in the whole System, may be long or short indifferently.

In this species of verse one hiatus alone is permitted, in the case of a final diphthong or long vowel so placed as to form a short syllable. The following instances may serve (Hermann, p. 373=237):

Pers. 39. καὶ ἐλιοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται.
—— 548. ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν.
—— 60. οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν.
Hecub. 123. τὼ Θησείδα δ', ὄζω Ἀθηνῶν.

With this point of prosody premised, two passages may suffice to exemplify the *Synaphea*:

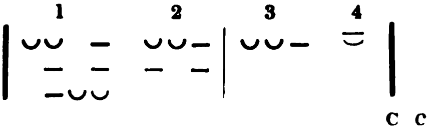
Prom. V. 199, 200. εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα
σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἥξει.

The last syllable of v. 199 becomes long from the short vowel *α* being united with the consonants *σπ* at the beginning of v. 200. Had a single consonant, or any pair of consonants like *κρ*, *πλ*, &c. followed in v. 200, the last syllable of v. 199 would have been short, in violation of the metre.

Again, Med. 161, 2. ὦ μεγάλα Θέμι καὶ πότνι' Ἄρτεμι,
λεύσσεθ' ἃ πάσχω, ...

If after v. 161, ending with a short vowel, any vowel whatever had followed in v. 162, that would have violated the law of hiatus observed in these verses. And if a double consonant, or any pair of consonants like *κτ*, *σπ*, *δμ*, *μν*, &c. had followed in v. 162, Ἄρτεμι, necessarily combined with those consonants, would have formed the Pes Creticus, and not the Dactyl required. But λεύσσω follows with λ initial, and all is correct.

9. The Versus Parœmiacus has its table of scansion as follows:



One limitation as to the concurring feet obtains, that –◡◡ in 1st never precedes ◡◡– in 2nd.

10. In the common dimeter, as must have already appeared, those dipodias form the most pleasing verse which end in entire words: but this law does not equally obtain in the Paremiac, which then comes most agreeably to the ear when it forms the latter hemistich of the dactylic hexameter,

– –	– –	◡◡–	⏒
◡◡–	◡◡–		

whether with the first dipodia distinctly marked, as

Prom. V. 127. *πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν | τὸ προσέρπον,*

or with any other variety of structure, as

Prom. V. 146. *φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὀχήσω.*
——— 164. *ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα.*
——— 1106. *τῆσδ', ἥντιν' ἀπέπτυσα μᾶλλον.*
——— 305. *φίλος ἐστὶ βεβαιότερός σοι.*

Sometimes, however, the Paremiac is differently formed, admitting (with restriction § 9) the Dactyl in 1st:

Med. 1085. *οὐκ ἀπόμουσον τὸ γυναικῶν.*

(Vide Museum Criticum, Vol. i. pp. 328, 9. 332, 3.)

11. The following may serve as a short specimen of an Anapestic System with all its usual parts:

Med. 757—761. *'Αλλά σ' ὁ Μαίας πομπαῖος ἄναξ*
πελάσειε δόμοις,
ὧν τ' ἐπίνοιαν σπεύδεις κατέχων,
πράξειας, ἐπεὶ γενναῖος ἀνήρ,
Αἰγεῦ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δεδόκησαι.

IX. *The Anapestic Tetrameter Catalectic,*

1. peculiar to Comedy, consists of eight feet all but a syllable; or may be considered as made up of two dimeters, of which the second is catalectic to the first. Its scansional table is given below:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
◡◡–	◡◡–	◡◡–	◡◡–	◡◡–	◡◡–	◡◡–	⏒
– –	– –	– –	– –	– –	– –		
–◡◡	–◡◡	–◡◡		–◡◡			

One restriction as to the feet separately admissible obtains, that the two feet – ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ –, in that order, no where concur in the long Anapestic.

2. In the long as in the short Anapestic verse Dactyls are admitted much more sparingly into the second than into the first place of the dipodia. (Elmsley, p. 93.)

3. In the 1200 (or more) Tetrameter Anapestics of Aristophanes only nineteen examples occur of a Dactyl in 2nd, the only *second* place of a dipodia which it can occupy.

In thirteen of those verses the preceding foot is also a Dactyl, as in Nub. 400.

οὐδὲ Κλεώνυμον, οὐδὲ Θέωρον; | καίτοι σφόδρα γ' εἴσ' ἐπίορκοι.

In the remaining six of those verses four have the Dactyl after a Spondee, as Nub. 408.

ὤπτων γαστέρα τοῖς συγγενέσιν, | κᾆτ' οὐκ ἔσχων ἀμελήσας.

The other two have the Dactyl after an Anapest, as Nub. 351.

τί γάρ, ἦν ἅρπαγα τῶν δημοσίων | κατίδωσι Σίμωνα, τί δρῶσιν;
(Elmsley, p. 93.)

4. The last quoted verse exhibits the transition (in long Anapestics) from Anapestic movement to Dactylic in separate words. The following verses show within the same word the transition from Dactylic movement to Anapestic. Both cases are very rare.

‖ |
Vesp. 706. *εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο βίον πορίσαι | τῷ δήμῳ, ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἄν.*
| ‖ | ‖
Ran. 1044. *Οὐκ οἶδ' οὐδεὶς ἥντιν' ἐρῶσαν | πωποτ' ἐποιησα γυναικα.*

5. Of all those nineteen Tetrameters described in § 3, one only is destitute of the division (or *cæsura* technically so called) after the first dipodia:

Nubes, 353. *ταῦτ' ἄρα, ταῦτα Κλε|ώνυμον αὗται | τὸν ῥίψασπιν χθὲς ἰδοῦσαι.* (Elmsley, p. 94.)

6. This division after the first dipodia is indispensable, if the 2nd foot be a Dactyl and the 3rd a Spondee: therefore the last syllable of the Dactyl may not begin an Iambic or (◡ – –) Bacchean word.

The following verses, faulty on that account,

Eccl. 514. *ξυμβούλοισιν ἁπάσαις | ὑμῖν χρήσωμαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι.*
Equit. 505. *ἠνάγκαζεν ἔπη | λέξοντάς γ' ἐς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι.*

have been corrected, the one by Brunck, the other by Porson, and by both from the same delicacy of ear, thus:

ξυμβούλοισιν | πάσαις ὑμῖν | χρήσωμαι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ μοι.
ἠνάγκαζεν λέξοντας ἔπη πρὸς τὸ θέατρον παραβῆναι.
(Vide Porson, lix. lx. = 53, 54.)

7. The division after the first dimeter is as strictly observed in the long Anapestic as in the long Trochaic verse (ch. VI. § 3); and, as in that, cannot take place after a preposition merely, or article belonging in Syntax to the second dimeter.

Plut. 487, 8. *ἀλλ' ἤδη χρῆν | τι λέγειν ὑμᾶς | σοφόν, ᾧ νικήσετε τηνδί,*
ἐν τοῖσι λόγοις | ἀντιλέγοντες· | μαλακὸν δ' ἐνδώσετε μηδέν.

These lines exhibit, beside the one necessary division after the first dimeter, that after the first dipodia also, which always gives the most agreeable finish to the verse.

8. It has been remarked on the authority of Elmsley, (vide ch. v. § 5,) that the Plutus was written after the versification of the comic stage had assumed an appearance of smoothness and regularity quite unknown before.

The following Analysis of 110 long Anapestic verses from v. 486 of the Plutus to v. 597 (there being no v. 566 in Dobree's edition) may very happily illustrate the truth of that remark.

In 104 of those lines, that which is here regarded as the most harmonious structure of the verse uniformly prevails.

Of the six which remain, three verses (517. 555. 586) differ only by having the Dactyl in quinto:

555. *ὡς μακαρίτην, | ὦ Δάματερ, | τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ κατέλεξας.*

And the other three verses, (519. 570. 584.) though wanting the division after the first dipodia, yet present the continuous flow of Anapestic movement throughout.

570. *ἐπιβουλεύουσί τε τῷ πλήθει, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ πολεμοῦσιν.*

N.B. In the Tetrameter Anapestic the very same hiatus of a long vowel or diphthong sometimes occurs as in the Dimeter. (Vide ch. VIII. § 8.)

For instance,

Plutus 528. *Οὔτ' ἐν δάπισιν· τίς γὰρ ὑφαίνειν ἐθελήσει, χρυσίου ὄντος;*
——— 549. *Οὐκοῦν δήπου τῆς Πτωχείας Πενίαν φαμὲν εἶναι ἀδελφήν;*

X.—*The Ictus Metricus of Anapestic Verse.*

1. The metrical ictus has been briefly explained at the beginning of this Introduction. Its application to the dipodias of Anapestic verse is quite clear and perspicuous: the ictus falls on the last syllable of the $\cup\cup\overset{|}{-}$ and its companion $-\overset{|}{-}$, and on the first of the $\overset{|}{-}\cup\cup$ and its accompanying $\overset{|}{-}-$.

First, in a line of pure Anapests, all but one Spondee in 5th, which there seems to predominate:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Aves 503. *οβολον κατεβροχθισα, κᾳτα κενον τον θυλακον οικαδ'*
|
αφειλκον.

Secondly, in a line of Anapests and Spondees:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Plutus 536. *και παιδαριων ὑποπεινωντων και γραϊδιων κολοσυρτον;*

Thirdly, in a line with Dactyls and Spondees in the first dimeter:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Plutus 575. *αλλα φλυαρεις και πτερυγιζεις. και πως φευγουσι σε*
|
παντες;

Fourthly, in lines of mixed movement Anapestic and Dactylic:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Ibid. 508. *δυο πρεσβυτα ξυνθιασωτα του ληρειν και παραπαιειν.*
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
529. *ουτε μυροισιν μυρισαι στακτοις, ὁποταν νυμφην αγα-*
|
γησθον.

2. After this, the ictuation of the short Anapestic of Tragedy is very simple.

| ‖ | ‖
Med. 129, 30. *μειζους δ' ατας, ὁταν οργισθῃ*
| ‖ |
δαιμων, οικοις απεδωκεν.

Ibid. 1080-85. (with $-\cup\cup$ in first of the Paremiac).

| ‖
. . . *αλλα γαρ εστιν*
| ‖ | ‖
μουσα και ἡμιν, ἡ προσομιλει
| ‖ | ‖
σοφιας ἑνεκεν· πασαισι μεν ου.
| ‖ | ‖ ‖
παυρον γαρ δη γενος εν πολλαις
| ‖
εὑροις αν ισως
| ‖ |
ουκ απομουσον το γυναικων.

3. Of course, we are not ignorant that Dawes has given a different ictuation to the Dactylic parts of Anapestic verse so called.

Assuming that the Anapestic movement is necessarily kept up through the whole System, to preserve that uniformity he lays the ictus on the middle syllable of the Dactyl, $-\overset{|}{\smile}\smile$, and on the second of the Spondee, $-\overset{|}{-}$. (Miscell. Crit. pp. 189. 122 = 354. 357 of Kidd's last edition.) Five lines marked by himself may suffice to show his mode of ictuation in the Dactylic dipodias.

Equit. 496. Αλλ' ι̍θι χαιρω̍ν, και πρα̍ξεια̍ς
κατα νου̍ν τον εμο̍ν· και σε̍ φυλαττοι̍
Ζευς α̍γοραιο̍ς· και νι̍κησα̍ς
αυ̍θις εκειθε̍ν παλιν ὡ̍ς ἡμα̍ς
ελθοι̍ς στεφανοι̍ς καταπα̍στος.

No Scholar since that day appears to have doubted or discussed Dawes's account of this matter, much less to have approved and defended it. With great reluctance one dissents from so masterly a critic, whose contributions to metrical knowledge can never be estimated too highly: but much careful thought bestowed on the subject has led to that very different result which is here (§ 1) and above (ch. VIII. § 1) candidly stated, and not without some confidence proposed as the plain and practical truth.

XI.—*The Ictus of the long Trochaic of Tragedy.*

4. In the ictus of Trochaic and in that of Iambic verse, which for the greater clearness, as will be seen, are taken in that order, there is no doubt or difficulty, so long as the simple feet, and the Spondees when paired with one or the other, alone are concerned.

Every Trochee has the ictus on its first, every Iambus on its second syllable; and the Spondee, as it is Trochaic or Iambic, is marked accordingly.

Phœn. 609. κο̍μπος ει̎, | σπονδαι̍ς πεποι̎θως, αἱ̍ σε σω̎ζουσι̍ν θανει̎ν.
——— 76. | πολλη̍ν αθροι̎σας α̍σπιδ' Α̎ργειω̍ν αγει̎.

5. Of all the resolved feet, the Tribrach in Trochaic verse with its ictus on the first syllable $\overset{|}{\smile}\smile\smile$ is most readily recognised by the ear as equivalent to the Trochee.

| || | || | || | ||
Phœn. 618. ανοσιος πεφυκας· αλλ' ου πατριδος ὡς συ πολεμιος.

6. What the Tribrach is to the Trochee, the *nominal* Anapest is to the Trochaic Spondee, as its equivalent or substitute; and this Anapest of course has its ictus on the first syllable $\overset{|}{\smile}\smile-$.

| || | || | || | ||
Orest. 1540. αλλα μεταβουλευσομεσθα. τουτο δ' ου καλως λεγεις.
| || | || | || | ||
—— 1529. ου γαρ, ἥτις Ἑλλαδ' αυτοις Φρυξι διελυμηνατο.

7. The following lines, formed artificially, (like Bentley's *Commodavi*, &c. in his metres of Terence,) are calculated merely to afford an easy praxis for the ictuation of Trochaic verse:

| || | || | || | ||
ηλθεν οὗτος ηλθεν οὗτος | ηλθεν οὗτος ηλθε δη.
| || | || | || | ||
αδικος ηλθεν αδικος ελθων | αδικος ηλθεν ηλθε δη.
| || | || | || | ||
ηλθεν αδικος ηλθεν αδικων | ηλθεν αδικος ηλθε δη.
| || | || | || | ||
ποτερα δεδιε, ποτερα δεδιε, | ποτερα δεδιε δεδιοτα;

8. Instances frequently occurring of words like those now given, αδικος, αδικων, &c. ictuated on the antepenult, may be considered, if not as positively agreeable to the ear, yet at any rate as passing without objection or offence.

But where the penult of words like αμφοτερα or θορυβος is marked with the ictus, something awkward and hard, or so fancied at least, has even led to violations of the genuine text under pretence of improving the metre.

For example, the following genuine verse, Iph. A. 875=886.

| || | || | || | ||
ω θυγατερ, ἥκεις επ' ολεθρῳ και συ και μητηρ σεθεν,

has on that very plea been disfigured (vid. ch. VI. § 4.) by this alteration:

| || | || | || | ||
θυγατερ, ἥκεις | επ' ολεθρῳ σῳ και συ και μητηρ σεθεν.

In v. 1324=1345. the word θυγατερ occurs with the more usual, and it may be the pleasanter, ictuation:

| || | || | || | ||
ω γυναι ταλαινα, Ληδας θυγατερ, ου ψευδη θροεις.

A similar difference is found in the ictus of Αρτεμιδι.

Iph. A. 872=883.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
παντ' εχεις. Αρτεμιδι θυσειν παιδα σην μελλει πατηρ.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
348=359. Αρτεμιδι, και πλουν εσεσθαι Δαναϊδαις, ἡσθεις φρενας.

The two following lines from the Persæ also exhibit that peculiar ictus:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
739. ω μελεος, οἱαν αρ' ἡβην ξυμμαχων απωλεσε.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
176. τουδε μοι γενεσθε, Περσων γηραλεα πιστωματα.

Other varieties, and not of very rare occurrence, may be remarked in these lines:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Agam. 1644. δεχομενοις λεγεις θανειν σε· την τυχην δ' ερωμεθα.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Iph. A. 852=863. ὡς μονοις λεγοις αν, εξω δ' ελθε βασιλικων
‖
δομων.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
——— 900=911. ουκ εχω βωμον καταφυγειν αλλον η το σον
‖
γονυ.

XII.—*The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Tragedy.*

9. In the Iambic dipodia (supra 4) the Iambus and the Spondee have the ictus on the second syllable. When the Tribrach stands in the place of the Iambus, and the *nominal* Dactyl in that of the Spondee, each of those feet has the ictus on the
| |
middle syllable, ⏑⏑⏑, –⏑⏑.

The ictuation therefore of Iambic verse in its resolved feet may be readily shown:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Œd. R. 112. ποτερα δ' εν οικοις η 'ν αγροις ὁ Λαϊος.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
——— 26. φθινουσα δ' αγελαις βουνομοις τοκοισι τε.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
——— 568. πως ουν τοθ' οὑτος ὁ σοφος ουκ ηυδα ταδε;
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Med. 1173. ειτ' αντιμολπον ἡκεν ολολυγης μεγαν.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Œd. R. 719. ερριψεν αλλων χερσιν εις αβατον ορος.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Phœn. 40. ω ξενε, τυραννοις εκποδων μεθιστασο.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Œd. R. 257. ανδρος τ' αριστου βασιλεως τ' ολωλοτος.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Orest. 288. και νυν ανακαλυπτ', ω κασιγνητον καρα.

10. It has been truly asserted (ch. III.) that the structure of the Iambic Trimeter is decidedly Trochaic. And though every principal point in the constitution of that verse has been here separately stated and explained, yet the correspondency betwixt the Iambic Trimeter and a certain portion of the Trochaic Tetrameter (as hinted above, § 4) may be advantageously employed to illustrate the common properties of both. With this view, then, to any Trimeter (except only those very few with Anapests initial) let the Cretic beginning δηλαδὴ or ἀλλὰ νῦν be prefixed, and every nicety of ictuation, more clear as it is and more easily apprehended in Trochaic verse, will be immediately identified in Iambic.

For instance, the lines already quoted, Œd. R. 112. Orest. 288. Œd. R. 719. with the Cretic prefixed, become long Trochaics, and admit the Trochaic analysis:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
δηλαδη. ποτερα δ’ εν οικοις η ’ν αγρους ὁ Λαϊος.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
δηλαδη. και νυν ανακαλυπτ’, ω κασιγνητον καρα.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
αλλα νυν ερριψεν αλλων χερσιν εις αβατον ορος.

By a similar process, the identity of the Cretic termination in both verses (ch. III. § 2. R. and ch. VI. § 5) as subject to the same canon is instantly discovered:

Orest. 762. δεινὸν οἱ πολλοὶ, κακουργοὺς | ὅταν ἔχωσι | προστάτας.
—— 541. . . . . ἀπελθέτω δὴ τοῖς λόγοισιν | ἐκποδών.
'Αλλὰ νῦν ἀπελθέτω δὴ | τοῖς λόγοισιν | ἐκποδών.

The correspondency, however, of the Iambic Trimeter with that portion of the Trochaic Tetrameter is then only quite perfect when the former verse has the predominant division, M. (ch. III. § 1.) as in the Senarius quoted above.

XIII.—*The Ictus of the long Trochaic of Comedy.*

11. The scansion of the Comic Tetrameter agrees with that of the Tragic, except in one point, that it admits, though very rarely, the — — in 6th before the ◡ ◡ ◡ in 7th; and the ictuation is the very same in both verses. Of that exception the line already quoted may afford a sufficient example:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ | ‖
ουτε γαρ ναυαγος, αν μη γης λαβηται φερομενος.

XIV.—*The Ictus of Iambic Verse in Comedy.*

12. The Comic Trimeter in Scansion differs from the Tragic by admitting the – ◡ ◡ in 5th, and the ◡ ◡ – in 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th.

The Dactyl in 5th of the Comic has the same ictus $-\overset{|}{\smile}\smile$ as it has in 1st and 3d of the Tragic Senarius, thus:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Plut. 55. πυθοιμεθ' αν τον χρησμον ἡμων, ὁτι νοει.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
—— 1149. επειτ' απολιπων τους θεους ενθαδε μενεις.

Whatever be the real nature of that licence which admits the Anapest so freely into Comic verse, no doubt can exist as to the place of its ictus on the last syllable ◡ ◡ –; and the following lines may serve as examples:

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
Nub. 2. ω Ζευ βασιλευ, το χρημα των νυκτων ὁσον.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
—— 24. ειθ' εξεκοπην προτερον τον οφθαλμον λιθῳ.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
—— 20. ὁποσοις οφειλω, και λογισωμαι τους τοκους.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖
—— 11. αλλ' ει δοκει, ρεγκωμεν εγκεκαλυμμενοι.

13. The Tetrameter of Comedy admits no feet but those which are found, and with more frequency, in the Trimeter. The ictuation on the feet in each verse is the very same, as the following lines may serve to exemplify: (Porson, xli.=38.)

| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Plut. 253. ω πολλα δη τῳ δεσποτῃ ταυτον θυμον φαγοντες.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Ranæ 911. πρωτιστα μεν γαρ ἑνα γε τινα καθεισεν εγκαλυψας.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
—— 917. ουχ ἡττον η νυν· οἱ λαλουντες. ηλιθιος γαρ ησθα.
| ‖ | ‖ | ‖ |
Thesm. 549. εγενετο Μελανιππας ποιων Φαιδρας τε Πηνελοπην δε.

In this verse, generally, the Iambic structure so clearly predominates, that little advantage can be gained by submitting it to the Trochaic analysis; as, against the judgment of Bentley, has been lately recommended by Ilgenius. (Vide Maltby, Lex. Gr. Pros. p. xxxvi.)

And yet in some cases, perhaps, of resolved feet, and in verses too wanting the regular cæsura, the law of ictuation may be more correctly apprehended by applying the Trochaic scale than otherwise.

It is worth the while to observe, that of 37 Tetrameters in the Plutus, vv. 253—289, containing only two resolved feet, one a Tribrach, and one a Dactyl, (vid. Elmsley, u. s. p. 83.) the versification is remarkably smooth; and if those lines be read with the proper ictus, the Iambic movement cannot fail to be pleasantly and distinctly felt on the ear.

XV.—Note A. *On the Concurrences.*

In ch. II., where the occurrence of ⏑⏑⏑ or –⏑⏑ before ⏑⏑– in the Trimeter of Comedy is condemned, a promise is given that the necessity for that limitation should be made to appear.

The true constitution of the Comic Senarius (in all its bearings) was first discerned by Dawes. In his Emendations on the Acharnians (Misc. Crit. 253—463, &c.) at v. 146,

Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,

he condemns as unlawful the concurrence of feet above mentioned, and claims the credit not only of discovering that canon, but of assigning the true reason also as derived from the laws of Iambic ictuation.

As the verse stands at present, he says,

Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφον Αθηναιοι καλοι,

you have, with gross offence to the ear, the interval of four syllables from ictus to ictus, when the lawful extent of that interval can only be three. His emendation, demanded no less by the syntax of the whole passage than by the metre of that line, has since been sanctioned by the authority of the Ravenna MS.

Εν τοισι τοιχοις εγραφ', Αθηναιοι καλοι.

On the Trochaic Scale of Scansion, it is obvious to remark, that the redundance of a syllable in the vulgar text would be instantly detected:

αλλα νυν εν | τοισι τοιχοις | εγραφον Αθηναι|οι καλοι.

One illustration more, from a false reading in Tragedy, may not be deemed superfluous.

In the Orestes, 499=505, the text of the old editions stands thus:

αὐτὸς κακίων ἐγένετο μητέρα κτανών.

which in the Iambic Scansion presents the concurrence of the –◡◡ and the ◡◡–. Here again the Trochaic scale affords the ready test; it instantly detects the redundant syllable:

| | | | | | | |
αλλα νυν αυ|τος κακιων | εγενετο μητε|ρα κτανων.

The just and simple emendation of Porson need hardly be given:

αὐτὸς κακίων μητέρ᾽ ἐγένετο κτανών.

XVI.—Note B. *On the Pause or Cretic Termination.*

(Vide ch. III. § 2. ch. VI. § 5.)

1. In the Iambic Trimeter, if the slightest pause or break in the sense cause the word or words which give to the verse a Cretic ending (–◡–) to be separately uttered, then the 5th foot may not be – –, but must be ◡– or ◡◡◡.

The different modes of concluding the line which reject the – – in 5th shall be first exhibited.

α. The simplest structure which rejects the – – there is the following, when the Cretic consists of a single detached word:

Hecub. 343. *κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | ἔμπαλιν.*
Ion 1. *Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν | οὐρανόν.*

which lines in the old editions stand thus:

Κρύπτοντα χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον | τοὔμπαλιν
Ἄτλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις | οὐρανόν.

(Vide Porson, xxx.=27.)

β. In the next case, the Cretic consists of –◡ and a syllable, thus:

Orest. 1079. *κῆδος δὲ τοὐμὸν καὶ σὸν οὐκέτ᾽ | ἐστὶ | δή.*
—— 1081. *χαῖρ᾽, οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐστι τοῦτο, | σοί γε | μήν.*

or the Cretic consists of an article or preposition (–) attached (in syntax or collocation) to the subsequent word:

Hecub. 382. *καλῶς μὲν εἶπας, θύγατερ, ἀλλὰ | τῷ καλῷ.*
——— 397. *δεινὸς χαρακτήρ, κἀπίσημος | ἐν βροτοῖς.*

Under this head of monosyllables are embraced *τίς, πῶς*, when interrogative, with *ὡς, οὐ, καί*, and the like. (Vide Porson, xxxi.=27.)

2. Many semblances of the Cretic termination occur, to which the Canon bears no application. Those cases, admitting the _ _ in 5th, may be commodiously classed under the following heads:

Where a monosyllabic word before the final Iambus belongs by collocation to the preceding word; as in enclitics:

Hec. 505. *σπεύδωμεν, ἐγκονῶμεν· ἡγοῦ μοι, | γέρον.*
Prom. V. 669. *τί παρθενεύει δαρόν, ἐξόν σοι | γάμου.*
Agam. 1019. *ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν | λόγῳ.*
Rhes. 717. *βίον δ' ἐπαιτῶν εἶρπ' ἀγύρτης τις | λάτρις.*
Philoct. 801. *ἔμπρησον, ὦ γενναῖε· κἀγώ τοι | ποτέ.*

Or in such words, not enclitic, as cannot begin a sentence or a verse:

Prom. V. 107. *οἷόν τέ μοι τάσδ' ἐστί· θνητοῖς γὰρ | γέρα.*
Trach. 718. *πῶς οὐκ ὀλεῖ καὶ τόνδε; δόξῃ γοῦν | ἐμῇ.*
Prom. V. 846. *λέγ'· εἰ δὲ πάντ' εἴρηκας, ἡμῖν αὖ | χάριν.*
Œd. T. 142. *ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα παῖδες, ὑμεῖς μὲν | βάθρων.*
Soph. Electr. 413. *εἴ μοι λέγοις τὴν ὄψιν, εἴποιμ' ἂν | τότε.*

In the numerous instances of ἂν so posited, it deserves remark, that ἂν is always subjoined to its verb, and that with elision, as in the line quoted. (Vide Porson, xxvi.=28.)

3. Where words like *οὐδεὶς* and *μηδεὶς* so given, ought in Attic orthography to be written thus: *οὐδ' εἷς* and *μηδ' εἷς*:

Phœn. 759. *ἀμφότερον· ἀπολειφθὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἓν θάτερον.*
Alc. 687. *ἣν δ' ἐγγὺς ἔλθῃ θάνατος, οὐδ' εἷς βούλεται.*
(Vide Porson, xxxiv. v.=31.)

4. And where in the plays of Sophocles, the dative cases plural of *ἐγὼ* and *σὺ* are exhibited as Spondees, thus, *ἡμῖν*, *ὑμῖν*, when that Tragedian, however strange it may appear, employed those pronouns in his verse actually as Trochees. In that pronunciation, they are by some Grammarians written, *ἡμίν*, *ὑμίν*, but *ἦμιν*, *ὗμιν*, more generally:

Electr. 1328. *ἦ νοῦς ἔνεστιν οὔτις ὗμιν ἐγγενής;*
Œd. Col. 25. *πᾶς γάρ τις ηὔδα τοῦτό γ' ἦμιν ἐμπόρων.*

In which two lines *ὑμῖν* and *ἡμῖν* would vitiate the metre.
(Vide Porson, xxxv.=32.

5. One particular case seems to have created a very needless perplexity; namely, where the verse is concluded by a trisyllabic word with certain consonants initial which do not permit the short vowel precedent to form a short syllable. (Vide Porson, xxxviii.=34, 5.)

The following verses, as being supposed to labour under the vicious termination, are recommended by the Professor to the sagacity of young Scholars for correction :

Hecub. 717. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐῶμεν, οὐδὲ ψαύομεν.
Androm. 347. φεύγει τὸ ταύτης σῶφρον· ἀλλὰ ψεύσεται.
Iph. A. 531. κἄμ' ὡς ὑπέστην θῦμα, κἆτα ψεύδομαι.

(In these verses, also, from Euripides, the very same difficulty, if it be one, is involved :

Bacchæ 1284. 'Ωιμωγμένον γε πρόσθεν ἤ σε γνωρίσαι.
Electr. 850. τλήμων 'Ορέστης· ἀλλὰ μή με κτείνετε.)

Here the word preceding the final Cretic must be either a Trochee or a Spondee. If it is a Trochee, all is well: nothing more need be said. If it is not a Trochee, but a Spondee, what causes it to be so? Evidently the final short vowel of each word being touched in utterance by the initial π of ψ, or πσ, with which the next word commences.

Then, so far from any pause or break of the sense intervening, on which condition alone the Canon operates, there is an absolute continuity of sound and sense together; and the verse ends with a quinquesyllabic termination, as complete as in Phœniss. 32. 53, where ἐξανδρούμενος and συγκοιμωμένη terminate the line: even so, οὐδέπσαύομεν, ἀλλάπσεύσεται, κἆταπσεύδομαι. (This was stated so long ago as 1802. Vide Dalzel, Collect. Græc. Maj. t. ii. Nott. p. 164.)

6. Several modifications of the line, according to the connexion of the words by which it is concluded, come next to be considered. Some of these cases, when the words are duly separated, present a dissyllabic, some a quadrisyllabic ending; in others the combination is such as to exhibit a collective termination of five syllables, or more :

a. Œd. R. 435. ἡμεῖς τοιοίδ' ἔφυμεν, ὡς μέν σοι δοκεῖ.

This line, even so read, would not violate the Canon; for it does not present a Cretic separately pronounced. But it stands far more correctly thus in Elmsley's Edition,—*ὡς σοὶ μὲν | δοκεῖ*, with an ending clearly dissyllabic.

β. The following line again as clearly presents a termination of four syllables:

Œd. R. 1157. *ἔδωκ'· ὀλέσθαι δ' ὤφελον | τῇδ' ἡμέρᾳ.*

The three following instances are taken from Elmsley, ad Œd. Col. 115.

γ. Iph. A. 858. *δοῦλος, οὐχ ἁβρύνομαι τῷδ'· ἡ τύχη γάρ μ' οὐκ ἐᾷ.*

Here the ending is not trisyllabic; for *μ' οὐκ* go together, and the enclitic *μὲ* hangs upon *γάρ*: and as *γὰρ* in collocation is attached to the precedent *ἡ τύχη*, the accumulation of syllables in continuity amounts to seven.

δ. Ion 808. *δέσποινα, προδεδόμεσθα· σὺν γὰρ σοὶ νοσῶ.*

Here the words *σὺν γὰρ σοί*, being under the vinculum of Syntax, cannot be disjoined. And *σὺν σοὶ γάρ*, if so read, from the law of collocation in words like *γάρ*, must go together. Either way the structure of the verse is legitimate, with a dissyllabic ending.

ε. Eur. Electr. 275. *ἤρου τόδ'; αἰσχρόν γ' εἶπας· οὐ γὰρ νῦν ἀκμή.*

Here *οὐ* negatives *νῦν*, and of course must be uttered in the same breath with it, —— *οὐ γὰρ νῦν | ἀκμή.*

Elmsley himself (ad Œd. Col. 115) on the two following lines,

ζ. Œd. Col. 265. *ὄνομα μόνον δείσαντες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τό γε,*
η. Electr. 432. *τύμβῳ προσάψῃς μηδέν· οὐ γάρ σοι θέμις,*

justly remarks, that neither line contains any thing wrong: for the words *σοὶ* and *δή*, the one enclitic, the other by collocation attached to the word precedent, make a slight dissyllabic ending, as far as any separate termination exists.

7. The following line may serve to represent several others of similar construction:

Aj. Fl. 1101. *ἔξεστ' ἀνάσσειν, ὧν ὅδ' ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν.*

(Vide Elmsley, Mus. Crit. vol. I. pp. 476—480, et ad Heracl. 371. 530.)

"If we suppose the first syllable of *οἴκοθεν* to be attracted by the elision to the preceding word, the verse will cease to be an exception to Porson's Canon." At the same time, he frankly confesses, that he is not satisfied with this solution of the difficulty, and goes on with great acuteness to state his objections to it.

Now, on the other hand, we are told of Hegelochus, who acted the part of Orestes in the play so named, that when he came to v. 273, *ἐκ κυμάτων γὰρ αὖθις αὖ γαλήν' ὁρῶ,* wanting breath to pronounce *γαλήν' ὁρῶ* with the delicate synalepha required, he stopped between the words, and uttered these sounds instead, *γαλῆν ὁρῶ.* (Vide Porson, ad Orest. 273.)

From this anecdote have we any right to conclude, that in cases like that of . . . . . *ἡγεῖτ' οἴκοθεν,* at the close of the verse, the first syllable of *οἴκοθεν* was by the elision attracted to the preceding word *ἡγεῖτο*? and in all similar cases may we suppose the two words to have been so closely connected in sound as to leave no perceptible suspension of the sense whatsoever?

It is enough perhaps to have thrown out the suggestion; and there let the matter rest for the present.

XVII.—Note C. *On the Anapest Proprii Nominis in the Tragic Senarius, and on other licences of a similar description.*

Before we engage in the direct discussion of the point here proposed, let a few remarks be premised.

1. In the first place, there is a well-known distinction in music betwixt common time and triple time. To this musical distinction there exists something confessedly analogous in the difference betwixt the time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, and that of Iambic and Trochaic.

Agreeably then to this analogy, we may be allowed for the sake of illustration to use the terms common and triple time in the pages which follow.

2. In the next place, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have been already used on two occasions palpably different.

First, as the names of the natural feet in the triple time of Anapestic and Dactylic verse, with their ictus thus, $\smile\smile\overset{|}{-}$, $\overset{|}{-}\smile\smile$.

Med. 167, 8. ω πατερ, ω πολις, ὧν απεvασθην.
αισχρως τον εμον κτεινασα κασιν.

Secondly, as the names of two short syllables before or after a long one, in the common time of Trochaic or Iambic verse, with a different ictus thus, $\overset{|}{\smile}\smile-$, $\overset{|}{-}\smile\smile$.

Œd. R. 257. ανδρος γ' αριστου βασιλεως τ' ολωλοτος.
Phœn. 621. και συ μητερ; ου θεμις σοι μητρος ονομαζειν καρα.

In future, it may be safe and useful to call the first of these the *natural*, and the second the *nominal*, Dactyl and Anapest.

3. Thirdly, the terms Anapest and Dactyl have a different use still, to denote certain feet admissible in certain kinds of Iambic and Trochaic verse, as equivalent to the proper feet of each metre, being admitted not only into the Spondaic places of the dipodia, but into the Iambic and Trochaic likewise.

In the pronunciation of those peculiar feet, it is probable there was something correspondent to the slurring, so called, of musical notes; and since necessity demands a third name for a third character, it may justify our adoption of *slurred* Anapest and *slurred* Dactyl, as terms not inappropriate for that purpose.

Let the marks then, $\smile(\smile)\overset{|}{-}$ and $\overset{|}{-}(\smile)\smile$, be permitted to represent each of those peculiarities, when each requires to be separately represented. But for reasons of convenience, which will be found very striking when we come to the practical part of the subject, we beg leave to introduce a more comprehensive method, equally suited to Iambic and Trochaic verse; and that is, to make $\overset{|}{-}\smile\smile\overset{|}{-}$ the sign of the apparent syllables involved in the discussion, and $\overset{|}{-}(\smile)\smile\overset{|}{-}$ or $\overset{|}{-}\smile\overset{|}{-}$ the sign of the real sounds as they are supposed to have been uttered.

Nubes 131. λόγων ἀκριβῶν $\underset{-\ \smile\ \smile\ -}{\text{σχινδαλάμους}}$ μαθήσομαι;

Iph. A. 882. εἰς ἄρ' $\underset{-\ \smile\ \smile\ -}{\text{'Ιφιγένειαν}}$ 'Ελένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;

4. Whatever truth or probability may be found in the following attempt to account for the –⏑⏑– Proprii Nominis in the Trochaic or Iambic verse of Tragedy, (and for the admission of that licence with common words also into the Iambics of Comedy,) the whole merit of the discovery, if any, is due to S. Clarke, whose suggestion (ad Il. B. v. 811) is here pursued, enforced, and developed.

Clarke, after quoting instances of ⏑⏑– Proprii Nominis, but only in the 4th foot of the Trimeter, proceeds to argue thus. If the Iambic verse of Tragedy, under other circumstances, rejects in the 4th the ⏑⏑– as equal in time to – –, and admits only the ⏑ – or equivalent ⏑⏑⏑, then it is clear that the proper names which exhibit ⏑⏑– to the eye could never have been pronounced at full length in three distinct syllables, but must have been hurried in utterance, so as to carry only ⏑– to the ear.

And since long proper names (as Clarke justly observes) are from their nature liable to be rapidly spoken; in the following verses,

Phœn. 764=769. γάμους δ' ἀδελφῆς Ἀντιγόνης παιδός τε σοῦ.
Androm. 14. τῷ νησιώτῃ Νουπτολέμῳ δορὸς γέρας,

and in that above,

εἰς ἄρ' Ἰφιγένειαν Ἑλένης νόστος ἦν πεπρωμένος;

naturally enough the names Ἀντιγόνης and Νουπτολέμῳ and Ἰφιγένειαν might be slurred into something like Ἀντ'γόνης, Νουπτ'λέμῳ, Ἰφ'γένειαν: the ear of course would find no cause of offence, and the eye takes no cognizance of the matter.

5. If this mode of solution be allowed as probable at least in the department of proper names in Tragic verse to which it bears direct application, by parity of argument perhaps it may be extended to the similar case of common words used in Comic verse also.

Take for instance the line above quoted;

λόγων ἀκριβῶν σχινδαλάμους μαθήσομαι;

What was the objection to the old and vulgar reading, σχινδαλμούς? Clearly this: that it placed a – – in 4th. What then does σχινδαλάμους place there? Either ⏑⏑– is pronounced as three distinct syllables, in what is called triple time, while the metre itself is in common, or by rapid utterance σχινδ'λάμους comes to the ear, and so the verse proceeds with its own regular movement.

Briefly, we have either σχινδαλμούς, a molossus, – – –, which murders the metre entirely;

or σχινδαλάμους, a full-sounded choriambus, –◡◡–, which contrary to the law of the verse mingles triple with common time;

or σχινδ(α)λάμους, i. e. in effect, the pes Creticus, –◡–, that very quantum of sound which the metre requires.

P.S. It may be necessary to remark, that Clarke's reasoning about the ◡◡– Proprii Nominis in the 4th is just as applicable to the 2nd place also with that foot as to the 4th. And if his argument, as here stated, be sufficient to account for the licence in the 2nd and 4th places, of course, where the same licence occurs in the 3rd and 5th, its admission there also must be considered in the very same light.

For examples of the ◡◡– (or –◡◡–) Proprii Nominis in all the four places, see ch. I. § 3.

6. Before advancing a step farther, it is but right to avow, that all which we at present propose, is to set this question fairly a-going on its apparently reasonable and very probable ground.

High probability then favours the idea, that the Anapests (and Choriambi) of Greek Comedy (under all combinations of words and syllables) were passed lightly over the tongue without trespassing on the time allowed betwixt ictus and ictus in verses not containing those feet, i. e. in metres of common time.

Any thing like a perfect enumeration of particulars commodiously classed would be found to demand a serious sacrifice of leisure and labour. The classes which are here given in specimen only, while they undoubtedly embrace a very great majority of the facts, may serve to show the nature of that extensive survey which would be necessary to make the induction complete.

7. Instances like σχινδαλάμους, it might *à priori* be calculated, are not likely to be very numerous; hardly 10 in every 100 of the Comic Trimeters: nor do all the words of similar dimensions with σχινδαλάμους present a choriambus so readily obedient to our organs at least for running four syllables into three.

Nubes 16. ὀν|ειροπολεῖ | θ' ἵππους· ἐγὼ δ' ἀπόλλυμαι,
Plutus 25. εὔνους γὰρ ὤν σοι | πυνθάνομαι | πάνυ σφόδρα.

Besides the instances of –◡◡– in one word, which afford the strongest case for the admission of the licence, some other principal modes in which that apparent foot is made up may be classed under four heads.

A. Where a long monosyllable, from its nature more or less adhering to the word which it precedes, may be supposed to form a coalescence of this kind, |–|◡◡–|.

Plutus 45. εἶτ' οὐ ξυνίης | τὴν ἐπίνοι|αν τοῦ θεοῦ;
Acharn. 52. σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι | πρὸς Λακεδαι|μονίους μόνῳ.
Nubes 12. ἀλλ' | οὐ δύναμαι | δείλαιος εὕδειν δακνόμενος.

B. Where either a monosyllable precedes, having from the law of collocation less adherence to what follows; or some longer word precedes, not particularly attached to the word which follows, or by syntax united to it:

Plut. 56. ἄγε | δὴ πρότερον | σὺ σαυτόν, ὅστις εἶ, φράσον.
Nub. 25. Φίλ|ων, ἀδικεῖς· | ἔλαυνε τὸν σαυτοῦ δρόμον.
Plut. 148. δοῦλ|ος γεγένη|μαι διὰ τὸ μὴ πλουτεῖν ἴσως.

C. Where, after an elision, concurrences of this kind take place:

Plut. 12. μελαγχο|λῶντ' ἀπέπεμ|ψε μου τὸν δεσπότην.
—— 16. οὗ|τος δ' ἀκολου|θεῖ, κἀμὲ προσβιάζεται.
—— 195. κἂν | ταῦτ' ἀνύση|ται, τετταράκοντα βούλεται.

D. Where a monosyllable by its natural position follows a longer word:

Plut. 688. τὸ γρᾴδιον δ' ὡς | ᾔσθετο δή | μου τὸν ψόφον.
—— 943. καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ μέτωπον | αὐτίκα δὴ | μάλα.

N.B. From the very close connexion of the article with its noun, *τὸ μέτωπον* may be fairly taken as one word; and so, in the following line, we may consider *τὰ νοσήματα*:

Plut. 708. δείσας· ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν κύκλῳ τὰ νοσήματα.

Thus v. 943 will become referrible to the class A, and v. 708 to the class B, along with many combinations of the very same kind.

8. If the idea of this inquiry had struck the mind of Elmsley as worthy at all of his careful research, little or nothing would have been afterwards left for investigation. The topic was not without interest to him as an Editor of Aristophanes : and on the Acharnians, ad v. 178, and in reference to v. 531,

> Τί ἐστιν; ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι σπονδὰς φέρων—
> Ἤστραπτεν, ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα—

in a note of great and successful acuteness, he examines and settles a curious point in the main subject itself.

"178. Hodie hic *τί ἐστ'* malim, et *ἤστραπτ'*, v. 531. Nam longe rarius, quam putaram, anapæstum in hoc metri genere inchoat ultima vocis syllaba." The whole note will amply repay the trouble of perusal.

9. And now, at the close of this article, we may safely allude to the similar, though far from identical, question of comic licence in Terence's Plays, so well illustrated by the labours of Hare and of Bentley. Great accession of probability, no doubt, may be derived from whatever is received as satisfactory in Terence to whatever wants elucidation in Aristophanes. And in the slurring of short syllables especially, which forms the principal point of agreement in versification betwixt those two writers, whatever is acknowledged as any thing like demonstration in the Latin Poet may be considered as *à fortiori* credible of the lighter and more volant speech of the Athenian.

With great caution, however, let the young Student proceed to investigate the metres of Terence in comparison with those of Aristophanes; or he may find himself sadly confused by their diversity, instead of being at all instructed by their similitude; notwithstanding the general agreement of both in the cause of so much apparent licence, namely, in the approach which Comedy always must make to the familiarity of common discourse.

APPENDIX.

On Syllabic Quantity, and on its Differences in Heroic and Dramatic Verse.

1. By *syllabic quantity* is here meant the quantity of a syllable under these circumstances: the vowel, being unquestionably short, precedes a pair of consonants of such a nature that it may any where be pronounced either distinctly apart from them, or in combination with the first of the two.

If the vowel be pronounced apart from those consonants, as in πε-τρας, that syllable is said to be *short* by *nature.*

If the vowel be pronounced in combination with the first of those consonants, as in πετ-ρας, the syllable then is said to be *long* by *position.*

2. The subjoined list comprises all the pairs of consonants which may *begin* a word, and also *permit* a short vowel within the same word to form a short syllable.

i. πρ, κρ, τρ: φρ, χρ, θρ: βρ, γρ, δρ.
ii. πλ, κλ, τλ: φλ, χλ, θλ.—iii. πν, κν: χν, θν.—iv. τμ.

The only remaining pairs, βλ, γλ: δμ: and μν, which are at once *initial,* and in a very few cases *permissive,* may, on account of that rarity, be passed over for the present. But the following pairs, κμ: χμ, θμ: τν: φν, though not *initial,* yet within the same word *permissive,* deserve to be stated here, as they will afterwards be noticed.

3. More than twenty other combinations of consonants, (along with ψ, ξ, ζ,) though qualified to be *initial,* are of course foreign to the purpose, as never being *permissive* also; at least in the practice of those authors to whom these remarks are confined.

The combinations last mentioned it may be allowed in future to call *non-permissive;* and for this reason, that neither within the same word, nor between one word and another, (of verse at least,) do they permit a preceding short vowel to be pronounced distinctly apart: it seems to be coupled with them always by an irresistible attraction.

In turning from the Comic trimeter of Aristophanes to the stately hexameter of Homer, the difference of syllabic quantity must be strikingly felt: and that contrast is here purposely taken, to show more clearly in what the great difference consists betwixt the prosody of heroic and that of dramatic verse.

4. Homer seldom allows a short vowel to form a short syllable before any of those *permissive* pairs lately detailed, and only before some few of them. The following cases occur betwixt one word and another: such correptions within the same word are yet more uncommon.

A. 113. Οἴκοι ἔχειν· καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα.
—263. Οἷον Πειρίθοόν τε, Δρύαντά τε, ποιμένα λαῶν.
—528. Ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ᾽ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων.
—609. Ζεὺς δὲ πρὸς ὃν λέχος ἤϊ᾽ Ὀλύμπιος ἀστεροπητής.

5. Aristophanes (with very few exceptions in Anapestic verse, pointed out by Porson, pp. lx. lxi. = p. 54) never allows a short vowel *cum ictu* to form a long syllable with any permissive pair, even within the same word.

Plut. 449. ποιοισιν ὁπ-λοις ἢ δυνάμει πεποιθότες;

Such was, indeed, the vulgar reading, till Dawes (M. C. p. 196) anticipating, as usual, the Ravenna MS., gave the true text:

Ποιοις ὁ-πλοισιν ἢ δυνάμει πεποιθότες;

6. Homer, on the other hand, not only in the same word *cum ictu*, but in the same word *extra ictum*, and even between two words in the same *debilis positio*, makes the syllable long.

A. 13. Λυσόμενός τε θυγατ-ρα, φέρων τ᾽ ἀπερείσι᾽ ἄποινα.
— 77. Ἦ μέν μοι πρόφ-ρων ἔπεσιν καὶ χερσὶν ἀρήξειν.
— 345. Ὣς φάτο· Πατ-ροκ-λος δὲ φίλῳ ἐπεπείθεθ᾽ ἑταίρῳ.
Δ. 57. αλλαχ-ρη καὶ ἐμὸν θέμεναι πόνον οὐκ ἀτέλεστον.
Η. 189. γνω δεκ-ληρου σῆμα ἰδὼν, γήθησε δὲ θυμῷ.

7. The only possible case in which Aristophanes might prolong such a syllable would be in the use of verbs like these, ἐκ-λύω, ἐκ-μαίνω, ἐκ-νεύω, ἐκ-ρέω, if compounds of that kind ever occur; because, from the very nature of the compound, ἐκ must always be pronounced distinct from the initial consonant of the verb.

8. In Homer, on the contrary, even the loose vowel of augment (ε) or reduplication, when it precedes πλ, κλ, κρ, τρ, &c., initial of the verb, not only *cum ictu*, but even *extra ictum*, is made to form a long syllable.

A. 46. ε̍κ-λαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ὀϊστοὶ ἐπ' ὤμων χωομένοιο.
— 309. 'Ες δ' ἐρετα̍ς ἐ̍κ-ρινεν ἐείκοσιν, ἐς δ' ἑκατόμβην.
Ξ. 176. Πεξαμένη, χερσὶ πλοκαμο̍υς ἐπ-λε̍ξε φαεινούς.
N. 542. Λαιμὸν τύψ', ἐπί ο̍ἱ τετ-ρα̍μμένον, ὀξέϊ δουρί.

9. In Homer no dissyllabic word like πατρὸς, τέκνον, ὄφρα, &c., which can have the first syllable long, is ever found with it otherwise: in Aristophanes those first syllables are constantly shortened.

10. Briefly, then, it may be said, that in Homer, whatever can be long is very seldom (and under very nice circumstances) ever short: in Aristophanes, whatever can be short is never found long.

To complete the purpose of this little sketch, the tragic prosody also (of Euripides, for instance), in a few correspondent points, may as well be presented.

11. Aristophanes, even in the same word, and where the *ictus* might be available (§ 5), never makes a long syllable: Euripides, who excludes the prolongation even *cum ictu* betwixt one word and another,

(Orest. 64. παρθένον, ἐμῇ τε μητρὶ παρέδωκε̍ν τρέφειν,
i. e. not παρεδωκε̍τ ρεφειν,)

within the same word, readily allows it:

Med. 4. τμηθεῖσα πεύκη, μήδ' ἐρε̍τ-μῶσαι χέρας.
—— 17. προδοὺς γὰρ αὑτοῦ τε̍κ-να, δεσπότιν τ' ἐμήν.
—— 25. τὸν πάντα συντήκουσα δα̍κ-ρύοις χρόνον.

12. In Euripides, even those dissyllabic words (alluded to § 9), wherever, from its position, the syllable is decisively long or short, exhibit that syllable *thrice short* to *one* case of *long*. Consequently, in certain positions (unictuated) of Iambic or Trochaic verse, which indifferently admit either quantity, there can be no reasonable ground for supposing that syllable to be lengthened: of course, therefore, the following lines are thus read:

Med. 226. *πι-κρὸς πολίταις ἐστὶν ἀμαθίας ῠ̔πο.*
Iph. A. 891. *ἐπὶ τίνος σπουδαστέον μοι μᾶλλον, ἢ τέ-κνου πέρι;*

13. In cases where the augment falls as in *ἐπέκλωσεν* or *κεκλῆσθαι*, or where, as in *πολύχρυσος* and *ἀπότροποι*, the short vowel closes the first part of a composite word, the prolongation of that syllable in Euripides, though not altogether avoided, is yet exceedingly rare. (R. P. ad Orest. 64.)

14. One great cause of the many mistakes about syllabic quantity should seem to be involved in that false position of S. Clarke's (ad Il. B. 537), that a short vowel preceding *any* two consonants with which a syllable can be commenced may form a short syllable. Nothing was ever more unluckily asserted, or more pregnant with confusion and error.

15. To the perspicacity and acuteness of Dawes (M. C. pp. 90, 1, 196, 146, 7) we are indebted for the first clear statement of the principal points in this department of prosody: to the deliberate and masterly judgment of Porson (ad Orest. 64, and elsewhere) we owe whatever else is correctly and certainly known.

16. Some little things, however, may serve to show that an English ear, especially on a sudden appeal, is no very competent judge of *Attic correptions*, so called.

For instance, in the following lines:

Phœn. 1444. *ἐν τῷδε μήτηρ ἡ τάλαινα προσπίτνει,*
Alc. 434. *ἐπίσταμαί γε, κοὐκ ᾰ̓φνω κακὸν τόδε,*

it is not from any practice of our own, certainly, that we should pronounce the words *προσπί-τνει* and *ᾰ̓-φνω* with precision and facility in that very way.

17. So, too, if *ἀκμὴ* and *ἐ̆σμεν* were on a sudden proposed as to the shortening of the first syllable in each, it might seem to

an English ear just as improbable in the noun as in the verb; although in Athenian utterance we know very well the fact was quite otherwise.

That eminently learned and powerful scholar, Toup (vid. Emendd. vol. i. 114, 5; iv. 441) stoutly maintained in his day (what is now called) the *permissiveness* of σμ: and actually, on that ground, suggested the following as an emendation of a passage in Sophocles, for ἐμὲν or ἵμεν:

Elect. 21, 2. . . . . ὡς ἐνταῦθ' ἐ-σμέν,
ἵν' οὐκέτ' ὀκνεῖν καιρός, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀκμή.

(where ἀκμή, of course, is right enough, being pronounced ἀ-κμή.) Since Porson's delicate correction of that error (u. s. p. 441) no argument has been advanced in its defence. And yet, *à priori*, why should not σμ be *permissive*, as well as θμ, for instance? "The consonants σμ can begin a word; why not commence a separate syllable? How can θμ commence a syllable, when notoriously it cannot begin a word?" *Honesta oratio est.*

18. The plain truth, however, stands thus: that κμ and θμ, (with χμ, φν, τν,) though never used as *initial* to any word, yet within the same words are found *permissive* much too often to admit the shadow of a doubt on that head.

Phœn. 351. Καὶ γὰρ μέτρ' ἀνθρώποισι καὶ μέρη στα-θμῶν

may be taken for one undisputed example; there is no want of more.

19. How far in the different pairs of consonants which have been defined as *non-permissive* (§ 3), a physical necessity was the obstacle, in some at least, if not in others, might be a question for anatomy rather than for criticism.

PROSODY.

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1. Vocalis brevis ante consonantes. (Gr. Gr. 37.)

1. Vocalis brevis ante vel tenues, quas vocant, consonantes π, κ, τ, vel adspiratas φ, χ, θ, sequente quavis liquida; uti et ante medias β, γ, δ, sequente ρ, syllabam brevem perpetuo claudit.

2. Vocalis brevis ante consonantes medias β, γ, δ, sequente quavis liquida præter unicam ρ, syllabam brevem nunquam terminat, sed sequentium consonarum ope longam semper constituit. Dawes, Misc. Crit. p. 353.

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2. Syllabæ in quibus concurrunt consonantes βλ, γλ, γμ, γν, δμ, δν.

Κλύουσᾰ θρήνους, οὐκ ἂν ἐκβάλοι δάκρυ;

Primo θρήνοις, deinde γλήνους conjicit Musgravius. Nihil opus. Præterea γλήνους metrum vitiaret. Dawesius canonem paullo temerarius, ut solet, statuit, nullam syllabam a poëta scenico corripi posse, in qua concurrant consonantes βλ, γλ, γμ, γν, δμ, δν. Hæc regula, plerumque vera, nonnunquam ab Æschylo, Sophocle, Aristophane, violatur, ab Euripide credo nunquam.

Porson ad Hec. v. 298.

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3. Παρθένον, ἐμῇ-τε μητρὶ παρέδωκεν τρέφειν.

cur N finalem in ἐπέκλωσεν, v. 12, et similibus addiderim, nemo nisi qui communi sensu plane careat, requiret. Sed erunt fortasse nonnulli, qui minus necessario hoc factum arbitraturi sint in παρέδωκεν. Rationes igitur semel exponam, nunquam posthac moniturus. Quanquam enim sæpe syllabas natura breves positione producunt Tragici, longe libentius corripiunt, adeo ut tria prope exempla correptarum invenias, ubi unum modo extet productarum. Sed hoc genus licentiæ, in verbis scilicet non compositis, qualia τέκνον, πατρός, ceteris longe frequentius est. Rarius multo syllaba producitur in verbo composito, si in ipsam juncturam cadit, ut in πολύχρυσος, Andr. 2. Eadem parsimonia in augmentis producendis utuntur, ut in ἐπέκλωσεν sup. 12, κεκλῆσθαι Sophocl. Elect. 366. Rarior adhuc licentia, ubi præpositio verbo jungitur, ut in ἀπότροποι, Phœn. 595 (600). Sed ubi verbum in brevem vocalem desinit, eamque duæ consonantes excipiunt, quæ brevem manere patiantur, vix credo exempla indubiæ fidei inveniri posse, in quibus syllaba ista producatur. Quod si ea, quæ disputavi, vera sunt, planum est, in fine vocis addendam esse literam, quam addidi. Porson ad Orest. v. 64.

4. In Anapæsticis συνάφεια. (Gr. Gr. 647.)

Nempe dimetri cujuscunque generis continuo carmine per συνάφειαν decurrunt, usque dum ad versum catalecticum, quo omne systema claudatur, deventum sit. Hanc συνάφειαν in anapæsticis locum habere primus docuit, non jam, uti ipse ad Hor. Carm. iii. 12, 6, asseverat Cl. Bentleius; sed Terentianus. Is utique pag. 58 [l. 9] hæc habet:

> Απ' ελασσονος *autem cui nomen indiderunt*
> *In nomine sic est* Δῐ̈ŏμη̄δη̄ς : *metron autem*
> *Non versibus istud numero aut pedum coarctant* ;
> *Sed continuo carmine, quia pedes gemelli*
> *Urgent brevibus tot numero jugando longas* :
> *Idcirco vocari voluerunt* συναφειαν.
> Anapæstica *fiunt itidem per* συναφειαν.
> Dawes. Misc. Crit. pp. 55, 56.

5.

Tragici nunquam ita senarium disponunt, ut pedes tertius et quartus unam vocem efficiant. Porson. ad Hec. 728.

6. Περὶ ante vocalem.

Tragici nunquam in senarios, trochaicos, aut, puto, anapæstos legitimos, περὶ admittunt ante vocalem, sive in eadem, sive in diversis vocibus. Imo ne in melica quidem verbum vel substantivum hujusmodi compositionis intrare sinunt; raro admodum adjectivum vel adverbium.—Huc adde, quod Tragici, si vocem puram a περὶ compositam adhibent, huic vitio per tmesin medentur, ut Bacch. 619. Troad. 561. Porson. ad Med. 284.

7. Τί δὲ πλέον; ἦλθον 'Αμφιάρεω γε πρὸς βίαν.

Eurip. Supp. v. 158.

Instead of *τί δὲ πλέον*, Mr. Porson (Præf. ad Hec. p. 40) silently reads *τί πλεῖον*, which reading Mr. Gaisford has admitted into the text. It is certain, that in Tragic iambics, a monosyllable, which is incapable of beginning a verse, as *ἄν*, *γάρ*, *δέ*, *μέν*, *τε*, *τις*, is very rarely employed as the second syllable of a tribrach or dactyl. To the best of our knowledge, Æschylus affords no example of this licence, and Sophocles only two:

Οὐδέποτέ γ'· οὐδ' ἦν χρῇ με πᾶν παθεῖν κακόν. Phil. 999.
Οὐδέποθ' ἑκόντα γ' ὥστε τὴν Τροίαν ἰδεῖν. Ib. 1392.

Perhaps, however, in these verses *οὐδέποτε* is to be considered as one word, as it is commonly represented. In the remains of Euripides, we have observed the following examples:—

I. Οὐδὲ πάθος, οὐδὲ συμφορὰ θεήλατος. Or. 2.
II. Ξυνδεῖ. Τὸ γὰρ ἴσον, νόμιμον ἀνθρώποις ἔφυ. Phœn. 548.
III. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τέρμα, καὶ τὸ πλέον ἐμῶν κακῶν.
Suppl. 368.
IV. Οὐδέ σε φέρειν γ' ἅπασιν Ἕλλησιν κακά. Iph. Aul. 308.

The common reading is, Οὐδέ σε φέρειν δεῖ πᾶσιν.

V. Εἰ δέ τι κόρης σῆς θεσφάτων μέτεστί σοι. Ib. 498.
VI. 'Αλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίως ἂν ὁ θεὸς τιμὴν ἔχοι. Bacch. 192.

The true reading seems to be,

'Αλλ' οὐχ ὁμοίαν ὁ θεὸς ἂν τιμὴν ἔχοι.

VII. Ὥστε διὰ τοῦτον τἀγάθ' ἀνθρώπους ἔχειν. Ib. 285.

Perhaps διὰ τοῦτον ὥστε.

VIII. Οὐδέποτ' ἐδόξασ'. . Οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤλπισα. Elect. 580.

It may be observed, that in six of these eight verses, as well as in the verse now under consideration, the foot which we consider as licentious is the first foot of the verse.

Elmsley's Review of Markland's Supplices, &c.
(Quart. Rev. vol. vii. No. 14, p. 448.)

—A distinction ought to be made between the Tragic and the Comic poets. When we have a proper opportunity, we will endeavour to demonstrate that Dawes' canon is not so strictly observed by the Comic poets as is commonly imagined. With regard to the Tragic poets, their practice may be conveniently described in the following canon:—

In Tragic iambics, the second syllable of a tribrach, or of a dactyl, ought not to be either a monosyllable, which is incapable of beginning a verse, or the last syllable of a word.

Elmsley's Review of Markland's Supplices, &c.
(Ibid. p. 462, note.)

8. Dorica dialectus in anapæstis.

In anapæstis neque nunquam neque semper Dorica dialecto utuntur Tragici. Ubi igitur in communi forma MSS. consentiunt, communem formam retinui; ubi codex unus aut alter Dorismum habet, Dorismum restitui. Porson. ad Hec. 100.

9. De quantitate vocum ἀνία, ἀνήρ,

Nomen ἀνία, vel ἀνίη, plerumque penultimam producit, aliquando corripit, ut in quatuor exemplis a Ruhnkenio, Epist. Crit. ii. p. 276, adductis.—Verbum ἀνιάω vel ἀνιάζω, apud Epicos poëtas secundam plerumque producit, ut et in Soph. Antig. 319. Verbum ἀνιῶ apud Aristophanem penultimam ter corripit, semel producit Eq. 348. (349, Bekk.)—Semper, nisi fallor, secunda in ἀνιαρὸς ab Euripide et Aristophane corripitur, producitur a Sophocle Antig. 316. Sed ubique tertia syllaba longa est. Porson. ad Phœn. v. 1334.

Nusquam ἀνὴρ priorem producit, nisi ubi ἀνέρος in genitivo facit. Cum vero ἀνέρος Attici nusquam in senariis, trochaicis, vel anapæsticis usurpent, priorem vocis ἀνὴρ semper corripiant necesse est. Ibid. v. 1670.

10. Ἧμιν, ἡμίν.

Solus e tragicis secundam in ἡμῖν et ὑμῖν corripit Sophocles, monente Porsono Præfat. p. xxxvii. Id in integris fabulis bis et quadragies extra melica fecit. Septies autem necessario produxit ante vocalem; Œd. Tyr. 631, Œd. Col. 826, Trach. 1273, Aj. 689, El. 355, 454, 1381. Quæ omnia emendationis egere suspicari videtur Porsonus. Ego vero casu potius quam consilio factum puto, ut tam raro ancipitem vocalem necessario produceret Noster. Nam simile quid Euripidi accidisse video. Is, ut monuit Porsonus, posteriorem horum pronominum syllabam nusquam corripuit.—Quod ad accentum correptæ formæ attinet, alii ἧμιν et ὗμιν, alii ἡμὶν et ὑμὶν scribendum arbitrantur. Hanc scripturam adhibuit Aldus in Ajace et Electræ versibus primis 357, dehinc vero ἧμιν et ὗμιν usque ad finem libri. Ἡμὶν et ὑμὶν ubique editiones recentiores, quarum scripturam post Brunckium adoptavi. Elmsley, Præf. ad Œdip. Tyrann. p. x.

11. Ἱμέρῳ χρίσασ᾽, ἄφυκτον οἰστόν.

οἰστὸν est dissyllabon, ut semper apud Atticos.

Porson. ad Med. v. 634.

12. De quantitate vocum ἀεί, λίαν, ἄγαν, πέραν.

Recte hujus vocis (ἀεὶ) penultimam communem esse statuit Piersonus ad Mœrin. Porson. ad Hec. v. 1164.

Nescio cur miretur quis, quod vocalem in ἀεὶ communem esse statuerim, cum idem fiat ἰῶμαι, ἰατρός, λίαν, et aliis.

Ibid. Præf. ad Hec. p. xv.

Ultima τοῦ λίαν syllaba ab Atticis poetis semper producitur. Idem fieri in adverbiis ἄγαν, πέραν, εὐὰν, monuit Etymologus M. v. ἄγαν. Monk. ad Hippol. v. 264.

13. Θεὸς—μὴ οὐ—ἢ οὐ—Monosyllaba.

Δεινὴ γὰρ ἡ θεὸς, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἰάσιμος.

Θεὸς est monosyllabon, quod in ceteris casibus sæpissime fit; in nominativo et accusativo singulari non raro. Veteres Attici hanc vocem libenter in sermone contraxisse videntur: nomina enim a *θεὸς* incipientia pronunciarunt Θουγενίδης, Θουκλῆς, Θουκυδίδης, Θουφάνης, Θούφραστος. Porson. ad Orest. v. 393.

"ΜΗ ΟΥ in Tragicis semper est monosyllabon," dixerat Marklandus ad Euripidis Supplices 248, et Iph. Aul. 959, "Η ΟΥ, monosyllabice, ut sæpe et semper." "Fere," ait Brunckius ad Euripid. Orest. 598, "addere debuisset, quia contraria exempla reperiuntur, extra suspicionem et controversiam posita, ut est illud Œd. Tyr. 993,

> Ἦ ῥητόν, ἦ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἄλλον εἰδέναι;"

Hæc ille, cum nihil certius, quam in exemplo isto unico, quod produxit aut producere potuit, legendum esse

> Ἦ ῥητόν, ἦ οὐχὶ θεμιτόν———

Atque hoc tandem ipsi Brunckio suboluit. Postea prodiit ejus editio Tragici; cujus in loco laudato recte *ἦ οὐχὶ* edidit, et in nota observat, "Η ΟΥ, ΜΗ ΟΥ apud Atticos poetas semper sunt monosyllaba." Pors. Advers. p. 41.

END OF PART IV.

EXAMINATION PAPERS

ON THE

GREEK TRAGEDIANS.

ÆSCHYLI PERSÆ.

TRINITY COLLEGE. *June*, 1832.

MR. THIRLWALL.

1. DEFINE your notion of epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry. What species of composition is implied in the term lyrical tragedy? Mention the various meanings that have been derived from the etymology of the words *τραγῳδία* and *τρυγῳδία*. Which of these explanations is most conformable to analogy?

2. On what grounds, according to Aristotle, did the Dorians lay claim to the invention of tragedy and comedy? Point out the fallacy of the argument he mentions. In what Greek cities out of Attica were early advances made toward dramatic poetry? Where was any of its branches brought to its perfection earlier than at Athens? Explain the proverb *οὐδὲ τὰ Στησιχόρου τρία γιγνώσκεις*. Mention the age, country, and inventions of Stesichorus, and the character of his poetry as described by the ancients.

3. Relate the principal Attic legends concerning the introduction of the worship of Bacchus into Athens. How did the oracles contribute to this end? By what means does the worship of Bacchus appear to have become connected with that of Apollo at Delphi, and with that of Ceres at Eleusis?

4. Enumerate the Attic Dionysia, and explain the origin of their particular names. In what Attic month, and at what season of the year, was each celebrated? To what division of

the Greek nation did the month Lenæon belong? To what Attic month did it correspond? What is the origin of the name, and what inference may be drawn from it as to the place of the month in the calendar? Which was the most ancient of the Dionysia at Athens?

5. At which of the Dionysia were dramatic entertainments given? In which were the dithyrambic choruses exhibited? What were the peculiar regulations affecting the performances at each festival? In which were the *τραγῳδοὶ καινοί*? What authority is there for believing that women were admitted to these spectacles?

6. Translate: *εἰσήνεγκε νόμον τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραψαμένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγιγνώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις.* Who was the author of this law, and what were its objects? Translate and explain: *οἱ ποιηταὶ τρεῖς ἐλάμβανον ὑποκριτὰς κλήρῳ νεμηθέντας ὑποκρινομένους τὰ δράματα, ὧν ὁ νικήσας εἰς τοὐπιὸν ἄκριτος παραλαμβάνεται.* What were the particular denominations of these actors? How were the parts in the *Persæ* probably distributed among them? What was the general name for the other characters in a play?

7. Give some examples to illustrate the different light in which actors were regarded by the Greeks and by the Romans. How is the fact to be explained? From what causes did the profession of an actor rise in importance in Greece between the age of Æschylus and that of Demosthenes?

8. What part of the expense of the theatrical entertainments was defrayed by the Athenian government, and what by individuals? Mention the various duties and charges to which the *χορηγοὶ* were subject. With what powers did the law invest them in the execution of their office? Explain the origin and nature of the *Θεωρικόν*, the changes that took place in the distribution of it, and its political consequences. Who were the *θεατρῶναι* and *θεατροπῶλαι*? Explain the allusion in the characteristic: *καὶ ξένοις δὲ αὐτοῦ θέαν ἀγοράσας μὴ δοὺς τὸ μέρος θεωρεῖν. ἄγειν δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν.*

9. Mention the various ways in which Greek Tragedy was made to answer political purposes, and produce some illustrations from the extant plays. By which tragedian was the drama most frequently so applied? What arguments beside that of the Persæ were taken from events subsequent to the return of the Heracleids? How do you explain the saying attributed to Æschylus: τὰς αὐτοῦ τραγῳδίας τεμάχη εἶναι τῶν Ὁμήρου μεγάλων δείπνων?

10. State the best attested dates of the birth and death of Æschylus. Enumerate his dramatic predecessors and contemporaries in the order of time. Mention the leading occurrences in his life, the honours paid to him after his death, the members of his family whose names are known, and the causes of their celebrity. Do his plays contain any intimation as to his political sentiments? What grounds have been assigned for the charge of impiety said to have been brought against him? What reason is there for believing that he made more than one journey to Sicily? When did Hiero become king of Syracuse, and how long did his reign last?

11. What were the plays that made up the tetralogy to which the Persæ belonged? State the principal features of the legends connected with their names. What ground is there for supposing that the trilogy had a common title? In what manner may the argument of the Persæ have been connected with those of the other two pieces? What other poets wrote plays of the same name?

12. Quote the lines of Aristophanes which relate to the chorus of the Persæ. What difficulty have they occasioned? How may they be understood, without supposing them to refer to any other edition of the play than the one we have? What other references are made by ancient writers to passages of the Persæ not contained in the extant play of that name? How may this be accounted for, without supposing them to have dropped out of the latter? How does Stanley conjecture the chorus of the Persæ to have been composed? How may this conjecture be reconciled with the usual number of the tragic chorus? How is it confirmed by the distribution of the dialogue?

13. Make out a list of the Median and Persian kings, down to the fall of the Persian monarchy, noticing the variations between Æschylus, Herodotus, and Ctesias. Who was Ctesias? when did he live, and what were his sources of information? Give the pedigree of Xerxes, and show how he was related to Cyrus. How many kings of the name of Darius are mentioned in history?

14. Mention the divisions of the Persian nation according to Herodotus. How is Xenophon to be understood when he says: λέγονται Πέρσαι ἀμφὶ τὰς δώδεκα μυριάδας εἶναι? Mention the divisions of the Persian empire according to Plato, Herodotus, and the Old Testament. How may the three accounts be reconciled? Trace the frontier of the empire under Darius in the last year of his reign, and mention the modern names of the countries through which it passes. Give the modern names of Susa and Ecbatana, and mention the different opinions on these points. By what name is Susa described in the Old Testament? What is the meaning of the word? Mention the mythical and the historical person to whom the foundation of the city is attributed.

15. What is known of the circumstances and life of Darius before his accession? How does Æschylus allude to the manner in which he obtained the crown? Give a short account of his wars, and show how far their several issues justify the language of Æschylus: νόστοι ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπαθεῖς εὖ πράσσοντας ἄγον οἴκους.

16. Give an account of the invasion of Greece by the Gauls, mentioning the time, the occasion, and the leaders of the expedition. Describe the line of their march, and compare the principal incidents of the campaign with those of the Persian invasion.

17. Draw a map of Salamis and the adjacent coast, marking the situation of the towns of Salamis, Megara, and Eleusis, and the ἀκταὶ Σιληνίων, the spot from which Xerxes viewed the battle, and the island of Psyttaleia. Translate, ἐπειδὴ ἐγίνοντο μέσαι νύκτες, ἀνῆγον μὲν τὸ ἀπ᾽ ἑσπέρης κέρας κυκλούμενοι πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα· ἀνῆγον δὲ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὴν Κέον τε καὶ τὴν Κυνόσου-

ραν τεταγμένοι, κατέχον τε μέχρι Μουνυχίης πάντα τὸν πορθμὸν τῇσι νηυσί. Describe the position of the three last-mentioned places.

18. Give a short account of the history of Salamis, and of the way in which it fell under the dominion of Athens. On what evidence did the Athenians found their claim to the island? What other ancient name had it? What is its modern one? Mention the meaning of each. Does Homer (as quoted by Stanley) throw any light on the epithet πελειοθρέμμονα? Explain the epithet in the words ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας.

19. Translate:

Ἦρξεν μὲν ὦ δέσποινα τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ
Φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.
Ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλλην. κ. τ. λ.

Who is the person here alluded to? Is he accurately described as ἀνὴρ Ἕλλην? How was he rewarded for his services?

20. Translate:

——Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν
Ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
Νεῶν, δεκὰς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος.

What is the difference between the numbers of the Grecian fleet described in this passage and in Herodotus? What part of this fleet was furnished by Greeks of Ionian extraction? Compare the statements of Æschylus and Herodotus as to the numbers of the Persian fleet. Supply the principal events omitted by Æschylus that intervened between the battle of Salamis and the retreat of Xerxes, and between his arrival at Sardis and his return to Susa.

21. Translate:

Ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου
Κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὔμαριν ἀείρων
Βασιλείου τιάρας
Φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.

Explain the allusion in the last part of this passage. Is the evocation of Darius founded on Grecian or on Persian usage? Where was Darius buried?

22. Ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἔστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.

Describe the district in which this treasure lay, and mention the ancient and modern names of the principal towns in it. Give an account of the manner in which its produce was applied before and at the time of Æschylus. By what peculiar privileges did the government encourage the cultivation of it. Explain Xenophon's project for increasing its productiveness.

23. Explain the allusion in the words ἰὰν Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος πέμψω, and give some other examples of similar national usages. Why is Atossa made to describe Greece as Ἰαόνων γῆν, and afterwards to say, ἡ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἠσκημένη, ἡ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν? Why do the Greek writers speak of the Persian war as τὰ Μηδικά? Why is Xerxes described as Σύριον ἅρμα διώκων? Translate: δίῤῥυμά τε καὶ τρίῤῥυμα τέλη? What mention is found in history of the use of chariots in the Persian armies?

24. Translate the following passage, and arrange it in metrical order, naming the verses into which you divide it. δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πηδήματος εὐπετοῦς ἀνάσσων; φιλόφρων γὰρ σαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον, παράγει βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκύστατα τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ θνατὸν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν.

25. Define and exemplify the metrical terms, *arsis*, *thesis*, *basis*, *anacrusis*, *anaclasis*, *cæsura*, *prosodia*. What is meant by metres κατ' ἀντιπάθειαν μικτά? What is an asynartetic verse?

Explain the grounds on which Hermann objects to the ancient mode of measuring the iambic verse.

26. Explain the terms, *hyperbaton*, *zeugma*, *prolepsis*, and give an instance of each. Translate: τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν Τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅς τ', ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ Ταχθείς, ἄνανδρον τάξιν ἠρήμου θανών. In the lines: ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵξεται κνέφας, Ἕλληνες οὐ μένοιεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασι Νεῶν ἐπενθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε Δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοτον ἐκσωσοίατο—what corrections have been proposed? Translate the lines as they are here written. Explain the construction of the lines: ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως ὅταν νεῶν Φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσωζοίατο. In what cases are adverbs of time properly fol-

lowed by the indicative, in what by the subjunctive or the optative mood? When is the subjunctive, and when the optative required after a relative pronoun or adverb? Explain the distinction between the grammatical and the rhetorical ellipsis. To what figure does the construction of the following words belong? *τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνακτ' αὐτὸν ὡς ἀκούομεν Θρῄκης ἀμπεδιήρεις δυσχίμους τε κελεύθους.* Distinguish the different meanings of the following words according to the difference of their accentuation: *αγη, βιος, βροτος, γαυλος, δημος, θερμος, θολος. καλος, κηρ, ληνος, λις, νειος, νομος, τροπος.*

SOPHOCLIS PHILOCTETES.

TRINITY COLLEGE. *June*, 1833.

MR. MARTIN.

1. (*a*) GIVE the dates of the birth and death and first tragic victory of Sophocles.
   (*b*) In what war was he engaged? What was its duration and event?
   (*c*) How long after the death of Sophocles and Euripides did Aristophanes produce his Ranæ?
   (*d*) Translate and explain:

> ΗΡΑ. Εἶτ' οὐχὶ Σοφοκλέα, πρότερον ὄντ' Εὐριπίδου,
> Μέλλεις ἀναγαγεῖν, εἴπερ ἐκεῖθεν δεῖ σ' ἄγειν;
> ΔΙΟ. Οὐ πρίν γ' ἂν Ἰοφῶντ', ἀπολαβὼν αὐτὸν μόνον,
> Ἄνευ Σοφοκλέους ὅ τι ποιεῖ κωδωνίσω. (*Ran.* 76.)

2. (*a*) How far does Phrynichus appear to deserve the title of Father of Tragedy?
   (*b*) Why was a fine imposed upon him for his Μιλήτου ἅλωσις? Where is the story related?
   (*c*) Translate and explain *μινυρίζοντες μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα.* (*Arist. Vesp.*)

3. (*a*) What do you consider to be the object of Epic, and Dramatic poetry?
   (*b*) What the chief characteristic of *Grecian* tragedy?
   (*c*) How was the Drama encouraged at Athens?
   (*d*) At what seasons of the year, and at which of the Dionysia, were dramatic entertainments given?
   (*e*) What is the controversy respecting the Lenæa?
   (*f*) What was the nature of the laws *περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν*? When introduced, and with what object? How does Demosthenes allude to them?

4. (*a*) What account does Homer give of Philoctetes? How many ships did he bring to the war?
   (*b*) Does he allude to his aid as requisite for the taking of Troy?
   (*c*) Is his fate after the fall of Troy alluded to by Homer or Virgil?

5. (*a*) What is the situation of Lemnos with respect to Athens?
   (*b*) How came it to be inhabited by the Pelasgi? (*Herod.* B. VI.)
   (*c*) How did it fall under the power of the Athenians? (*ibid.*)
   (*d*) Where was the island Chryse situated? What account does Pausanias give of it?
   (*e*) How was Hercules connected with it?

6. Explain the terms 'cæsura,' 'quasi-cæsura,' and 'pause' in the Iambic trimeter of the tragedians.

7. *Ἑρμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιτο νῷν.* (v. 133.)
   (*a*) In what sense is Mercury called *πομπαῖος* in the Ajax?
   (*b*) Illustrate *πομπαῖος* and *δόλιος* from Horace.
   (*c*) What is the meaning of the Homeric epithet *ἐριούνιος*?
   (*d*) Translate:

> *Ἀλλά σ' ὁ Μαίας πομπαῖος ἄναξ*
> *Πελάσειε δόμοις,*
> *Ὧν τ' ἐπίνοιαν σπεύδεις κατέχων*
> *Πράξειας.* (*Eurip. Med.* 755.)

8. Ὀρεστέρα παμβῶτι Γᾶ, μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διός,
Ἰὼ μάκαιρα ταυροκτόνων
Λεόντων ἔφεδρε. (v. 389.)

(*a*) Illustrate παμβῶτι Γᾶ from Lucretius (B. II.). What reason does he assign for the Greek poets representing Cybele (or Tellus) in a chariot drawn by lions?

(*b*) Why was she called 'Idæa Mater?' What ambiguity has the word 'Idæa' caused?

(*c*) How does Euripides connect Bacchus and Rhea? (*Bacchæ.*)

9. (*a*) Translate:

Ἰδοὺ δέχου, παῖ· τὸν φθύνον δὲ πρόσκυσον,
Μή σοι γενέσθαι πολύπον' αὐτά. (v. 759.)

(*b*) Does the expression τὸν φθόνον πρόσκυσον, or a similar one, occur elsewhere?

(*c*) Why was Nemesis called Ἀδραστεία?

10. —— ἐπεὶ πάρεστι μὲν
Τεῦκρος παρ' ἡμῖν, τήνδ' ἐπιστήμην ἔχων. (v. 1038.)

(*a*) In what sense, and by whom, is Teucer called ὁ τοξότης in the Ajax? Translate Teucer's reply οὐ γὰρ βάναυσον τὴν τέχνην ἐκτησάμην. What difference in the sense would be caused by the omission or different position of the article τήν?

(*b*) Which of the Greeks at Troy was the most famous for the use of the bow? (*Hom. Od.* VIII.)

(*c*) How do you account for the use of the bow being held in contempt by the Athenians?

(*d*) What was their peculiar offensive weapon? (*Æsch. Pers.*)

11. Ὕπν' ὀδύνας ἀδαής, Ὕπνε δ' ἀλγέων,
Εὐαὴς ἡμῖν ἔλθοις
Εὐαίων, εὐαίων, ὦναξ.
Ὄμμασι δ' ἀντέχοις τάνδ' αἴγλαν,
Ἃ τέταται τανῦν. (v. 810.)

Give Welcker's interpretation of this passage, with the grounds on which it rests.

12. Χὠ Κεφαλλήνων ἄναξ. (v. 262.)

(*a*) What do we find respecting the Κεφαλλῆνες in Homer?

(*b*) Translate:

ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑ Τυδέως γόνος,
Οὐδ' οὑμπολητὸς Σισύφου Λαερτίου,
Οὐ μὴ θάνωσι. τούσδε γὰρ μὴ ζῆν ἔδει. (v. 411.)

What is the objection to Hermann's interpretation?

(*c*) To which of the Generals in the Iliad is Sisyphus said to be related? (*Il.* VI.) What character is there given of him?

(*d*) How may οὐ μὴ θάνωσι be explained by an ellipsis?

(*e*) What is the chief distinction in the use of οὐ and μή? Distinguish between ψυχὴν σκοπῶν φιλόσοφυν καὶ μή, and ψυχὴν σκοπῶν φιλόσοφον καὶ οὐ.

13. (*a*) Distinguish between φυλάξεται στίβος .(v. 48) and φυλαχθήσεται στίβος.

(*b*) What is the rule with respect to the use of πρὶν followed by an infinitive, or a subjunctive or optative mood? What is there remarkable in ὁ δὲ ἀδικέει ἀναπειθόμενος πρὶν ἢ ἀτρεκέως ἐκμάθῃ? (*Herod.* B. VII.)

14. Translate the following passages and explain the construction:

(*a*) ὅστις νόσου Κάμνοντι συλλάβοιτο. (v. 279.)

(*b*) τίνος γὰρ ὧδε τὸν μέγαν Χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας; (v. 325.)

(*c*) ὃν δὴ παλαί' ἂν ἐξ ὅτου δέδοικ' ἐγὼ Μή μοι βεβήκῃ, (v. 488.)

(*d*) πλησθῇς τῆς νόσου συνουσίᾳ. (v. 512.)

What peculiar sense does ἀναπίμπλασθαι admit? Is 'impleri' ever used in the same manner?

(*e*) πρὸς ποῖον ἂν τόνδ' αὐτὸς οὑδυσσεὺς ἔπλει; (v. 564.)

Explain the force of ἂν here, and in ἐνθένδε ἄνδρες οὔτε ὄντα, οὔτε ἂν γενόμενα, λογοποιοῦσιν. (*Thucyd.*)

15. Translate the following passages:

(*a*) Σκοπεῖν θ' ὅπου 'στ' ἐνταῦθα δίστομος πέτρα
Τοιάδ', ἵν' ἐν ψύχει μὲν ἡλίου διπλῆ
Πάρεστιν ἐνθάκησις, ἐν θέρει δ' ὕπνον
Δι' ἀμφιτρῆτος αὐλίου πέμπει πνοή. (v. 16.)

(*b*) Τί χρή, τί χρή με, δέσποτ', ἐν ξένᾳ ξένον
Στέγειν, ἢ τί λέγειν πρὸς ἄνδρ' ὑπόπταν;
Φράζε μοι. τέχνα γὰρ τέχνας ἑτέρας προὔχει,
Καὶ γνώμα, παρ' ὅτῳ
Τὸ θεῖον Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἀνάσσεται. (v. 135.)

(*c*) Εἰ δὲ πικρούς, ἄναξ, ἔχθεις 'Ατρείδας,
'Εγὼ μὲν τὸ κείνων κακὸν τῷδε κέρδος
Μετατιθέμενος, ἔνθαπερ ἐπιμέμονεν,
'Επ' εὐστόλου ταχείας νεὼς
Πορεύσαιμ' ἂν ἐς δόμους. (v. 504.)

(*d*) Εἷρπε δ' ἄλλον ἄλλοτε
Τότ' ἂν εἰλυόμενος,
Παῖς ἄτερ ὡς φίλας τιθήνας, ὅθεν εὐμάρει' ὑπάρ-
χοι, πόρον, ἁνίκ' ἐξανείη δακέθυμος ἄτα.
Οὐ φορβὰν ἱερᾶς γᾶς σπόρον, οὐκ ἄλλων
Αἴρων, τῶν νεμόμεσθ' ἀνέρες ἀλφησταί,
Πλὴν ἐξ ὠκυβόλων εἴποτε τόξων πτα-
νοῖς ἰοῖς ἀνύσειε γαστρὶ φορβάν. (v. 690.)

What are the metrical names of the lines (*b*) and (*d*)?

16. Give the meaning and derivation of the following words:

ὀγμεύω, σμυγερός, παλιντριβής, ἔμπυος, ἐχθόδοπος, οὐρεσιβώτας. In what other authors does *ἐχθόδοπος* occur? What different forms of *οὐρεσιβώτας* occur in Sophocles?

EURIPIDIS ALCESTIS.

TRINITY COLLEGE, *May*, 1837.

MR. DONALDSON.

1. **TRACE** the epic and lyric poetry of Greece to their respective sources, and show how each of them was related to the Athenian drama. Translate, γενομένη οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοσχεδιαστικὴ καὶ ἡ τραγῳδία καὶ ἡ κωμῳδία, ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ φαλλικά, κατὰ μικρὸν ηὐξήθη. Explain and justify this statement, particularly the former part of it. What other name was given to the διθύραμβος, and why? Of how many persons did the dithyrambic chorus consist? How did it differ from or agree with the chorus in a tragedy?

2. When did Arion flourish? How could he be said τραγικοῦ τρόπου εὑρετὴς γενέσθαι? Explain the word τραγῳδία consistently with your interpretation of this statement. What do you understand by a *lyrical tragedy?* What is known of Stesichorus, and what was his real name? Mention some of the principles which regulated the formation of proper names among the Greeks. Why was the name Aletes given to the founder of the Dorian dynasty at Corinth, and what name was for a similar reason borne by the son of Cimon? To what circumstance did the poet Euripides probably owe his name? Thucydides mentions Xenophon, the son of Euripides, as an Athenian general in the year 429 B.C.; could this Euripides have derived his name from the same cause?

3. By whom was the custom of performing tragic Trilogies introduced, and by whom was it first abandoned? What was the nature and origin of the fourth play in a Tetralogy? What place did the Alcestis occupy in the Tetralogy to which it belonged, and what were the other three plays? Is the in-

ference which you might draw from the place of the Alcestis confirmed by any peculiarites in the play itself?

Translate:

Nunc, quam rem oratum huc veni, primum proloquar,
Post argumentum hujus eloquar tragœdiæ.
Quid contraxistis frontem, quia tragœdiam
Dixi futuram hanc? Deus sum! Conmutavero
Eadem, si voltis. Faciam hanc ex tragœdia
Comœdia ut sit omnibus isdem versibus.
Utrum sit an ne voltis? Sed ego stultior:
Quasi nesciam vos velle, qui divos siem!
Teneo quid animi vostri super hac re siet.
Faciam ut conmista sit Tragicocomœdia:
Nam me perpetuo facere ut sit comœdia,
Reges quo veniant et Di, non par arbitror.

Of what play is this said? Mention other instances of an extravagance, similar to that on which the plot of it depends, in the dramatic literature of ancient or modern times.

4. How was the iambic trimeter derived from the dactylic hexameter? Give a scheme of the iambic trimeter acatalectic both tragic and comic. What is Porson's rule about the pause in the tragic trimeter? Can you mention any exceptions to it? We learn from Joannes Laurentius Lydus that Rhinthon wrote comedies in hexameter verse; what remarkable fact in the literature of Rome is explained by this? To what classes of Greek plays did the *prætextata*, *togata*, *Atellana* and *planipes*, respectively correspond? Explain the last word, and show from Horace that the *prætextata* and *togata* were different. What is Niebuhr's opinion about the *prætextata?*

5. Translate:

Ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας
Καὶ μετάρσιος ᾖξα, καὶ
Πλείστων ἁψάμενος λόγων
Κρεῖσσον οὐδὲν ἀνάγκας
Εὗρον, οὐδέ τι φάρμακον
Θρῄσσαις ἐν σανίσιν, τὰς
Ὀρφεία κατέγραψεν
Γῆρυς, οὐδ' ὅσα Φοῖβος Ἀσκληπιάδαις ἔδωκε
Φάρμακα πολυπόνοις ἀντιτέμων βροτοῖσι.

(*a*) Explain and illustrate by examples διὰ μούσας—ᾖξα, and φάρμακα—ἀντιτέμων.

(*b*) To what branch of his studies does Euripides allude when he says, μετάρσιος ᾖξα?

Translate :

Οὐ γὰρ, μὰ Δί, οἶσθ' ὁτιὴ πλείστους αὗται βόσκουσι σοφιστὰς,
Θουριομάντεις, ἰατροτέχνας, σφραγιδονυχαργοκομήτας,
Κυκλίων τε χορῶν ᾀσματοκάμπτας, ἄνδρας μετεωροφένακας.

Also :

Σύ τε λεπτοτάτων λήρων ἱερεῦ, φράζε πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὅ, τι χρῄζεις.
Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλῳ γ' ὑποκούσαιμεν τῶν νῦν μετεωροσοφιστῶν,
Πλὴν ἢ Προδίκῳ· τῷ μὲν σοφίας καὶ γνώμης εἵνεκα, σοὶ δὲ
Ὅτι βρενθύει τ' ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς καὶ τὠφθαλμὼ παραβάλλεις,
Κἀνυπόδητος κακὰ πόλλ' ἀνέχει, κἀφ' ἡμῖν σεμνοπροσωπεῖς.

And explain all the allusions in both passages. Who were the Sophists? What is known of the Prodicus mentioned in the second passage?

(*c*) Give some account of Anaxagoras and his peculiar doctrines.

Translate :

Ἀναξαγόρας ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχάς· σχέδον γὰρ ἅπαντα τὰ ὁμοιομερῆ, καθάπερ ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ, οὕτω γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἀπόλλυσθαί φησι συγκρίσει καὶ διακρίσει μόνον, ἄλλως δ' οὔτε γίγνεσθαι οὔτ' ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαμένειν ἀΐδια.

And,

Τουτέων δὲ οὕτω διακεκριμένων γινώσκειν χρὴ ὅτι πάντα οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω ἐστιν οὐδὲ πλέω· οὐ γὰρ ἀνυστὸν πάντων πλέω εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἶσα αἰεί.

What was the connexion between Euripides and Anaxagoras? Mention any instances in which Euripides has expressed the opinions of this philosopher.

(*d*) What are the σανίδες Θρῇσσαι here alluded to?

(*e*) In what metre are these lines written?

6. Describe the general features of a Greek dramatic representation. Where was the Theatre of Athens situated? Quote

instances of allusions made by the dramatists to the locality of the Theatre and the surrounding scenery.

7. What was *χορὸν διδόναι*? When did the tragic contests take place? In what year did Euripides bring out the Tetralogy to which the Alcestis belonged, and what was his fortune on this occasion? What play in this Tetralogy was continually ridiculed by Aristophanes, and why? How is it parodied in the "Acharnians?"

Translate:

Σὺ δή με ταῦτ', ὦ στωμυλιοσυλλεκτάδη
Καὶ πτωχόποιε καὶ ῥακιοσυρραπτάδη;

What was probably the object of Aristophanes in composing the "Frogs?"

Translate and and explain:

ΞΑ. *κἄπειτα πῶς*
Οὐ καὶ Σοφοκλέης ἀντελάβετο τοῦ θρόνου;
ΑΙ. *Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔκυσε μὲν Αἰσχύλον,*
Ὅτε δὴ κατῆλθε, κἀνέβαλε τὴν δεξιάν,
Κἀκεῖνος ὑπεχώρησεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θρόνου.

8. Give the general rule for the construction of verbs with the particle *ἄν*. What do you conceive to be the origin of this word? Show that there is no need of alteration in *οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἂν εἰ πείσαιμί νιν*, and confirm this reading by adducing a similar construction in Latin.

9. *Τί σεσίγηται δόμος Ἀδμήτου;*
Οὔ τἂν φθιμένας γ' ἐσιώπων.

Distinguish between *σιγᾷν* and *σιωπᾷν*. Which of these words corresponds to *tacere* and which to *silere?*

10. Translate:

Κλύει τις ἢ στεναγμὸν, ἢ
Χερῶν κτύπον κατὰ στέγας,
Ἢ γόον ὡς πεπραγμένων;
Οὐ μὰν οὐδέ τις ἀμφιπόλων
Στατίζεται ἀμφὶ πύλας.
Εἰ γὰρ μετακύμιος ἄτας,
Ὦ Παιὰν, φανείης.

. . . . .

Πυλᾶν πάροιθε δ' οὐχ ὁρῶ
Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομίζεται,
Χέρνιβ', ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις·
Χαίτα τ' οὔτις ἐπὶ προθύροις
Τομαῖος ἃ δὴ νεκύων
Πένθει πίτνει, οὐδὲ νεολαία
Δουπεῖ χεὶρ γυναικῶν.

Explain the words στατίζεται, μετακύμιος, and χέρνιβα. Why does Elmsley object to πιτνεῖν and ῥιπτεῖν, and how are these forms supported by Hermann and Lobeck? What is, according to Hermann, the difference between ῥίπτειν and ῥιπτεῖν? Is it borne out by usage? What is generally the difference in signification between contracted and uncontracted verbs from the same root in Latin? Explain the formation of δυστυχεῖν from τυγχάνειν and of *belligerare* from *gerere*. The MSS. give νεολαία, Dindorf reads νολαία, Monk νεολαίᾳ. Which is right, and why?

11. Translate:

Τί χρὴ γενέσθαι τὴν ὑπερβεβλημένην
Γυναῖκα; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαιτό τις
Πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν;

What is the difference in Plato between ἐνδείκνυσθαι and ἐπιδείκνυσθαι? What was the ἐπίδειξις of a Sophist? In what cases could an ἔνδειξις be brought according to the Athenian law, and how was it connected with an ἀπαγωγή?

12. Λέξαι θέλω σοι πρὶν θανεῖν ἃ βούλομαι.

Distinguish accurately between θέλειν and βούλεσθαι. Translate: ἂν οἵ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε. Which is the older form, θέλειν or ἐθέλειν? What is the oldest form of βούλεσθαι?

13. Translate:

Καὶ πῶς ἐπεσφρῶ τήνδε τῷ κείνης λέχει;——
Καὶ μὴ 'πιγήμῃς τοῖσδε μητρυιὰν τέκνοις.——

And,

ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίευ εἶναι καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μητρυιὴ τῇ Φρονίμῃ.

What is the force of ἐπὶ in these passages? What different signification does it bear in the word *ἐπιγαμία*? Give some account of the marriage-law at Athens. How does Æschylus use the word *μητρυιὰ* metaphorically?

14. Translate, explain, and compare the following passages:

Σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν
Εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται,
Ὧι προσπεσοῦμαι καὶ περιπτύσσων χέρας
Ὄνομα καλῶν σὸν τὴν καλὴν ἐν ἀγκάλαις
Δόξω γυναῖκα καίπερ οὐκ ἔχων ἔχειν,
Ψυχρὰν μὲν, οἶμαι, τέρψιν, ἀλλ' ὅμως βάρος
Ψυχῆς ἀπαντλοίην ἄν· ἐν δ' ὀνείρασι
Φοιτῶσά μ' εὐφραίνοις ἄν. ἡδὺ γὰρ φίλους
Κἀν νυκτὶ λεύσσειν ὅντιν' ἂν παρῇ χρόνον.

Πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας
Φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
Εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν
Ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,
Ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
Ἔῤῥει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.
Ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες
Πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν.
Μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν ὁρᾶν
Παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν
Βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον
Πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.

15. Translate:

Πολλά σε μουσόπολοι
Μέλψουσι καθ' ἑπτάτονόν τ' ὀρείαν
Χέλυν ἔν τ' ἀλύροις κλέοντες ὕμνοις,
Σπάρτᾳ κυκλὰς ἁνίκα Καρνείου περινίσσεται ὥρα
Μηνὸς ἀειρομένας
Παννύχου σελάνας
Δ ιπαραῖσί τ' ἐν ὀλβίαις Ἀθάναις.

What was the origin and nature of the Carnea, and in what month were they celebrated? Why is the epithet λιπαρὸς applied to Athens?

16. How is the legend about the death of Alcestis and the servitude of Apollo to be explained?

Translate:

Οὑμὸς δ' ἀλέκτωρ αὐτὸν ἦγε πρὸς μύλην. (SOPH. *Adm.*)

What is probably the meaning of the name Ἄδμητος as applied to this mythical King? How do you account for the introduction of Hercules? Was he a Dorian divinity? How does it appear from this play that Apollo and Death were dressed? How are they represented in ancient works of art?

17. Translate:

καὶ σάφ' οἶδ' ὁθούνεκα
Τοῦ νῦν σκυθρωποῦ καὶ ξυνεστῶτος φρενῶν
Μεθορμιεῖ σε πίτυλος ἐμπεσὼν σκύφου.

And,

ὅ τε ἐκ γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων, ἰσοῤῥόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκυίας, πολὺν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ ξύστασιν τῆς γνώμης εἶχε.

Explain the word *πίτυλος*. Does *μεθορμίσασθαι* usually govern the genitive? If so, mention some instances.

18. Translate:

Ἀλλ' εὐτυχοίης, νόστιμον δ' ἔλθοις πόδα.
Ἀστοῖς δὲ πάσῃ τ' ἐννέπω τετραρχίᾳ
Χοροὺς ἐπ' ἐσθλαῖς συμφοραῖσιν ἱστάναι
Βωμούς τε κνισᾶν βουθύτοισι προστροπαῖς.

And the following oracle:

Αὐδῶ Ἐρεχθείδαισιν, ὅσοι Πανδιόνος ἄστυ
Ναίετε, καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοις ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτὰς,
Μεμνῆσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρους κατ' ἀγυιὰς
Ἱστάναι ὡραίων Βρομίῳ χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντας
Καὶ κνισᾶν βωμοῖσι, κάρη στεφάνοις πυκάσαντας.

(*a*) What was the Tetrarchy here alluded to? Give some account of the ethnography and old constitution of Thessaly. Who were the Aleuadæ, and where did they reign? Where was the kingdom of Admetus?

(*b*) Why does *κνισᾶν* govern an accusative in one of these passages and a dative in the other?

(*c*) What relation subsisted between Bacchus and Demeter? When was the worship of the former introduced into Attica, and when and by what means established at Athens?

19. Are *μάρπτω* and *εὐμαρὴς* connected? What is the root, and where does it appear in its simplest form? Derive *ἀρταμεῖν*, *πλημμυρίς*, (what is the quantity of the penultima in Homer?) *μονάμπυξ*, *ὀκνῶ*, *ὀρφανεύειν*, *κεδνός*, *σεμνός*, and *ἀνάγκη*. Which is right, *οἶδας* or *οἶσθα*? What is the syntax of *πρίν*? Distinguish between *ὁ ἄνθρωπος αὐτός*, and *ὁ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος*. Is *οὔ σοι μὴ μεθέψομαί ποτε* an allowable construction? If so, what do these words mean? Are there any other instances of a similar construction? If so, adduce and explain them. Accentuate the following words according to their different significations: *μητροκτονος*, *αθωος*, *σιγα*, *ποιησαι*, *νυμφιος*, *μυριοι*, *πειθω*, and *λιγυς*. What are the futures of *ἐσθίω* and *πίνω*?

20. Translate the following passages, and point out any peculiarities which you may think deserving of notice:

(*a*) συμμέτρως δ' ἀφίκετο
Φρουρῶν τόδ' ἦμαρ ᾧ θανεῖν αὐτὴν χρεών.

(*b*) Πρὸς τῶν ἐχόντων, Φοῖβε, τὸν νόμον τίθης.

(*c*) Πόλλ' ἂν σὺ λέξας οὐδὲν ἂν πλέον λάβοις·
Ἡ δ' οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς Ἅιδου δόμους.

(*d*) ἩΡΑ. Τίνος δ' ὁ θρέψας παῖς πατρὸς κομπάζεται;
ΧΟΡ. Ἄρεος, ζαχρύσου Θρῃκίας πέλτης ἄναξ.

(*e*) Τί χρῆμα κουρᾷ τῇδε πενθίμῳ πρέπεις;

(*f*) Ἆ, μὴ πρόκλαι' ἄκοιτιν, ἐς τόδ' ἀναβαλοῦ.

(*g*) Τοί γαρ φυτεύων παῖδας οὐκέτ' ἂν φθάνοις.

(*h*) ἈΔΜ. Ὡς μήποτ' ἄνδρα τόνδε νυμφίον καλῶν.
ἩΡΑ. Ἐπῄνεσ' ἀλόχῳ πιστὸς οὕνεκ' εἶ φίλος.

(*i*) ἩΡΑ. Τόλμα προτεῖναι χεῖρα καὶ θιγεῖν ξένης.
ἈΔΜ. Καὶ δὴ προτείνω, Γοργόν' ὣς καρατόμῳ.

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THE END.

Gilbert & Rivington, Printers, St. John's Square, London.

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VIII.

A COMPLETE GREEK GRAMMAR, for the Use of Learners.

IX.

MASKIL LE-SOPHER; the Principles and Processes of Classical Philology applied to the Analysis of the Hebrew Language.

X.

PRÆLECTIO PHILOLOGICA, in Scholis Cantabrigiensibus habita, qua Deboræ Canticum triumphale denuo enarratur.